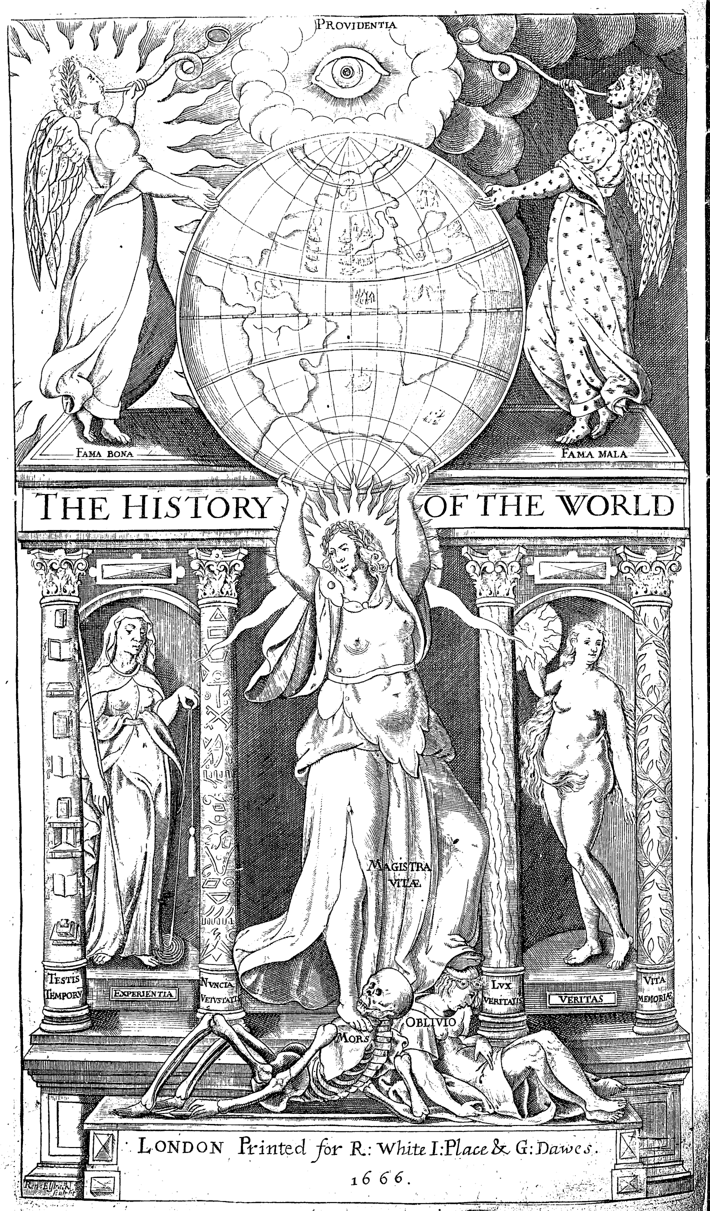
PROVIDENTIA
FAMA BONA
FAMA MALA
THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD
MAGISTRA VITÆ
TESTIS TEMPORV
EXPERIENTIA
NVNCIA VETVSTATIS
LVX VERITATIS
VERITAS
VITA MEMORIÆ
MORS
OBLIVIO
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1666.
Ren: Elstrack sculpsit

2

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
WORLD,
IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,

Intreating of the Beginning and firſt Ages of the ſame, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,

Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the deſtruction of the Temple of SALOMON.

THE THIRD,

From the deſtruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,

From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,

From the ſettled Rule of ALEXANDERS Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conqueſt of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

LONDON, £-6-0
w
Printed for *Robert White*, *John Place*, and *George Dawes*; and are to be ſold by
Thomas Rookes at the *Lamb* and *Ink-bottle* at the Eaſt-end of St. *Pauls*,
MDCLXVI.

THE
MIND OF THE FRONT.

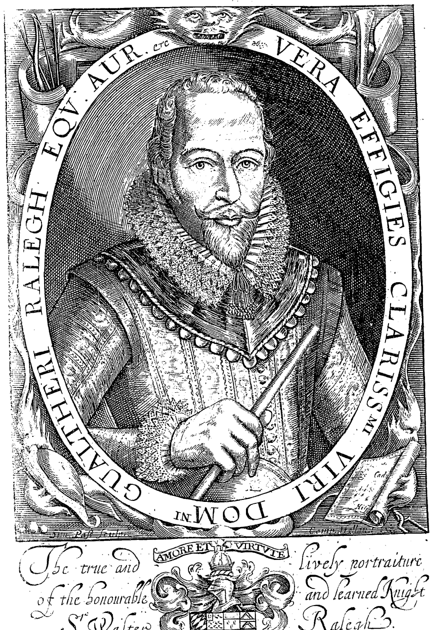
FRom Death *and dark* Oblivion (*neer the ſame*)
The Miſtris of Mans life, *grave* HISTORY,
Raiſing the World *to good, or evil* FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITY.

High PROVIDENCE *would ſo: that nor the Good*
Might be defrauded, nor the Great ſecur'd,
But both might know their wayes are underſtood,
And the reward and puniſhment aſſur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamy hand
Of TRUTH, *which ſearcheth the moſt hidden ſprings,*
And guided by EXPERIENCE; *whoſe ſtraight* Wand
Doth mete, whoſe Line *doth ſound the depth of things;*

She cheerfully ſupporteth what ſhe rears:
Aſſiſted by no ſtrengths, but are her own.
Some note of which each varied Pillar *bears,*
By which, as proper Titles ſhe is known,

Times Witneſs, Herald of Antiquity,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memory.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AMORE ET VIRTVTE

The true and lively portraiture
of the honourable and learned Knight
Sr. Walter Ralegh.

The Contents of the Chapters, Paragraphs, and Sections, in the firſt Book of the firſt Part of the Hiſtory of the World.

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‖. V. *A place,* Eſay 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking* Chuſh *for* Æthiopia.

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§. IV. *Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without vertue.*

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§. XI. Of Tidal, another of the four Kings.

§. XII. That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four Kings, was not of Aſſyria, but of Perſia: and that the Aſſyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

§. XIII. That it is not unprobable, that the four Kings had no Dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elſewhere with their Colinies planted themſelves, and ſo retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be ſo, we need not to ſay that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble our ſelves with many other difficulties.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from the firſt peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the delivery of the Iſraelites from thence:

§. I.

A Brief of the Names and Times of the firſt Kings of Egypt: with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſolving of the truth in theſe points.

§. II. That by the account of the Egyptian Dynaſtes, and otherwiſe, it appears that Chams reign in Egypt began in the year after the Flood 191.

§. III. That theſe Dynaſties were not divers Families of Kings, but rather ſucceſſions of Regents; oft-times many under one King.

§. IV. Of Cham, and his ſon Mizraim, or Oſiris.

§. V. Of the time when Oſiris reign ended: and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the ſon of Oſiris.

§. VI. Of Tiphon, Hercules Egyptus, Orus, and the two Seſoſtrees, ſucceſſively reigning after Mizraim: and of divers errours about the former Seſoſtrees.

§ VII. of Buſiris, the firſt oppreſſour of the Iſraelites: and of his ſucceſſour Queen Thermutis, that took up Moſes out of the water.

§. VIII. Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis: and what King it was under whom Moſes was born: and who it was that periſhed in the Red Sea.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Iſrael out of Egypt.

§. I.

OF the time of Moſes birth: and how long the Iſraelites were oppreſſed in Egypt.

§. II. Of divers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this ſtory, or elſewhere in the Scripture.

§. III. Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites young children in Egypt: and of Moſes his preſervation and education.

§. IV. Of Moſes his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain ancient Hiſtorians: of his War in Æthiopia, and of his marriage there: Philo his judgement of his Paſtoral life: and that of Pererius of the Books of Geneſis and Job.

§. V, Of Pharaohs purſuit of the Iſraelites: and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo far as Succoth.

§. VI. Of the Solary and Lunary years, and how they are reconciled: with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

§. VII. Of the paſſage of Iſrael, from Succoth, towards the Red Sea: and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

§. VIII. Of their paſſage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it ſelf.

§. IX. That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at low ebb.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a diſcourſe of Laws.

§. I.

A Tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronology, with a continuation of the ſtory, untill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.

§. II. Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occaſion of the battel with the Amalekites, and Jethro's comming, who being a Kenite, was Prieſt of Madian.

§. III. Of the time when the Law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

§. IV. Of the name and meaning of the words Law, and Right.

§. V. Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternall.

§. VI. Of the Law of Nature.

§. VII. Of the written Law of God.

§. VIII. Of the unwritten Law of God given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

§. IX. Of the Morall, Judiciall, and Ceremoniall Law: with a Note prefixed, How the Scripture ſpeaketh not alway in one ſenſe, when it nameth the Law of Moſes.

§. X. A propoſall of nine other points to be conſidered; with a touch of the five firſt.

§. XI. Of the ſixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.

§. XII. Of the reſt of the points propoſed.

§. XIII. Of the ſeverall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in reſpect of the Commandements, but by our default.

§. XIIII. If there were not any Religion, nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.

§. XV. Of humane Law, written, and unwritten.

§. XVI. That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Laws, and in what ſort.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Iſraelites, from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moſes.

§. I.

OF the numbring and diſpoſing of the hoſt of Iſrael, for their marches through the Wilderneſs: with a Note of the reverence given to the worſhip of God, in this ordering of their Troups.

§. II. The Offerings of the twelve Princes: The Paſſover of the ſecond year: The departing of Jethro.

§. III. The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their turning back to the Red Sea.

§. IV. Of their unwillingneſs to return: with the puniſhment thereof: and of divers accidents in the return.

§. V. Of Moſes arrival at Zin Kades: and the accidents while they abode there.

§. VI. Of their compaſſing Idumæa, and travelling to Arnon the border of Moab.

§. VII. Of the Book of the Battels of the

Lord,

Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.
§. VIII. *Of* Moſes *his ſparing the iſſue of* Lot, *and of the Giants in thoſe parts: and of* Sehon *and* Og.
§. IX. *Of the troubles about the* Madianites, *and of* Moſes *his death.*
§. X *Obſervations out of the Story of* Moſes, *How God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

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Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites *had dealing after their comming out of* Egypt: *And of the men of Renown in other Nations, about the times Of* Moſes *and* Joſua: *with the ſum of the Hiſtory of* Joſua.

§. I.

H*Ow the Nations with whom the* Iſraelites *were to have war, were divers waies (as it were) prepared to be their Enemies.*
§. II. *Of the Kings of the* Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the Ancient wars of the* Iſraelites.
§. III. *Of the* Amalekites *and* Iſmaelites.
§. IV. *Of the inſtauration of civilitie in* Europe *about theſe times; and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.
§. V. *Of* Ducalion *and* Phaeton.
§. VI. *Of* Hermes *and* Triſmagiſtus.
§. VII. *Of* Jannes *and* Jambres, *and ſome others that lived about thoſe times.*
§. VIII. *A brief of the Hiſtory of* Joſua: *and of the ſpace between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the* Canaanites; *with a Note of ſome Contemporaries to* Joſua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael *that were planted in the borders of* Phœnicia: *with ſundry Stories depending on thoſe places.*

§. I.

T*He Proem to the deſcription of the whole Land of* Canaan; *with an expoſition of the name of* Syria.
§. II. *Of the bounds of the Land of* Canaan: *and of the promiſes touching this land.*
§. III. *Of the Tribe of* Aſher.

||. I.

T*He bounds of the Tribe of* Aſher.
||. II. *Of* Zidon.
|| III. *Of* Sarepta, *with a brief Hiſtory of* Tyre *in the ſame Coaſt.*
||. IV. *Of* Ptolomais, *or* Acon.
||. V. *Of the Caſtle of* S. George.
||. VI. *Of* Acziba, Scandalium, *and others.*
|| VII. *Of* Thoron, Giſcala, *and ſome other places.*
||. VIII. *Of the Rivers and Mountains of* Aſher.

§. IV. *Of the Tribe of* Nephthalim.

||. I.

O*F the bounds of* Nephthalim: *and of* Heliopolis *and* Abilia.
||. II. *Of* Hazor.
||. III. *Of* Cæſarea Philippi.
||. IV. *Of* Capernaum, *and the Cities of* Decapolis.
||. V. *Of* Hamath.
||. VI. *Of* Reblatha, *and* Rama, *and divers other Towns.*

§. V. *The Tribe of* Zabulon.
§. VI. *The Tribe of* Iſſacher.
§. VII. *The half of the Tribe of* Manaſſe.

||. I.

O*F the bounds of this half Tribe: and of* Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, *and others.*
||. II. *Of* Cæſarea paleſtinæ, *and ſome other Towns.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

§. I.

T*He bounds and chief Cities and Founders, and name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters aſcribed to them.*
§. II. *Of the King of* Tyre.
§. III. *Of* Bozius *his conceit, that the* Edumæans, *inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitours of the* Tyrians: *and that the* Tyrians *from them received and brought into* Phœnicia *the Knowledge of the moſt true God.*

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CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim: *and of the Kings of the Ten Tribes, whoſe Head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

O*F the memorable places in the Tribe of* Ephraim.
§. II. *Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from* Jeroboam *to* Achab.
§. III. *Of* Achab *and his ſucceſſours: with the Captivity of the ten Tribes.*

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Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad *and the other half of* Manaſſe.

§. I.

O*F* Dan: *whereof* Joppea, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, *and other towns.*
§. II. *The Tribe of* Simeon.
§. III. *The Tribe of* Juda.
§. IV. *The Tribe of* Reuben, *and his borderers.*

||. I.

T*HE ſeats and bounds of* Midian, Moab *and* Ammon; *part whereof, the* Reubenites *wan from* Sehon *King of* Heſbon.
||. II. *Of the memorable places of the* Reubenites.
||. III. *Of divers places bordering* Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.
||. IIII. *Of the Dead Sea.*
||. V. *Of the Kings of* Moab, *much of whoſe Country within* Arnon, Reuben *poſſeſt.*
§. V. *Of the memorable places of the* Gadites, *and the bordering places of* Ammon.
§. VI. *Of the* Ammonites, *part of whoſe Territories the* Gadites *wan from* Og *the King of* Baſan.
§. VII. *Of the other half of* Mannaſſe.

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The Hiſtory *of the* Syrians; *the cheif borderers of the* Iſraelites, *that dwelt on the Eaſt of* Jordan.

§. I.

O*F the City of* Damaſcus, *and overthrow of their power.*
§. II. *Of the firſt Kings of* Damaſcus, *and of the growing up of their power.*
§. III. *Of the latter Kings, and decay, and the divers fortunes thereof.*
§. IV. *Of other leſſer Kingdoms of the* Syrians, *which being brought under the* Aſſyrians, *never recovered themſelves again.*

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Of the Tribe of Benjamin, *and of* Jeruſalem.

§. I.

O*F divers memorable Places in the Tribe of* Benjamin, *where, of* Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, *and* Gibba.
§. II. *Of divers memorable things concerning* Jeruſalem.
§. III. *Of the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by the* Romans.
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Of the memorable things that hapned in the world, from the death of Ioſua *to the War of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Jeptha.

§. I.

O*F the* Inter-regnum *after* Joſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.
§. II. *Of the memorable things in this Age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.*
§. III. *Of* Ehuds *time; and of* Proſerpina. Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about theſe times.*

§. IV. *Of*

§. IV. *Of* Debora, *and her contemporaries.*

§. V. *Of* Gideon, *and of* Dedalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this age.*

§. VI. *Of the expedition of the* Argonauts.

§. VII. *Of* Abimelech, Tholah, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapithæ, *and of* Theſeus, Hyppolitus, *&c.*

§. VIII. *Of the war of* Thebes *which was in this Age.*

§. IX. *Of* Jephtah*: and how the three hundred years which he ſpeaketh of* Judges 11. verſe 28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronology about theſe times.*

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

O*F the Genealogy of the Kings of* Troy*: with a note, touching the ancient Poets, how they have obſerved Hiſtorical truth.*

§. II. *Of the Rape of* Helen, *and of the ſtrength of both ſides for the war.*

§. III. *Of the* Grecians *journey and Embaſſage to* Troy*: and of* Helena*'s being detained in* Egypt*: and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

§. IV. *Of the Acts of the* Grecians *at the ſiege.*

§. V. *Of the taking of* Troy*: the woodden Horſe: the Book of* Dares *and* Dictis*: the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

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Of Sampſon, Eli, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

O*F* Sampſon.

§. II *Of* Eli, *and of the Ark taken: and of* Dagons *fall: and the ſending back of the Ark.*

§. III. *Of* Samuel, *and of his government.*

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§ I.

O*F the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdom.*

§. II. *Of the election of* Saul.

§. III. *Of the eſtabliſhing of* Saul *by his firſt Victories.*

§. IV. *Of* Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the wars with the* Philiſtims *and* Amakites, *which cauſed his final rejection.*

§. V. *Of the occurrents between the rejection of* Saul *and his death.*

§. VI. *Of ſuch as lived with* Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and alſo of their Iſſues upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entering* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

§. VII. *Of* Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the world that hapned about this Age.*

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§. I.

O*F* Davids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

§. II. *Of the beginning of* Davids *reign: and the War made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

§. III. *Of the death of* Abner *ſlain by* Joab*: and of* Isboſeth, *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

§. IV. *Of the flouriſhing time of* Davids *Kingdom: the taking of Jeruſalem: with two overthrows given to the Philiſtims: and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

§ V. *The overthrow of the Philiſtims and Moabites.*

§. VI. *The war which* David *made upon the Syrians.*

§. VII. *Of* Davids *troubles in his reign: and of his forces.*

§. VIII. *Of the laſt acts of* David*:* Adoniah*'s Faction: the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

§. IX. *Of the Treaſures of* David *and* Salomon.

§. X. *Of the Philiſtims, whom* David *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other Contemporaries with* David.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Salomon.

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O*F the eſtabliſhing of* Salomon*: of birthright: and of the cauſe of* Adoniah*'s death: and of* Salomon*'s wiſdom.*

§. II. *Of* Salomon*'s buildings and glory.*

§. III. *Of* Salomon*'s ſending to Ophir: and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Salomon's *Riches: and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about Africk.*

§. IV. *Of the fall of* Solomon, *and how long he lived.*

§. V. *Of* Solomon's *Writings.*

§. VI. *Of the Contemporaries of* Solomon.

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Of Solomons *Succeſſors untill the end of* Jehoſaphat.

§. I.

O*F* Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes: of* Jeroboam's *Idolatry.*

§. II. *Of* Rehoboam *his impiety, for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac*: of his end and contemporaries.*

§. III. *Of the great battell between* Jeroboam *and* Abia; *with a Colorarie of the examples of Gods judgements.*

§. IV. *Of* Aſa, *and his contemporaries.*

§. V. *Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes, during the reign of* Aſa.

§. VI. *A conjecture of the cauſes, hindering the re-union of Iſrael with Juda, which might have been effected by theſe troubles.*

§. VII. *Of* Jehoſaphat *and his Contemporaries.*

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſaphat; and Ahazia.

§. I.

T*Hat* Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

§. II. *Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King* Jehoſaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſon* Jehoram *King.*

§. III. *The doings of* Jehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

§. IV. *Of the miſeries falling upon* Jehoram*: and of his death.*

§. V. *Of the reign of* Ahazia*: and his buſineſſe with the King of Iſrael.*

§. VI. *How* Ahazia *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab*: and how that Family was deſtroyed by* Jehu.

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Of Athalia, *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded unto her.*

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O*F* Athalia *her uſurping the Kingdom: and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

§. II. *How* Jehu *ſpent his time in Iſrael, ſo that he could not moleſt* Athalia.

§. III. *Of* Athalia's *Government.*

§. IV. *Of the preſervation of* Joas.

§. V. *Whoſe ſon* Joas *was.*

†. I.

W*Hether* Joas *may be thought likely to have been the ſon of* Ahazia.

† II. *That* Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan,

†. III. *That* Joas *may probably be thought to have been the ſon of* Jehoram.

†. IV. *Upon what reaſons* Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grandchilde.*

§. VI. *A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the liberty of uſing conjectures in Hiſtorie.*

§. VII. *The conſpiracy againſt* Athalia.

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Of Joas *and* Amazia*: with their contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of* Carthage.

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O*F* Joas *his doings whileſt* Jehojada *the Prieſt lived.*

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§. III. *The cauſes and times of the* Syrians *invading Juda in the dayes of* Joas.

§. IV. *How* Zachariah *was murdered by* Joas.

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§. VII. *The beginning of* Amazia *his reign. And of* Joas *King of Iſrael, and* Eliſha *the Prophet.*

§. VIII. *Of* Amazia *his war againſt* Edom*: his Apoſtacy: and overthrow by* Joas.

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§. X. *The end of* Amazia *his reign and life.*

§. XI. *Of the* Inter-regnum *that was in the kingdome of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

§. XII. *Of Princes contemporary with* Amazia: *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

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§. I.

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§. II. *The end of* Uzzia, *his reign and life.*

§. III. *Of the Prophets which lived in the time of* Uzzia, *&c.*

§. IV. *Of the* Aſſyrian *Kings deſcending from* Phul, *&c.*

§. V. *Of the* Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

§. VI *Of* Jotham, *and his contemporaries.*

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CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italy; *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

OF *the old Inhabitants; and of the name of* Italy.

§. II. *Of the* Aborigines, *and other Inhabitants of* Latium: *and of the reaſon of the names of* Latini *and* Latium.

§. III. *Of the ancient Kings of the* Latines, *untill* Æneas *his coming.*

§. IV. *Of* Æneas, *and of the Kings and Governours of* Alba.

§. V. *Of the beginning of* Rome: *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia *and his contemporaries.*

§. I.

OF *the beginning of* Ezechias: *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomies Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and of* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtory of the Bible.*

§. II. *Of the danger and deliverance of* Judæa *from* Senacherib.

§. III. *Of* Ezechias *his ſickneſſe and recovery: and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

§. IV. *The Kings that were in* Media *during the reign of* Ezekia, *&c;*

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt; *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezekia *in* Juda, *when* Egypt *and* Juda *made a league againſt the* Aſſyrians.

§. I.

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§. II. *Of* Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eight from* Oſymandyas: *Of* Oſymandyas, *and his Tombe.*

§. III. *Of* Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis: *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

§. IV. *Of the Kings that reigned in the* Dynaſtie *of the* Larthes.

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§. VI. *Of* Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezekia.

§. VII. *Of* Sethon, *who reigned with* Ezekia, *and ſided with him againſt* Senacherib.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaſſe, *and his contemporaries.*

§. I.

THe *wickedneſſe of* Manaſſes: *His impriſonment, repentance, and death.*

§. II. *Of troubles in* Egypt *following the death of* Sethon: *The reign of* Pſammiticus.

§. III. *What reference theſe* Egyptian *matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of* Manaſſes, *&c.*

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THE

THE PREFACE.

HOw unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledg began to open it ſelf to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly, purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iſland of Great Britain. I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travels, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjointed and ſcattered frame of our Engliſh affairs, than of the Univerſal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough: the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the deſire to ſatisfy thoſe few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adverſity; the former enforcing, the later perſuading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every Opinion, wiſe or weak.

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any Age. For Proſperity and Adverſity have evermore tyed and vntyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpecial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which His Majeſty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Dæmonolog. l. 3 c. 1.
Blame no man (ſaith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reform righteouſly. Eccleſ. 11. 7.
Rumor, res ſine Teſte, ſine Judice, maligna, fallax; Rumour is without Witneſs, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S. Auguſtine Argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evil. Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor.
And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur Sen. de ira, l. c. 22.

vel mala, dum bene merearis ; Let us ſatisfie our own Conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves with fame ; be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed, ſo we deſerve well.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my Countrey, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-ſhine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of Her excellent Perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judg of all the World, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſ-hap in that kind; but content my ſelf to ſay with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſuade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.*

But ſuch is the multiplying, and extenſive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read and hear; and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee and converſe with; every one hath received a ſeveral Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form a-part, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature ſo much triumpheth, as in diſſimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found ſo great diverſity of Opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrarity of inclinations: ſo many natural and unnatural; wiſe, fooliſh, manly, and childiſh affections and paſſions in mortal men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of Plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleaſed God to reſerve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelf; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo farr as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to gheſs at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſs the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the moſt, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſs it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch*) ſo change himſelf, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord, and diſ-ſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude; Omnes honeſtæ rei malus Judex eſt vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe Wiſdom *(ſaith Eccleſiaſtes)* is to be deſpiſed: *if*

to the better ſort; every underſtanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I find theſe my worthleſs Papers torn with Rats; ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all Ages have not ſpared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the ſevereſt men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of theſe natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, ſeeing Solomon *complained long ſince; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the Profeſſors to their eaſie ways of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccleſ. cap. 11 Nihil facilius quàm reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approved cuſtom of thoſe, who have left the memories of Time-paſt to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet, ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledg, That it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the World it ſelf had life and begining, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, beſides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledg over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of many thouſands of years, and given ſo fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, The wiſe work (*ſaith* Hermes) of a great God, *as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it (I ſay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt we ow unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Anceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſs of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſs wiſe than eternal; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our own like errors and ill deſervings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wiſdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our own conſciences; which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his knowledg. And ſo much did that heathen Wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet qualified by the knowledg of a true God: If any (ſaith* Euripides) having in his life committed wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD'S *Judgments in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part: for the* Sea *of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the Earth; and their fortunes written onely in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceeded, and have not ſeen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults.* GODS *Judgments upon* *the greater and greateſt have been left to Poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point farr off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the graſs of the earth with Beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wiſe working of* Pharaoh, *when he ſlew the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of* Jezabel, *in covering the murther of* Naboth *by a trial of the* Elders, *according to the Law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the ſame far-off Reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, peril, bloud-ſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their Iſſues Maſters of the World? And yet hath* Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *and the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their Opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which* Livie *hath a touch:* eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the divine Providence (which* Cratippus *objected to* Pompey) *hath ſet down the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a day over to reſolve.*

For ſeeing the firſt Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the ſucceſs of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one Age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in Ages removed farr from the preſent, as in thoſe of later times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of Preface, run over ſome examples, which the Work enſuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, *we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the* Norman *Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Juſtice, upon the children of* Henry *the Firſt. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, over-reach'd, and laſtly made blind, and deſtroyed his elder Brother,* Robert, *Duke of* Normandy, *to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces* (Maud *excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.*

To paſs over the reſt, till we come to Edward *the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the iſſue of bloud then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did again break out, and that ſo often, and in ſuch abundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine Race (very few excepted) died of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young years of* Edward *the Third, made his knowledg of that horrible fact no more than ſuſpicious; yet, in that he afterwards cauſed his own Uncle, the Earl of* Kent, *to die, for no other offence, than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then ſuppoſed to be living; the King making that to be Treaſon in his Uncle, which was indeed Treaſon in himſelf, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I ſay, made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to have had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed* Mortimer *to die for the ſame.*

This cruelty, the ſecret and unſearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of Edward *the Third; and ſo it fell out, even to the laſt of that Line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent, they were all buried under the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent bloud. For* Richard *the Second, who ſaw both his* Treaſurers, *his* Chancellor, *and his* Steward, *with divers others of his Counſellors, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himſelf for over-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earls of* Huntington *and* Kent, Montagu *and* Spencer, *who thought themſelves as great Politicians in thoſe days, as others have done in theſe; hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves by the murther of* Glouceſter; *died ſoon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farr more ſhamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himſelf (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatneſs, cannot be excuſed, as the diſavowing himſelf by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murthered by his Couſin-Germane and Vaſſal,* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *afterwards* Henry *the Fourth.*

This King, whoſe Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, proteſting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard *himſelf, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he ſwore, that the depoſed King ſhould live. After he had enjoyed this Realm ſome few years, and in that time had been ſet upon on all ſides by his Subjects, and never free from Conſpiracies and Rebellions: he ſaw (if Souls immortal ſee and diſcern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child* Henry *the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, ſuddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſs powerleſs, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſs, by entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the Father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignal victories of his Son* Henry *the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpair of all re-conqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of* Cauſabon *alſo true*; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that ſeem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry *the Sixth, upon whom the greateſt ſtorm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon* Richard, *the Grand-child of* Edward; *although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refuſed the Daughter of* Armaignac, *of the Houſe of* Navarre, *the greateſt of the Princes of* France, *to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in* France) *and married the Daughter of* Anjou *(by which he loſt all that he had in* France) *ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of* Glouceſter, *the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of* Lancaſter; *He drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt joint-loſs and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the* Norman *Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of* Henry *the Third of* France, Q'uil eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Seaſon.

It is true, that Buckingham *and* Suffolk *were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death:* Buckingham *and* Suffolk, *becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the Queen had been abſolute; the Queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound,* ſpretæque injuria formæ, *becauſe* Glouceſter *diſſuaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the counſel. For after the cutting down of* Glouceſter, York *grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel,* Suffolk *and* Buckingham, *with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down* York; *yet his Son the Earl of* March, *following the plain path which his Father had troden out, deſpoiled* Henry *the Father, and* Edward *the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick Lady the* Queen, *other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that ſhe lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her onely Son the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his head that did it? She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her movables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of* France, *the Earldom of* Provence, *and other places, for the payment of* 50000. *crowns for her Ranſome, to become a ſtark Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which* Siracides *calleth* fine, *but*

unrighteous: *for other fruit hath it never yielded ſince the World was.*

Sirat. 19.

And now it came to Edward *the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted up, one onely Earl of* Richmond *excepted; whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of* Britain, *but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld & allowed the ſlaughter which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his own preſence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the Judgment of GOD in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his Brother* Clarence, *for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the Sixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo, by the ſame art, to kill his own Sons and Succeſſors,* Edward *and* Richard. For, thoſe Kings which have ſold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the Fourth, ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of* Haſtings *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kinred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Rivers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternal Vncle and half Brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: Secondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: And laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads ſevered from their Bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Poſt, namely, To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſs'd; He urged that Argument ſo farr, and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himſelf, and of his Brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckingham's *head, That, whenſoever the King, or his Brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong offered to their Vncle and Brother,* Rivers *and* Grey.

Scelera ſceleribus tuenda. *Sen. de Clem.*

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect; and yet the Devil, who never diſſuades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But, when he found by* Catesby, *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable, he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And, becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon* Haſtings, *I have never obſerved in any Story. For, the ſelf-ſame day that the Earl* Rivers, Grey, *and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by* Haſtings *advice, executed at* Pomfret; *I ſay,* Haſtings *himſelf, in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner, had his Head ſtruck off in the Tower of* London. *But* Buckingham *lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration perſuaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their King. And having received the Earl-*

dom of Hereford *for reward,beſides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings onely Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts,being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; he had his Head ſevered from his Body at* Salisbury, *without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſs had* Richard *himſelf after all theſe miſchievs and murthers, policies,and counter-policies to Chriſtian Religion; and after ſuch time as with a mercileſs hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud obtained at GOD'S hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour,both to his friends and enemies.*

This cruel King, Henry *the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods Juſtice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any,who by the engine of his wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions, both before and after he wore the Crown,as ever King of* England *did; I ſay, by his wiſdom, becauſe,as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, ſo he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of* Loys *the Eleventh,whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was farr more juſt, and begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as* Loys *did.*

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave,he himſelf received back the thanks and the love,knowing it well,that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his Subjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off of Stanlies *Head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of* Warwick, *Son to* George *Duke of* Clarence, *ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his Anceſtors; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of* Edward *the Third, and* Henry *the Fourth had done.*

Now, for King Henry *the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many ſervants did he advance in haſt (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more deſert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (wherof ſome of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to* GOD *for the abundance of bloud already ſpilt: He impriſoned the Duke of* Norfolk *the Father; and executed the Earl of* Surry *the Son; the one,whoſe deſerving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings ſervice; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure; the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the Fatherleſs and Widows,at home; and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure,than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeveral Conqueſts; what cauſleſs and cruel warrs did he make upon his own Nephew King* James *the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own Iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe Branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions)it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalekites, *have been verified upon many others:* As thy Sword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women. *And that bloud which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold air of* Scotland *had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the Sun-ſhine of his grace; from whence his* Majeſty *now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infuſed into one eye; yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the Sword of his Juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of* England, *it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God,and hath ſtaied the time of putting it on,howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never took revenge of any man that ſought to put him beſide it; That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long,with as great glory as ever Princeſs did :That* His Majeſty *entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary Gate,which his own right ſet open; and into which,by a general love and obedience,He was received. And howſoever* His Majeſty's *preceding title to this Kingdom,was preferred by many Princes (witneſs the Treaty at* Cambray *in the year* 1559.) *yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.*

Neither ought we to forget,or neglect our thankfulneſs to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny *to the South, to wit, of* Scotland *to* England, *which, though they were ſevered,but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet,by reaſon of the long continued Warr, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other,in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, is not the leaſt of God's bleſſings which* His Majeſty *hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the* Red-Roſe *and the* White, *for the greateſt happineſs (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of* Gold *and* Gules, *and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our* Britiſh *Bloud, heretofore, and during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of* England *is more aſſured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights,and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conqueſts. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of* Parma, *in the year* 1588. *joined the Army which he commanded, with that of* Spain, *and landed it on the South-*

coaſt; and had His Majeſty *at the ſame time declared himſelf againſt us in the North, it is eaſie to divine what had become of the Liberty of* England; *certainly, we would then, without murmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praiſe than it hath ſince coſt us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Infinite, to examine every man's cauſe, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice)* His Majeſty *hath had more compaſſion of other mens neceſſities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of* Solomon, Dedit Deus *Solomoni* latitudinem cordis; *Which, if other men do not underſtand with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledg; *yet may it be better ſpoken of* His Majeſty, *than of any King that ever* England *had; who, as well in divine, as in humane underſtanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Fin.comment in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could ſay much more of the Kings Majeſty, *without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withall ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe Papers of mine (though the loſs were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen* Elizabeth, *made by unskilfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and caſt into the fire. For ill* Artiſts, *in ſetting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in deſcribing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Poſterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the moſt Perfect and Princely minds, a moſt defective Repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needs no other diſcourſe; if the honeſt* Reader *but compare the cruel and turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpoſe I have inſerted this brief Diſcourſe) with* His Majeſties *temperat, revengeleſs, and liberal diſpoſition; I ſay, that if the honeſt* Reader *weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand; and withall, but beſtow every deformed child on his true Parent; He ſhall find, that there is no man that hath ſo juſt a cauſe to complain, as the King himſelf hath. Now, as we have told the ſucceſs of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Perſonages; ſo we find, that* GOD *is every where the ſame* God. *And, as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation and unnatural cruelty of* Henry *the Firſt, and of our Third* Edward, *in their Children for many* Generations: *ſo dealt he with the Sons of* Loys Debonaire, *the Son of* Charls *the Great, or* Charlemain. *For after ſuch time as* Debonaire *of* France *had torn out the eyes of* Bernard *his Nephew, the Son of* Pepin, *the eldeſt Son of* Charlemaine, *and Heir of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in Priſon, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poiſoning, impriſonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguiſhed. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himſelf of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his baſtard Brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition; yet God raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own Sons, with whom (to ſatisfie their ambition) he had ſhared his eſtate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldeſt Son* Lothaire *(for he had four, three by his firſt Wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made*

made it the cauſe of his depoſition, that he had uſed violence toward his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlain. Eo quod, *ſaith the Text,* fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit; Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlain, whom he might have delivered.

Step Paſquiere recher l 5. c. 1.

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Aſſembly of the States, *it follows:* Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat: After this, he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard* his own Nephew.

Paſq. Ibidem.

This he did, and it was praiſe-worthy. But the bloud that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have ſaid, had four Sons. To Lothaire *his eldeſt, he gave the Kingdom of* Italy, *as* Charlemaine *his Father had done to* Pepin, *the Father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin, *the ſecond Son, he gave the Kingdom of* Aquitaine; *to* Loys, *the Kingdom of* Bavier; *and to* Charls, *whom he had by a ſecond Wife, called* Judith, *the remainder of the Kingdom of* France. *But his ſecond Wife, being a mother-in-law to the reſt, perſuaded* Debonaire, *to caſt his Son* Pepin *out of* Aquitaine; *thereby to greaten* Charls, *which, after the death of his Son* Pepin, *he proſecuted to effect againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son* Loys *of* Bavier, *he dies for grief.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys *of* Bavier, *and* Charles *afterward, called the* Bald, *and their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *join in league againſt the Emperor* Lothaire *their eldeſt Brother. They fight near to* Auxerre, *the moſt bloudy battel that ever was ſtrucken in* France; *in which, the marvellous loſs of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the* Saracens *to invade* Italy; *to the* Hunns *to fall upon* Almaine; *and the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* Bald *by Treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a Cloyſter;* Carloman *rebels againſt his Father,* Charles *the* bald, *the Father burns out the eys of his Son* Carloman; Bavier *invades the Emperor* Lothaire, *his Brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, he is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his own conſcience, for his Rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery.* Charls *the* bald *the Uncle, oppreſſeth his Nephews, the Sons of* Lothaire, *he uſurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of* Loys *of* Bavier, *his elder Brother;* Bavier's *Armies, and his Son* Carloman, *are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Uſurper* Charles *is poiſoned by* Zedechias *a* Jew, *his Phyſician, his Son* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drink.* Beque *had* Charles *the* ſimple, *and two Baſtards,* Loys *and* Carloman; *they rebel againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Boar; the Son of* Bavier *had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions.*

Charls the groſs becomes Lord of all that the Sons of Debonaire held in Germany; wherewith not contented, he invades Charles the ſimple; but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Underſtanding; he dies a diſtracted Beggar. Charles the ſimple is held in Wardſhip by Eudes, Major of the Palace, then by Robert, the Brother of Eudes; and laſtly, being taken by the Earl of Vermandois, he is forced to die in the priſon of Peron. Loys the Son of Charles the ſimple breaks his neck in chaſing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this Loys, the one dies of poiſon, the other dies in the Priſon of Orleans; after whom, Hugh Capet, of another Race, and a ſtranger to the French, makes himſelf King.

Theſe miſerable ends had the Iſſues of Debonaire; who after he had once apparelled Injuſtice with authority, his Sons and Succeſſors took up the faſhion,, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggars. The wretched ſucceſs they had (ſaith a Learned French-man) ſhews, Que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of *Bernard* the Son of *Pepin*, the true Heir of *Charlemain*, men had more meddling than God or Juſtice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis the Firſt, one of the Worthieſt Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of Mirandol, and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King Francis repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his Son, to do Juſtice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GODS Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, God was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after Henry was ſlain in ſport by Montgomery, we all may remember what became of his four Sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were maried to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the Religion, and great effuſion of bloud, the Crown was ſet on his Head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spain as in England and France. Towards whom we will look no further back than to Don Pedro of Caſtile,; in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the Third, and the great Evan Vaſilowick of Moſcovia, were but petty ones: this Caſtilian, of all the Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For, beſides thoſe of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he had cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis; the great Maſter of Calatrava, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonſo Gomes, and the great Commander of Caſtile; he made away the two Infants of Arragon his Couſin-Germans, his Brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treaſurer, and all his

his

Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in cloſe Priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Laſtly, as he cauſed the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and the Dean to be killed, of purpoſe to enjoy their Treaſures; ſo did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar, King of Barbary, with thirty ſeven of his Nobility, that came unto him for ſuccor, with a great ſumm of Money, to levy (by his favour) ſome Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the Engliſh Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaſter; He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of Aſtramara, who diſpoſſeſſed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injuſtice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing.

Hiſt of Spain.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke John of Burgoign, who, after his trayterous murther of the Duke of Orleans, cauſed the Conſtable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Biſhops of Conſtance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of gran Pre, Hector of Chartes, and (in effect) all the Officers of Juſtice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury, Requeſts (with ſixteen others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered France; He was ſoon after ſtrucken with an Ax in the face, in the preſence of the Dauphin; and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlain. Theſe were the lovers of other mens miſeries; and miſeries found them out.

French invent. in anno 1418.

Now, for the Kings of Spain, which lived both with Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon, was the firſt, and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent Auſtrian greatneſs. For this King did not content himſelf to hold Arragon by the uſurpation of his Anceſtor; and to faſten thereunto the Kingdom of Caſtile and Leon, which Iſabel his Wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her own Neece, the Daughter of the laſt Henry; but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he alſo caſt his own Neece out of the Kingdom of Navarre; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promiſe he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I ſay, that betrayed alſo Ferdinand and Frederick, Kings of Naples, Princes of his own Bloud, and by double alliance tied unto him; ſold them to the French; and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour under Gonſalvo, caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.

This wiſe and politick King, who ſold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, the greateſt Monarch of the World; ſaw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt Daughter married unto Don Alphonſo Prince of Portugal, beheld her firſt Husband break his neck in her preſence; and being with child by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt Judgment of God upon the Race of Alphonſo, now wholly extinguiſhed; who had not onely left *many diſconſolate Mothers in* Portugal, *by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlain with his own hand, the Son and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady* Beatrix, *Dutcheſs of* Viſeo. *The ſecond Daughter of* Ferdinand, *married to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, beſtowed on King* Henry *the Eighth, he ſaw caſt off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in* England; *and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt* Calice *to the* French; *and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdoms of* Ferdinand *have maſters of a new name; and by a ſtrange Family are governed and poſſeſs'd.*

Charls *the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the* French, *upon the* Almans *and other Princes and States; ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were conſumed; who gave the while a moſt perillous entrance to the* Turks, *and ſuffered* Rhodes, *the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaſed out of* France, *and, in a ſort, out of* Germany; *and left to the* French, Mentz, Toule, *and* Verdun, *places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from* Inſpurg; *and ſcaled the* Alpes *by torch-light, perſued by Duke* Maurice; *having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, ſave his own diſgraces. And having after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelf a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the year, to his Son* Philip, *from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.*

Nether.hiſt l.7. fol. 313.

His Son again, King Philip *the Second, not ſatisfied to hold* Holland *and* Zeland, *(wreſted by his Anceſtors from* Jaqueline, *their lawfull Princeſs) and to poſſeſs in peace many other Provinces of the* Netherlands; *perſuaded by that miſchievous* Cardinal *of* Granvile, *and other* Romiſh *Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of thoſe Countreys, not onely forgot the Preſent made him upon his entry of fourty Millions of* Florens, *called the* Novaile aid; *nor onely forgot that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the General States, to maintain and preſerve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthral them by the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intollerable Impoſitions, he laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not only an abſolute* Monarch *over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of* England *and* France; *but* Turk-like, *to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtain from the* Pope *a diſpenſation of his former Oaths (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the Warr and Bloudſhed ſince then;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his baſe Siſter,* Margaret *of* Auſtria, *and the* Cardinal Granvile; *He employed that moſt mercileſs* Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez *of* Toledo, *Duke of* Alva, *followed with a powerful Army of ſtrange Nations; by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of* Egmont, *Prince of* Gavare; *and* Philip Montmorency *Earl of* Horn; *made away* Montigue, *and the Marqueſs of* Bergues, *and cut off in thoſe ſix years (that* Alva *Governed) of Gentlemen*

Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

and

and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murthers and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He ſent for Governour, his baſtard Brother, Don John *of* Auſtria; *a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame Papal advantage that his Predeceſſors had done, make no ſcruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Treaty made with the General States; and to diſcharge the* Low-Countreys *of all* Spaniards, *and other ſtrangers therein garriſoned; Towards whoſe Pay and Paſport, the* Netherlands *ſtrained themſelves to mak a payment of* 600000. *pounds. Which Moneys received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of* Antwerp *and* Nemures, *not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary counſel with the Secretary* Eſcovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, *and others, Miniſters of the* Spaniſh *Tyranny formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. Firſt, for himſelf; after he had murthered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Child in* Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, *and other places; and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty Millions of treaſure in ſix years, notwithſtanding his* Spaniſh *vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the* Holanders *in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving* His Majeſties *Affairs in a ten-fold worſe eſtate than he found them at his firſt arrival. For* Don John, *whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to mannage the leaſt: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for* Eſcovedo *his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter, both* England *and the* Netherlands; *being ſent into* Spain *upon ſome new project, he was at the firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by* Anthony Peres *(though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of* Spain's *carriage, his counſel and ſucceſs in this buſineſs, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his* Weſt-Indies; *for the loſs of a Nation which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after fourty years Warr, are, in deſpight of all his forces, become a free Eſtate, and farr more rich and powerfull than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.*

Oh! by what plots, by what for-ſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poiſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD *upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end, have brought thoſe things to paſs for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels* *and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made.* GOD *hath ſaid it, and performed it ever:* Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum; I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their Parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the World are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledg, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſuade our ſelves, that GOD *hath given us Letters Patents to perſue all our irreligious affections, with a* Non obſtante: *ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unſearchable; we have ſenſe and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo earthly; and it is leſs to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſs men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet* Eſay *cried out long agone,* Lord, who hath believed our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſay *complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſs believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who, for the greateſt number are but* Idols *of* Vanity; *what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know* GOD, *but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledg of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina. *And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonal hatred, and the perpetual warr, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Chriſtians; *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledg but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchace of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our Celeſtial habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the Diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the Soul hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comædians in Religion; and while we act in geſture and voice, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives, we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth, have but their being* in tearms, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

Paul to Titus, c. 1. v. 10.

Neither is it that wiſdom, which Solomon *defineth to be the* School-Miſtreſs *of the* Knowledg of God, *that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects*

which attend it. Theſe indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelves enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt, He that had the greateſt wiſdom, and the greateſt ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the uſe: When goods increaſe (*ſaith Solomon*) they alſo increaſe that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for thoſe that devour the reſt, and follow us in fair weather; they again forſake us in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand Examples, I will take but one out of Maſter* Dannet, *and uſe his own words:* Whileſt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, after the reſignation of his eſtates, ſtayed at *Vloſhing* for Wind, to carry him his laſt journey into *Spain*; He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Embaſſador, till the deep of the night. And when *Seldius* ſhould depart; the Emperor calling for ſome of his ſervants, and no body anſwering him, (for thoſe that attended upon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleep) the Emperor took up the Candle himſelf, and went before *Seldius*, to light him down the Stairs; and ſo did, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that *Seldius* could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he ſaid thus unto him; *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperor, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou haſt known in thy time environed with ſo many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeen alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea, even of his own ſervants, *&c.* I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withſtand.

Eccleſ. 5. 10.

But you will ſay, that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt is, the reverend reſpect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Juſtice and Piety, accompany the outward worſhip given to their places and power; without which, what is the applauſe of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, *who, without the knowledg of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelves with the noiſe they make? For, ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare to diſtinguiſh Virtue and Fortune; the moſt impious (if proſperous) have ever been applauded; the moſt vertuous (if unproſperous) have ever been deſpiſed. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horſe, ſo Fortune her ſelf rides the Man. Who, when he is deſcended, and on foot; the Man taken from his Beaſt, and Fortune from the Man; a baſe Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurns at the other, with equal liberty.*

The ſecond is, the greatning of our Poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of thoſe which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſaid of them, which Lactantius *ſpake of certain Heathen Philoſophers;* Quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta. *For, when our ſpirits immortal ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortal bodies, and diſpoſed by* GOD; *there remaineth in them no other joy of their Poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of*

Lact. de falſa ſap. l. 3. c. 29.

ſhame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affairs that remain. *And if we doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *we cannot of* Job; *who tells us,* That we know not if our Sons ſhall be honourable; neither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth;* Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living (*ſaith he*) know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the Sun? *He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof;* which made me (*ſaith he*) endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour. *And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowfull eſtates after death, God hath reſerved? Mans knowledg lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet* Eſay *confeſſeth of the Elect, That* Abraham is ignorant of us, and *Iſrael* knows us not. *But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death (of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelical affections; in ſo great admiration ſhall the Souls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledg, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the Soul exerciſed in a mortal body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joys of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wiſdom of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and leſs light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beaſts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Poſterity, for a mark and enſign of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors; ſo (ſeeing* Siracides *preferreth Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity) I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own buildings out*

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

Job 14 21.

Pſal 39.

Eccleſ. 9 5. & 1. 2.

Eſay 63.16.

Sira c. 40. v. 28.

of other mens ruines. For, as Plato *doth firſt preferr the perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly,* Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas: *ſo* Jeremy *cries,* Wo unto them that erect their houſes by unrighteouſneſs, and their chambers without equity; *And* Eſay *the ſame,* Wo to thoſe that ſpoil, and were not ſpoiled. *And it was out of the true wiſdom of* Solomon, *that he commandeth us,* not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to ſwallow them up alive, whoſe riches we covet; for ſuch are the ways (*ſaith he*) of every one that is greedy of gain.

And, if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure, as to conſider, That he which hath moſt in this world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for ever; I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting thoſe mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortal, as if our ſelves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wiſdom, as he pleaſeth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not troden down their oppoſites; the Politician all groſs, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad and ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others; and it is onely then, that we are ſtrucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. *For if, according to S.* Peter, The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and that *God* ſpared not his Angels; *where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of* Mercy (*without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends*) *is ſufficient?* O quam multi, *ſaith a reverend Father,* cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt! *I confeſs, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, That we ended well; for we all deſire (as* Balaam *did)* to die the death of the righteous. *But, what ſhall we call a diſ-eſteeming, an oppoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if thoſe men do not oppoſe him, diſ-eſteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwiſe, that die this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto God, as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that have had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a juſt God;*

Plat. de leg 1. 2. 6. & in Georgeo

Jer. 22. 13.

Eſay 33.

Prov 1. 18. 12. Prov. 23. 1, 2, 8, 9. & 25. 9. 8.

Gal. 6. 7.

1 Pet 4.

that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdom, and charity fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my Son (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, ſuch a Leaden One, as Lewis the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiſs it; beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a Cardinal, and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the Earl of Armagnac to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving GOD. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon ſhadows; they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-ſtone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour againſt the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they ſhew themſelves Gods againſt God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the reſt; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppreſſed, whom we accompt wretched; we ſhall find the hapineſs of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedieſt upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For, there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (ſaith S. James) what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure; yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the croſs, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of days, and therein have evermore ſorrowed; yet, looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth perſue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet; Whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it. So, as whoſoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a ſervant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what he hath reſerved, either of Beauty and Youth,

or

or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad ſighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth, over-take it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being, the poor, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and pains, as he, that is moſt bleſs'd in common Opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſure and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omniæ quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent. Onely thoſe few black Swans I muſt except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs glory.

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life are but of two ſorts; whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other to the World. In the firſt, we complain to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos; And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us. In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt GOD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the firſt of which, S. Paul hath promiſed bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledg, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet farr greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not aknowledg, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet farr leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the World but tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and reſolvedly, and not as thoſe whining Souldiers do, Qui gementes ſequuntur Imperatorem.

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius the part of the greateſt Emperor, and the part of the moſt miſerable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the morning, and in the ſame day, the Footſtool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had alſo played, being taken by Sapores) that made Belliſarius play the moſt victorious Captain, and laſtly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to reſolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the leſs. For, when on the one and the other, every man *wears but his own ſkin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakneß priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe* (*for, ſaith* Petrarch, Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem a ſenſibus) *it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miſeries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is ſubject. Therein it is, that Miſfortune and Adverſity work all that they work. For, ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a fooliſh madneß in the ſhipwrack of worldly things, where all ſinks but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as* Seneca *ſaith,* Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other, the moſt miſerable deſtiny.

But it is now time to ſound a retreat, and to deſire to be excuſed of this long perſuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time paſt (*which we call* Hiſtory) *in ſo large a Table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.*

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the firſt divine Hiſtories *being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implieth the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father forſaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence preſuppoſing Creation; Yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom, have gone about to diſ-join this coherence; the* Epicure *denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the* Ariſtotelian *granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (*for,* by Faith, we underſtand that the World was made by the Word of God) *be too weighty a work for* Ariſtotle's *rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his* Verbal *Doctrine; yet that the neceſſity of Infinite power, and the World's beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reaſon, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leß ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledg (ſeeing* Ariſtotle *hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than* tearms *in the reſt) have ſo retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſeves to the law of thoſe Philoſophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned, either for phantaſtical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or, that* ipſi dixerunt, *doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leß batter it down: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledg. For, ſaith* Charron, *in his Book of Wiſdom,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, ſi la raiſon n' on fait la difference; Every humane propoſition hath equal authority, if reaſon make not a difference: *the reſt, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how ſhall the upright and impartial judgment of man give a Sentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpoſe, it was well ſaid of* Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur; They neglect their own wiſdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer themſelves, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneß, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the firſt,* Contra negantem principia; *over the ſecond,* Virtus ſpecifica; *and over the third,* Eccleſia Romana.

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact de orig. Erroris, l. 2. c. 8.

But for my ſelf, I ſhall never be perſuaded, that God hath ſhut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of Ariſtotle's *brains; or, that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto* Eſdras, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; *That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe, and theſe, be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reaſon; and ſo hath Experience without Art. The Cheeſ-wiſe knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneß doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this, and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graß under his feet, why it ſhoud be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Nature's working, in thoſe which are farr leß noble Creatures than himſelf; who is farr more noble than the Heavens themſelves:* Man (*ſaith* Solomon) that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; *that hath ſo ſhort a time in the World, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledg; in his underſtanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his own Soul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if* Ariſtotle *be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe doth know, but GOD that created it* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, *ſaith* Job.) *Man, I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (ſaith* Job) is ſo excellent as we know him not; *and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the* Matter, *the other of* Form; *and laſtly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion* Ariſtotle, *to make himſelf the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Sectators have maintained it;* Parati ac conjurati, quos ſequuntur Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who lived at once with, or ſoon after*

Wiſd. 1. 9.

Job 26.

Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whoſe Opinions are exquiſitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon,* One Eternal and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the Univerſal.* Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive Mens, ſive Fatalis Neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex, idem eſt quod a nobis dicitur Deus; All theſe mens Lact. 5. Opinions (ſaith *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or Underſtanding, or Deſtiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call *G O D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into, the great* Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophical contemplation and curioſity, in the neceſſity of this Infinite power, all the reaſon of Man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.*

As for others: and firſt touching thoſe which conceive the matter *of the World to have been* eternal, *and, that God did not create the World,* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexiſtente; *the Suppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith* Euſebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere; They ſeem unto Euſeb. de præp. Evang.l 7. c.8. me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; *in ſo much as if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Univerſal. For, were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternal; it then follows, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelf to God, or God accommodate himſelf to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the Work-mans Will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himſelf, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted upon.*

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this matter *hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; I would gladly learn how it came to paſs, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſs, than ſerved to receive the form of the Univerſal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerved to finiſh the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this* matter *than ſufficed, then God did diſſolve and annihilate whatſoever remained, and was ſuperfluous: And this muſt every reaſonable Soul confeſs, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing* out of nothing, *And by the ſame Art and Power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternal* matter, *be again changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Again, to ſay that this matter *was the cauſe of it ſelf; this, of all other, were the greateſt Idiotiſm. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelf at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelf was not; at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it ſelf, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is*

impoſſible. Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neque ſeipſum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it ſelf, neither do bodies compound themſelves.

For the reſt, Thoſe that feign this matter *to be eternal, muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternity. And then had* infinite matter *left no place for* infinite form; *but that the* firſt matter *was* finite, *the* form *which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part, whoſoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madneſs of that kind, as wanteth terms to expreſs it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow;* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for* matter or form; *yea, for as many worlds (if ſuch had been Gods will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the workman's will. Yea, Reaſon it ſelf finds it more eaſie for Infinite power, to deliver from it ſelf a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and duſt, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are* Dioniſius *his words;* Deus in una Cap.16 v. 21. exiſtentia omnia præhabet; *and again,* Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* cauſaliter, *or in better terms,* non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis. *Neither hath the World Univerſal cloſed up all of* G O D: For the moſt part of his works (ſaith *Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his Wiſdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledg all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we ſeldom entitle* G O D *The* All-ſhewing, *or The* All-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.*

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, *inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* [Nothing] *be taken in the affirmative; and the* making, *impoſed upon Natural Agents and finite power;* That out of nothing, nothing is made. *But ſeeing their great Doctor,* Ariſtotle *himſelf confeſſeth,* Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumque infinitum: That all the Antient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite; *and a little after, more largely, and plainly,* Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omni complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange, that this Philoſopher,* Steuc Eug l 3. c. 9. ex Ariſto Phyſ. 3. 20. *with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For, if we compare the World Univerſal, and all the unmeaſureable Orbs of Heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the* Sun, Moon, *and* Starrs, *with* ipſum Infinitum, *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirms of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnen proportionem) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore,* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *and* Empedocles, *call the World Univerſal, but,* particulam Univerſitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Univerſality, and the Infinity it ſelf: *And* Plato, *but* a ſhadow *of God. But the other*, to prove *the World's eternity, urgeth this* Maxime, *That*, A ſufficient and effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted. *Inferring, that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever; to wit, the World univerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to confeſs a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his Concluſion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of natural neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work, matter being preſent: As Fire, to burn things combuſtible. Again, he thus diſputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it ſelf, or by ſomewhat elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to act: But God (ſaith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himſelf, nor by any other; but being always the ſame, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof; and therefore eternal. The anſwer to this is very eaſie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the World for ever, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf ſufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternal; which the* Platonicks *call* Spiritualem mundum; *and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis eſt mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper: retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus: That repreſentative, or the intentional word (*ſay they*) the ſamplar of this viſible world, the firſt work of *GOD*, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of *GOD*, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come; *The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be* a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue; though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point,* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth, That the compounded Eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inſeparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and underſtanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal*

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ,l.18.c.1.

Nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not altogether; but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed, as the ſhadow of a tree in a River, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it ſhall have any end, and to this purpoſe affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, no, not by any reaſon perceived, that the Heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures; it then ſeemeth, that ſome alteration may be found. For either Ariſtotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were groſly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the World, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the* Sun's *heat, neither were the* Seas *under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe Regions ſo ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many Hiſtories of Deluges; and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *divers places in the World were burnt up, by the* Sun's *violent heat.*

Ariſt. Met. 2.
Plin. l. 2. c. 8.
Strab. l 3.
Beda de ratione tem. 13. c 32.
Thom p 1. q.102. art.2.

But in a word, this Obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have ſtood two or three thouſand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of ſubſtance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations ſhould we look for in Celeſtial and Quinteſſential bodies? And yet we have reaſon to think, that the Sun, *by whoſe help all creatures are generate, doth not in theſe later Ages aſſiſt Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, ſuch as the eldeſt World had, nor Mighty Men, ſuch as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of leſs vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proof; as that this World ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.*

And I ſee no good Anſwer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no firſt, *no* Cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible Wiſdom, *but that every* Nature *had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other* Nature; *Why had not the eternal reaſon of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why ſhould Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men ot and die?*

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it *ſhould hang in the Air; that the* Sun *ſhould travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that Progreſs once in every year; the* Moon *to live by borrowed light; the fixed* Starrs *(according to common opinion) to be faſtned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the* Planets *to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other; was it out of Charity and Love, that the* Sun *by his perpetual travel within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sun *have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity; He may juſtly be called eternal Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the* Starrs, *who being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternal Vertues; the* Earth *may be called eternal Patience; the* Moon, *an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But in ſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better; That the* Sun, Moon, Starrs, *and the* Earth, *are limited, bounded, and conſtrained; themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

Now, for Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errors unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World; ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotle's Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphyſicks, *I ſay, that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial: which yet the* Academicks *open better; when they call it,* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soul of the World; *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia *(by which they underſtand GOD)* Dux & Caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all; yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam; He onely can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledg in the doing it.

Ficin. de Plat.

But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſs'd by Ficinus: Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere; ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of means, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of means, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent. *Now, if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſel to begin; reaſon to* *diſpoſe*

diſpoſe; vertue and knowledg to finiſh, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the ſame; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſel, this reaſon, and power;* Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to divine power:* Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay, in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledg and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fiuunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Ariſt l. 1. de Cœlo. c 3. T. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety, monſtrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in tearms. For it is God, that onely diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, veſſels of honour and diſhonour: *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf; Nature nothing in it ſelf. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For, ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearm it knowledg in Fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg in theſe; by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, ſeeing all things work as they do (call it by* Form, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet, becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which alſo neceſſity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reaſon; without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do ſucceſſively perſue each other from the firſt fountains.*

Thus much, I ſay, it is, that Reaſon it ſelf hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur; quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion follows; becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience,* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The Science of* *the*

Lact. l 4. c. 4. de vera ſapientia.

the abſolute good: And another, Scientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſaith* Iſidore) *is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſuaded:* Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſs it, That to enquire further, as of the Eſſence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his ſecret judgment, and the cauſes, is not an affect of Reaſon;* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt; *but they grow mad with reaſon, that enquire after it: For, as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a* French *Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer; *For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoſſible to paſs on further: ſo whatſoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as underſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knows the end of his own Art. For, ſeeing both Reaſon and Neceſſity teach us (Reaſon, which is* pars divini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi) *that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſſity make us know, that the ſame infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthned by our ignorance, becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tells us, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.*

Iſaac de defin

Quod eſt infinitum, & non ſecundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Diſcourſe, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuſe; eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groſſeſt, the unſutable diviſion of the Books, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt Part finiſhed. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of thoſe things, which are ſubject to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſuits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which ſpeak too much, and yet ſay little, ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur; *We are ſtollen away from our ſelves, ſetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I believe as he doth; That who ſo thinks himſelf the wiſeſt man, is but a poor and miſerable Ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of Warr, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelves, to defend them from their ſelves; from ſelf-love, ſelf-eſtimation, and ſelf-opinion.*

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counſel from the Argument. For of the Aſſyrians, *which after the down-fall of* Babel *take up the firſt Part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Poſterity; ſome few enterpriſes, greater in Fame than Faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis, *excepted.*

It was the Story of the Hebrews, *of all before* Olympiads, *that overcame the conſuming diſeaſe of Time, and preſerved it ſelf from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; and yet not ſo entire, but that the large Diſcourſes thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot up here and there in the ſame Time, I am driven to relate by way of digreſſion; of which we may ſay with* Virgil:

Apparent

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appear here and there, floting in the great gulf of Time.

To the ſame firſt Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the Authors Names have periſhed in ſo long a Navigation. For thoſe Ages had their Laws; they had their diverſity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the moſt of needful Trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a general Hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deal of Nakedneſs by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is, that I have alſo made many others; which, if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, ſeeing we digreſs in the ways of our lives; yea, ſeeing the life of Man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of Hiſtory, and of the kinds.

The ſame hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. *Chriſtian Laws are alſo taught us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and every day preach'd unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſſions; yea, the Teachers themſelves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.*

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians *had wreſted the Empire from the* Chaldæans, *and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whileſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the Fortunes of* Greece, *when they again began to get ground upon the* Perſians; *as alſo towards the affairs of* Rome, *when the* Romans *grew more mighty than the* Greeks.

As for the Medes, *the* Macedonians, *the* Sicilians, *the* Carthaginians, *and other* Nations, *who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeveral beginnings, in ſuch times and places as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies, which in the end ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt Geographers; who ſeldom give names to thoſe ſmall Brooks, whereof many joined together, make great Rivers; till ſuch time as they become united, and run in main ſtream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phraſe be weak, and the Style not every where like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf upon the Variety of Matter. For* Virgil, *who wrote his* Eclogues, gracili avena, *uſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of* Æneas. *It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers* Hebrew *words in my firſt Book, and elſewhere, in which language others may think, and my ſelf acknowledg it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that ſome of them I find in* Montanus, *others in* Latine *Characters in* S. Senenſis; *and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my friends. But ſay, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had an eleven years leiſure to attain the knowledg of that, or of any other Tongue;*

Howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might have been more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I anſwer, That whoſoever in writing a modern Hiſtory, ſhall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſs or Guide that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf; and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe, Temper, or Baſeneſs. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardiſe, or both, do yet (when Death *hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt Times; wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and tax the Vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themſelves ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.*

For, I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impoſſible I know it is, to pleaſe all; ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions, but that they ſeem divers perſons in one and the ſame day. Seneca *hath ſaid it, and ſo do I:* Unus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the ſame effect,* Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, ſed tibi; *(or as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an antient Philoſopher,* Satis eſt unus, Satis eſt nullus. *For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince,* Henry, *the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the World without a Maſter; from which, all that is preſented, hath received both blows and thanks:* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. *But theſe Diſcourſes are idle. I know, that as the charitable will judg charitably; ſo againſt thoſe,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farr to fall; and for riſing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldom ſeen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my Readers,* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third Volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never to many courteous Phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe; I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure, to have made my ſelf a Fool in Print.*

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE VVORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and firſt Ages of the ſame, from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preſervation of the World.

§. I.

That the Inviſible God is ſeen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wiſeſt men acknowledg to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity inviſible; an Underſtanding which it ſelf can onely comprehend; an Eſſence eternal and ſpiritual, of abſolute pureneſs and ſimplicity; was, and is pleaſed to make himſelf known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and ſuſtaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be meaſured, and withall, that one, and yet univerſal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a ſhadow of his divine Countenance; in his merciful proviſion for all that live, his manifold goodneſs: and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the World univerſal, by the abſolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightineſs; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, being all but Attributes of one ſimple Eſſence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part diſcern *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order, and variety of Celeſtial and Terreſtrial bodies: Terreſtrial, in their ſtrange and manifold diverſities; Celeſtial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects, we approach to the knowledg of the omnipotent cauſe, and by theſe motions, their Almighty Maker.

In theſe more then wonderful works, God (ſaith * *Hugo*) ſpeaketh unto man: and it is true, that theſe be thoſe diſcourſes of God, whoſe effects, thoſe that live, witneſs in them-

A ſelves;

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* Hugo ſuper Eccleſ. Homil. 8.

ſelves; the ſenſible in their ſenſible natures; the reaſonable, in their reaſonable ſouls: for, according to * S. *Gregory*, *Omnis homo eo ipſo quòd rationalis conditus eſt, ex ipſa ratione, illum qui ſe condidit, Deum eſſe colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reaſonable, out of the ſame reaſon may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (ſaith *Job*) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conſpicere in creaturis*, *To diſcern him in his providence by his creatures.* That God hath been otherwiſe ſeen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the ſmall proportion of my underſtanding, grounded on theſe places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye ſeen his ſhape.* And again, *Whom never man ſaw, nor can ſee.*

* *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifeſtus, omnia autem manifeſtans per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia ſolùm generatorum eſt; nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*
Joh. 5. 3.
1 Tim. 6. 16

And this I am ſure agrees with the nature of Gods ſimplicity, of which S. *Auguſtine*, *Ipſa enim natura, vel ſubſtantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum eſt, id ipſum quod Deus eſt, corporaliter videri non poteſt*; That nature, or that ſubſtance, or by whatſoever name that is to be called which is God, whatſoever that be, the ſame cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen, Cyril, Chryſoſtom, Gregory Nazianzene, Hierom, Auguſtine, Gregory* the great, *Evariſtus, Alcuinus, Dionyſius Areopagita, Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own Word, and by this viſible World, is God perceived of men; which is alſo the underſtood language of the Almighty, vouchſafed to all his Creatures, whoſe Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on theſe large Volumes of the Firmament: written alſo on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all thoſe living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reſide therein. Therefore ſaid that learned *Cuſanus*, *Mundus univerſus nihil aliud eſt, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World univerſal is nothing elſe but God expreſt. And the inviſible things of God (ſaith S. *Paul*) are ſeen by the creation of the World, being conſidered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cauſe preceding then his own Will, no other matter then his own Power, no other Workman then his own Word, no other conſideration then his own infinite goodneſs. The example and pattern of theſe his Creatures, as he beheld the ſame in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, ſo was it at length in the moſt wiſe order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wiſdom diſpoſed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made viſible. And therefore (ſaith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both perſwaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neque enim qui cauſa caret, ex cauſa & origine ſciri, cognoſciq; poteſt, ſed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ ſunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, obſervatione & collatione; vel ex ipſius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cauſe, cannot be known by any knowledg of cauſe or beginning (ſaith *Montanus*) but either by the obſerving and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or elſe by the word of God himſelf.

Origen l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 22. Cyril. & Chryſ. in Job. hom. 14 Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Eſaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. c. 4. Cœl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura inviſibilis eſt, ut à viſibilibus poſſet ſciri, opus fecit quod Opificem ſui viſibiliter manifeſtaret, ut per certum incertum ſciretur, & ille Deus omnium eſſe crederetur, Amb. in epiſt. ad Rom. c. 1. Cuſan. de gen. dialog. Rom. 1. 20.

A. Mont. Nat. Hiſt. fol. 7.

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§. II.

That the wiſeſt of the Heathen, whoſe authority is not to be deſpiſed, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis work and creation of the World, did moſt of the antient and learned Philoſophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expreſt; I mean all thoſe who are intitled by S. *Auguſtine*, *Summi Philoſophi*, Philoſophers of higheſt judgment and underſtanding. *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* calleth God, *Principium univerſorum*, The original of the Univerſal; to whom he giveth alſo the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Neceſſitas, Finis, & Renovatio.* And wherein he truely with S. *Paul*, caſteth upon God all power; confeſſing alſo, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus eſt mundus. Zoroaſter* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to expreſs God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is uſed) *Omnia ex uno igne genita ſunt, All things* (ſaith he) *are cauſed or produced out of one fire.*

Herm. in Pœmand. & in ſermone

Deut. 4.
Heb. 11.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the moſt high God; whoſe remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abſcondiſſet omnia Jupiter ſummus, deinde in lumen gratum emiſit, ex ſacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this ſenſe; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himſelf, working out of the love of his ſacred heart, he ſent thence,* or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wiſeſt, acknowledged alſo one God, the moſt High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator ſummus*, *Plato* calleth God the cauſe and original, the nature and reaſon of the univerſal; *Totius rerum natura, cauſa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid.

Now, although the curioſity of ſome men have found it ſuperfluous, to remember the opinions of Philoſophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain teſtimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; ſo S. *Paul* himſelf did not deſpiſe, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatſoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all eſcape, by way of of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epiſtle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* againſt the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the ſeventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* For, Truth (ſaith S. *Ambroſe*) by whomſoever uttered, is of the holy Ghoſt; *Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu ſancto eſt*: and laſtly, let thoſe kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ ſacris ſerviunt, prophana non ſunt*; *Nothing is prophane, that ſerveth to the uſe of holy things.*

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§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Geneſ.* 1. 1.

THis viſible world of which *Moſes* writeth, God created in the beginning, or firſt of all: in which (ſaith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* ſeek ſome hidden myſtery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to ſucceſſion of time, nor to order, as ſome men have conceived, both which are ſubſequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but diſpoſed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, ſo muſt it follow, that the inſtitution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name ſhall we then call ſuch an One (ſaith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to diſpoſe of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impoſſibility whereof ſcorneth defence. *Nam impoſſibile eſt plura eſſe infinita: quoniam alterum eſſet in altero finitum*; *There cannot be more Infinities then one: for one of them would limit the other.*

de ... l. 3.

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§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Geneſ.* 2. 1.

THe Univerſal matter of the world (which *Moſes* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diverſly underſtood; for there are that conceive, that by thoſe words was meant the firſt matter, as the Peripateticks underſtand it; to which S. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi; quam feciſti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou haſt made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without form. *Peter Lombard, the Schoolmen, Beda, Lyranus, Comeſtor, Toſtatus*, and others affirm that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels.* This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubynus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an errour, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeat of Angels and juſt Souls, then in the former affirmation; for of the firſt, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My ſoul, praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelf with light*: and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *John Mercer* upon *Geneſis*, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubynus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the inviſible or ſuperceleſtial; ſo in his judgment, becauſe it was in all eternity the glorious ſeat of God himſelf, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem Mundum Super-cœleſtem meo judicio creari* (ſaith *Mercer*) *non erat neceſſe.*

Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Gen. Eug. Coſ. & de nat. in corp.

Pſ. 104. 12. Claritas divina non eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata, Apoc. 21. 23. Mercer. in Gen. 7. 7.

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeak of Angels, and of things inviſible and incorporate, for the weakneſs of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of thoſe things which were moſt manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceivable Univerſal: ſo on the other ſide I dare not think, that any ſuperceleſtial Heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelf) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeat of infinite power, no more then infinite power it ſelf can be limited : for his place is in Himſelf, whom no magnitude elſe can contain : Bar. 3. 24, 25. *How great is the houſe of God*(ſaith *Baruch*)*how large is the place of his poſſeſſion ; it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeaſurable.*

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the Cuſan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis. words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs ſupernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, Chaos, poſſibilitas, ſive poſſe fieri.* Which Calvin. in Gen. matter (ſaith *Calvin*) was ſo called, *quod totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; *Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Univerſal*: an opinion of antient Philoſophers long before.

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§. V.

That the ſubſtance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moſes *underſtood in the word Earth : and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is deſcribed as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.*

Moſes firſt nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth ; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed Maſs, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem* ; *To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulneſs.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures expreſt : and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatſoever is under the Moon, and ſubject to alteration. Corrupt ſeeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not ſubject, though ſubject Pſ.102.26. to periſhing. *They ſhall periſh* (ſaith *David*) *and the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoak*, Eſay. 51. ſaith *Eſay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth ; for it is written, *Let the waters* Gen. 1. 9. *under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear :* which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet diſtinguiſhed ; but no way, that the waters were the matter or ſeed of the Earth, much leſs of the Univerſal. *Ini-* Pſ. 104. 6. *tio tu, Domine, terram fundâſti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the Earth :* and again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep* (meaning with waters)*as with a garment*, ſaith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condenſation may become earth, the ſame reaſon teacheth us alſo, that earth rarified may become water : water, air : air, fire : and ſo on the contrary. Zeno. *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aërem in aquam convertit, God turneth the ſubſtance of fire by air into water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the ſame ſtate, in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in reſpect of beauty and ornament. Gul. Pa 600. *Cœlum verò & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodum ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be underſtood according to the Latine tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecifical water ; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to A. Mon. de nat. *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit* ; *For Maim* (ſaith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expreſs it, call it in the Plural,* Aquas, *Waters.*

This Maſs, or indigeſted matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had ſeparated the Earth, and digeſted it from Gen. 1. the Waters. *And the Earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted matter into that form, which it now retaineth ; then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God ſaw that it was good* ; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confuſed ; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God ſaw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta ſunt opera* ; *The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon* ; *Heſiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledg of that Chaos : of which *Ovid* ; Ovid. lib. 1.

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigeſtaque moles.
Before the Sea and Land was made, and
Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature
did abide :
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

§. VI.

How it is to be underſtood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters ; and that this is not to be ſearched curiouſly.

After the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* uſe the word *ſuperferebatur*, moved upon or over : *incubabat* or *fovebat* (ſaith *Hierome*) out of *Baſil* ; and *Baſil* out of a Syrian Doctor ; *Equidem non meam tibi, ſed viri cujuſdam Syri ſententiam recenſe-* Baſil Hexam. *bo* (ſaith *Baſil* :) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a ſpecial likeneſs. *Verbum tranſlatum eſt ab avibus pullitici ſuæ incubantibus, quamvis ſpirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non* Junius. *autem corporali modo* ; *The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a ſpiritual and unexpreſſible manner.*

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat* ; *The Spirit of God did flutter :* the Chaldean Paraphraſt in this ſenſe, *Ventus à conſpectu Dei ſufflabat* : or, as other underſtand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat : The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did* Pſal. 147. 18. *blow upon* ; according to the 147. *Pſalm, He cauſed his wind to blow, and the waters increaſe : but there was yet no wind nor exhala-* Ar. Mont. in ſup. Eugub. in Coſ. fol. 13. *tion. Arias Montanus* in theſe words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id eſt, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans ſuper facies gemini liquoris* ; *The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cheriſhing, quickning and ſtirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the laſt paſſive and material, to wit, *Cauſa*, which is the di- Ar. Mont. natura, pag. 145. vine Goodneſs : *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, ſive erit, Let it be*, or, *It ſhall be. Quæ vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit : Which voice* (ſaith he) *was the firſt that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id eſt, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præſens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens* ; that is, *A certain divine power, or ſtrength every where active and extending, and ſtretching through all, filling and finiſhing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id eſt, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis* ; *Matter apt to becom every thing.* For my ſelf, I am reſolved (*Cum Deus ſit ſuper rationale omni ratione* ; *Seeing God is in all reaſon above reaſon*) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a meaſure be perceived by mans underſtanding, yet the manner and firſt operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or ſpirit, compaſſed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei ſunt non percipit : For my thoughts* (ſaith the Lord in *Eſay*) *are not* Eſa. 55. 8. *your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the world hath not known God himſelf : ſo are his waies (according to S. *Paul*) *paſt finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee*, ſaith Chriſt. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how elſe, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus ſit rebus vel per eſſentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noſter non capit* ; *For how God* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking of his Ubi- Aug. Tract. 16. in John 17. 25. quity) *is in all things, either by eſſence, preſence, or power, our underſtanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque diſtaret, ſi conſilia, & diſpoſitiones illius Majeſtatis* Lact. in Præfat. *æternæ, cogitatio aſſequeretur humana : There would be no difference between God and man, if man's underſtanding could conceive the counſels and diſpoſing of that eternal Majeſty* ; and therefore to be over-curious in ſearching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative ſpirit diſtinguiſhing, gave form to the Matter of the Univerſal, is a labour and ſearch like unto his, who not contented with a known and ſafe Foord, will preſume to paſs over the greateſt River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths : for ſo doth the one loſe his life, and the other his underſtanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumſpectly: we warm our ſelves ſafely, while we ſtand neer the fire ; but if we ſeek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eſchew curioſity : this is true, that the Engliſh word (*moved*) is moſt proper and ſignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatſoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula, Vis cauſæ efficientis, The force of the efficient cauſe* ; S. *Auguſtine* ſometimes taketh for the Holy Ghoſt ; ſometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit*, which is ſometimes ſo taken : or for *virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality : Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it alſo a breath or wind : *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit :* Anaxagoras, *Mentem :* Toſtatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei, The will and mind of God* ; which *Mens, Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi, The ſoul of the world*

world: and in his ſixth Book *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epiſtles, *The Leader of things to come, and the preſence of things paſt.* But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Chriſt our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox ſilet, & non mea tantùm, ſed etiam Angelorum; My mind faileth, my voice is ſilent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels:* ſo may all men elſe ſay in the underſtanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (ſaith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one ſubſtance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed conſubſtantiale illi eſt, quicquid ejus eſt, & quicquid eſt; Whatſoever attribute of him there is, and whatſoever he is, it is the very ſame ſubſtance that himſelf is.*

Nazian: lib. 2. Theol.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, ſeparate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diſtinguiſhed, and which now ſuſtaineth and giveth continuance to the Univerſal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the ſame is it *which maintaineth all things*, ſaith *Solomon*. *If thou ſend forth thy Spirit* (ſaith *David*) *they are created:* And *Gregory*, *Deus ſuo præſentiali eſſe, dat omnibus rebus eſſe, ita quòd ſi ſe rebus ſubtraheret, ſicut de nihilo facta ſunt omnia, ſic in nihilum deſluerent univerſa; God giveth being to all things, by being preſent with all things, ſo as if he ſhould withdraw himſelf from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vaniſh into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expreſt excellently:

Wiſd. 1. v. 7.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentémq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infuſa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid
 Mayn,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole
 maſs,
A mind, which through each part infus'd
 doth paſs,
Faſhions, and works, and wholly doth
 tranſpierce
All this great Body of the Univerſe.

And this was the ſame Spirit, which moved in the Univerſal, and thereby both diſtinguiſhed and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garniſhed the Heavens*, ſaith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their ſpirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and ſubtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigeſted lump, and Chaos, diſpoſed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an element ſuperiour, as lighter then the waters; through whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, Diaphanick, or tranſparent body, the light, afterwards created, might eaſily tranſpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the firſt creature which God called good, whoſe creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chryſoſtom* calleth a vital Operation, *Aquis à Deo inſitam, ex qua aquæ non ſolùm motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vital Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but alſo power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 2

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material ſubſtance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and uſe of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

These Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceive) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proved by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night:* which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were alſo made for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, days and years are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the Day named in the fifth Verſe; was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may Light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or material ſubſtance of the Sun, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing ſenſible, is that light it ſelf, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, Which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelf and all things elſe viſible:) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our ayr. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *Vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſerver, or nouriſher of all celeſtial virtues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubjecto, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubject*, as warmth in the ayr, though the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporal, and ſo doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium; Which neither hardneſs reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaveth.*

Gen. 1. 14.

Lux dicitur, quæ ſe & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. lumine, cap. 11.

Ariſtotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus, Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it ſelf, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſs, becauſe it paſſeth through the ſolid body of glaſs, or other Cryſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by unclean and unpure earthy ſubſtances, leſs hard, and more eaſie to invade then the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Becauſe an obſtacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearneſs of light:* alluding to that moſt divine Light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſs, and humane uncleanneſs.

Pic. de fini.

lotin,

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or School-men, or other antient or latter Writers, that any of them underſtood either it or themſelves therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) have diſputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his own judgment herein, as weak as any mans; and moſt of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then diſcoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wiſdom, then too accute ſharpneſs.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought forth and devoured) reſolved us, whether this light be ſubſtantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they ſay it cannot be, becauſe then it could neither pierce the ayr, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we ſee the ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, becauſe it ſometime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the Fathers ſo eſteemed. Others ſay (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no form ſo excellent as it ſelf to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in exiſtence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both muſt be one of theſe, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkneſs cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light nor darkneſs, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and ſhining. Lucid and ſhining obtain their ſo being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progreſs go on infinitely and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it ſelf, and is therefore the Suns form, and the form of all lucid and ſhining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. ſub. ex. 71.

But in my underſtanding, *Lumen* (which may be Engliſhed by the word *ſhine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Engliſhed by Light; and ſo, this ſhining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be underſtood by example of a red or green colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the Sun through red or green glaſs: for then we perceive the ſame colour caſt upon any thing oppoſite; which redneſs or other colour, we call the *intentional Species*

cies of the colour in that glaſs. And again, as this light, touching his ſimple nature, is no way yet underſtood: ſo it is diſputed, whether this light firſt created, be the ſame which the Sun inholdeth and caſteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

But by the moſt wiſe and unchanged order, which God obſerved in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the firſt day created, was the ſubſtance of the Sun: for *Moſes* repeateth twice the main parts of the Univerſal: firſt, as they were created in matter; ſecondly, as they were adorned with form: firſt, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confuſed; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens diſtinguiſhed from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the ſubſtance thereof in the firſt day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly diſperſed, was in the ſame fourth day united, and ſet in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the firſt day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to ſeparate day from night) were preciſely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wiſdome of God find cauſe why it ſhould move (by which motion, days and nights are diſtinguiſhed) till then: becauſe there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (diſtinguiſhed from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, *&c.* God cauſed the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to viſite every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to ſtir up the fire of generation, and to give acti-
Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1. vity to the ſeeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth ſome goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the ſame to that uſe and end, to which it was ordained; ſo it pleaſed God (ſaith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, diſpoſed thereof, to the uſe and comfort of his future Creatures.

Job 38. 24.9. But in that it pleaſed God to aſk of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans underſtanding; and therefore let it ſuffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treaſure of God* (ſaith Eſdras:) *And thoſe which inha-* *Eſd. l. 1. c. 6. 40.* *bite the Heavens, do onely know the Eſſence thereof.* *Herm.* *Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ ſunt in mundo inviſibili; in mundo viſibili umbræ rerum: Things themſelves are in the inviſible World; in the world viſible, but their ſhadows.* Surely, if this Light be not ſpiritual, yet it approacheth neereſt unto ſpirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the moſt ſubtile and pure; for howſoever, it is of all things ſeen, the moſt beautiful, and of the ſwifteſt motion, of all other the moſt neceſſary and beneficial. For it miniſtreth unto men, and other creatures, all celeſtial influences; it diſſipateth thoſe ſad thoughts and ſorrows, which the darkneſs both begetteth and maintaineth; it diſcovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical ſwiftneſs, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the ſight thereof, our minds being informed of his viſible marvels, may continually travel to ſurmount theſe perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cauſe and Creator. *Ficin.* *Cognitio non quieſcit in rebus creatis; Our knowledg doth not quiet it ſelf in things created. Et ipſa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna ſint laudibus, cùm ſuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (Saith Saint Ambroſe) *that maketh the other parts of the world ſo worthy of praiſe, ſeeing that it ſelf communicateth its goodneſs and beauty unto all.* Of which, *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

Ille ego ſum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.
The world diſcerns it ſelf, while I the World behold,
By me the longeſt years, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Laſtly, If we may behold in any creature, any one ſpark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightneſs, the ſame in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipſa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux ſancta*; and *Chriſt* our Saviour ſaid to be *that Light which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* *Job. 1.9 & 14.4* Yet in reſpect of Gods incomprehenſible ſublimity, and purity, this is alſo true, that God is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profectò non mens eſt, at verò ut ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa quâ ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa quâ lumen exiſtit: God* (ſaith *Hermes* in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a mind, but the cauſe that the mind hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which every ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.*

So then the *Maſs* and *Chaos* being firſt created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, reſolved their thinner parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the Earth alſo by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the ſame divine virtue) *Gen. 1. 10.* brought forth the bud of the herb that ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* And for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it alſo motion and heat, which heat cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeverall *ſpecies*, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times ſucceeding.

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§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Cryſtalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a Firmament in the mideſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters*: that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the Earth and Sea.

But theſe waters, ſeparate above this Extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Cryſtalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayr above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia* *Hom. Nat. iſt. fol. 32.* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*), and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayr, and more properly for the ayr and *Æther*, then for the heavens, as the beſt Hebricians underſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſſis diducta, interſectaque diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groſs matters*: and the waters above the firmament, expreſt in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayr, or in the uppermoſt region of the ſame.

Gen. 49. 25. And that the word Heaven is uſed for the Ayr, the Scriptures every where witneſs; as in the bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104. Pſalm: * *By theſe Springs ſhall the fowl of the Heaven dwell*; and *upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimſtone and fire out of the Heaven*; and in *Iſaa'cs* bleſſing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven*: and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you go to poſſeſs it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven*; and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the froſts of Heaven?* and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they ſow not.* ** Pſal. 104. 12. 2 Gen. 19. 24. Cap. 27. 28. Deut 11.11. Job 38 29. Math. 6. 26.* So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word *Heaven* very oft uſed for Ayr, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us* *Gen. 11. 4.* *build us a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven &c.* And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his own words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem; And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applied to another* (that is to the Starry Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude.* And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not the Heaven, the words of *Moſes* in the eighth verſe, conferred with the ſame word *Firmament* in the twentieth verſe, make it manifeſt: for in the eighth verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verſe he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Ayr; in theſe words, *And let the Fowl flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what uſe there ſhould be of this ycie, or cryſtalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, inſtead of this help, it would add an unmeaſurable greatneſs of circle, whereby the ſwiftneſs of that firſt Moveable would exceed all poſſibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; *but no man* *ought to be held to impoſſibilities:* and ſaith it ſelf (which ſurmounteth the height of all humane reaſon) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which alſo may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reaſon and underſtanding.* Now that this ſuppoſed firſt Moveable, turneth it ſelfe ſo many hundred thouſand miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the Scriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it; for I cannot. But of theſe many Heavens, let the Reader that deſireth ſatiſfaction, ſearch *Orontius*; and of this waterie Heaven, *Baſilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40,41.*&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his ſecond Book and ſixth chapter. For my ſelf, I am perſwaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermoſt ayr.

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§. IX.

A Concluſion, repeating the ſumm of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finiſhing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehenſible eternity. Firſt, he created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three dayes he diſtinguiſhed, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which aſcended; to that which deſcended, the form of gravity: for he ſeparated light from darkneſs, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the laſt three days, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the World: he ſet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Starrs; filled the Earth with Beaſts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fiſh, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themſelves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preſerved.* *Wiſd. Sol. c. 1. 14.*

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§. X

That Nature, is no Principium per ſe; *nor Form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how ſecond cauſes ſhould have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*; the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and faculty, which God hath infuſed into every creature, having no other ſelfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wownd up by a mans hand, hath. Thoſe therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any firſt or ſole power, have therein no other underſtanding, then ſuch a one hath who, looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute virtue to the peece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the virtue of the firſt act, all Agents work whatſoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the mind of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, *&c.* and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infuſed properties, and by men as by ſeveral Organs, ſeveral effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoever, being but inſtruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and diſperſe what they have received from the head and fountain of the Univerſal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumental cauſes together with Nature it ſelf, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether ſilent, virtueleſs, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Naturæ enim, remota providentia & poteſtate divina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſ. Sapientia l. 3. c. 28.* *Per te vireſcunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthful green.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, *&c.* for all His workes in their virtues prayſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expreſs it, ever enrich his own underſtanding with any certain truth, or ever edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelfe-flattery) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the Philoſophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubjaceret, aliquando eſſet inventa; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudie* (ſaith he), *were means to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſdom there to be had. Nam ſi de unâ re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur:* *Cypr. de mente l. 3.* *If the preciſe knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had.* And as the Phyloſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working; ſo were they more curious, then knowing, in their firſt matter and Phiſical form. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not been taught, neither are theſe forms (ſaith a learned Authour) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Again, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſubjectum formarum*, and paſſive, which is underſtood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrary to all reaſon, divine and humane; only it may be ſaid, that originally there is no other difference between matter and form, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kind of rational conſideration. Leaving therefore theſe Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholaſtical diſtinctions wreſt and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prove a falſe eternity of the World, I think it farr ſafer to affirm with Saint *Auguſtine*, *That all ſpecies and kinds are from God, from whom, whatſoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or eſtimation ſoever; from whence are the ſeeds of all forms, and the forms of all ſeeds and their motions; A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, à quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cujuſcunq; generis eſt, cujuſcunq; æſtimationis eſt; à quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confeſs. *For all forms* (ſaith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is alſo the opinion of *Metaph.* *Ariſtotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionyſius*.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diverſly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning Fate or Deſtinie, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that have written thereof, may be ſafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an inevitable neceſſity, and made it more general, and univerſally powerful then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos. *Juven. ſat. 7. 201.*

'Gainſt Fate no counſel can prevaile.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Deſtinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Phariſees, Priſcillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and *Thomas* have obſerved: but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platoniſt. *Plotinus* out of the Aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtial Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Baſil. Eſa. 4. Aug. de hereſ. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 8. 3. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.* *Ptolemie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chryſippus, Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to Fate a binding and inevitable neceſſity; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoq; noſtrum fatus eſt Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are inſtruments of far greater uſe, then to give an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunſet: it being manifeſt, that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the ſame courſe; but that the Stars have alſo their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the baſeſt living creatures, why ſhould we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treaſury of his wiſdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar virtue and operation ; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and ſhadow her duſty face, but otherwiſe for the uſe of man and beaſt, to feed them and cure them ; ſo were not thoſe uncountable glorious bodies ſet in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorn it ; but for Inſtruments and Organs of his divine Providence, ſo far as it hath pleaſed his juſt will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Geneſis*, *Let there be light in* Gen. 1.15 *the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth, that the Starrs are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes ;) but are as open Books, wherein are contained and ſet down all things whatſoever to come ; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wiſdom : which latter part I believe well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withall : Ecclus. 42. ch. 32, *That there are hid yet greater things then theſe be, and we have ſeen but a few of his works.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know ſomewhat, yet in the true and uttermoſt virtues of herbs and plants, which our ſelves ſow and ſet, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant ; much more in the powers and working of celeſtial bodies. For *hardly* (ſaith *Solomon*) *can we* Wiſd. 9. 16. *diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out thoſe things that are before us : Who can then inveſtigate the things that are in Heaven ? Multum eſt, de rebus* Ariſtotle. *cœleſtibus aliquid cognoſcere : It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this queſtion of Fate, the middle courſe is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this ſuppoſed neceſſity of Deſtiny ; ſo on the contrary, we do not rob thoſe beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himſelf conſtrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtial inforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome, were juſtifiable ; of whom S. Auguſtine, *Impia perverſitate in malis factis* Aug. 20. ſuper Gen. ad lit. *rectiſſimè reprehendendis ingerunt accuſandum potiùs Auctorem Syderum, quàm commiſſorem ſcelerum ; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverſneſs urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, then the doer of the evil, is to be accuſed.*

But that the Stars and other celeſtial bodies incline the will by mediation of the ſenſitive appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœleſtia* (ſaith *Damaſcene*) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones. The heavenly bodies* (ſaith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions* ; for the body (though *Galen* inforce it Gal. l. an. ſeq. temp. further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, eſpecially bodies ſtrong in humour, and weak in virtues ; for thoſe of cholerick complexions are ſubject to anger, and the furious effects thereof ; by which they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported, where the Mind hath not reaſon to remember, that paſſions ought to be her Vaſſals, not her Maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſs mind, I am reſolved : For all thoſe which were created mortal, as birds, beaſts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites ; over all which, celeſtial bodies (as inſtruments and executioners of Gods providence) have abſolute dominion. What we ſhould judge of men, who little differ from beaſts, I cannot tell ; for as he that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them ; ſo whoſoever ſhall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himſelf altogether under the power of his ſenſual appetite ; *Vincitur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi con-* Quint. *tempſeris, Fate will be overcome, if thou reſiſt it ; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is abſurd to think, other then as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the body's temper may be effected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipſam movet & nutrit, & auget, & perficit : The light* Aug. li Civit. D lib. 5. *of the Sun* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *helpeth the generation of ſenſible bodies, moveth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them :* yet ſtill as a Miniſter, not as a Maſter : *Bonus quidem eſt Sol, in miniſterio, non imperio, The Sun is good to ſerve, not to ſway* Hex. lib. determ. (ſaith S. *Ambroſe.*) And S. *Auguſtine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora, God ruleth the bodies below by thoſe above* ; but he avoucheth not, that ſuperiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howſoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their operation ; and *Ariſtotle* himſelf confeſſeth, that the Heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies no more then the ſigns of rain and wind do always come to paſs. And it is divers times ſeen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to theſe inclinations. *Eſt in* Hor. li Od. 3 *Juvencis Patrum virtus, In the young Off-ſpring the Fathers virtue is*, and ſo the contrary, *Patrum vitia :* and herein alſo there is often found an enterchange ; the Sons of virtuous men, by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata parente :

A worthy ſon is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as Education doth : for there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up, may faſhion anew and reform them ; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reins being let looſe) the continual fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt liquor : it being equally difficult either to clenſe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of virtue firſt received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned ; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one : for as the ſeeds of virtue may by the art and huſbandry of Chriſtian counſel produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the ſtrength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them ; ſo the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themſelves into weeds, by being ſet in a ſoyl ſutable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Aſtrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terræ naturam ; A wiſe man aſſiſteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoyl.* And *Ptolemy* himſelf confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis Medici, dominabuntur Aſtris ; A wiſe man, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall prevail againſt the Stars.* Laſtly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the reſt of the Univerſal ; whoſe influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Laws. But let us conſider how they bind : even as the Laws of men do ; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death ; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magiſtrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly ; yet theſe Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compaſſion, or bind them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conſcience : the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do ſometimes for cauſes to themſelves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves ; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelf, which his Subſtitutes enjoy ; God being mercy, goodneſs, and charity it ſelf. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught ; *And let us not be led into* Mat. 6. 13. *temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time ; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and Deſires may not make fruſtrate and break aſunder : for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Deſtiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up himſelf therein ; *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.*

And if this ſtrength of the Stars were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures ; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo believeth, *the only* John 17 4. *true God* of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finiſhed the work which thou gaveſt me to do :*) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the Deſtinies or Influences of the Stars, or ſubject our ſouls to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſs then their due : and therefore as I do not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God virtueleſs : ſo I think that we derogate from His eternal and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortal ſouls, which they have over all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures : for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it ſelf, whereof the Suns clarity, and that of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſs, who is the light of light*: But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtiny, together with Providence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call *Prognoſis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledg. For whatſoever our ſelves fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will riſe, and ſet; that all men born in the World ſhall die again; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring, Sommer, and Harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledg the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledg in us bind or conſtrain the Sun to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith *Boetius*) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes*, &c. *but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their own natures.* And again out of the ſame Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all come to paſs of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evil.*

Boetius de conſol.

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the paſt; Knowledg of the preſent; and Care of the future: and we our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles aſſure us hereof; and beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes*, *Orpheus*, *Euripides*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledg the Providence of God; yea the *Turks* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any peril whatſoever, though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelf.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are ſo many, both in general and particular, as I ſhall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (ſaith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the graſs to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beaſts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayeſt give them food in due ſeaſon: And thou ſhalt drink of the River Chearſon* (ſaith God to *Eliah*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowls of the Air, they ſow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them*: Again, *Are not two Sparrows ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred*: And S. *Peter*, *Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you*: *And his judgments are written*, ſaith *David*.

Pſal. 147. 8.
Pſal. 104. 27, 9. & 145. 15.
1 Reg. 17. 4
Matth. 6. 26
Luke 1
6, 7.
1 Pet. 5. 7.
Pſal. 36. 6.

God therefore, who is every where preſent, *Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings preſence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every where preſent, and King of Kings. The example of Gods univerſal Providence is ſeen in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all livings, for their young ones. If Providence be found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Univerſal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Univerſal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum univerſi* (ſaith *Plato*:) *Amor Dei eſt nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac univerſæ machinæ fundamentum*; *The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the Baſis and foundation of the Univerſal.* God therefore who could onely be the cauſe of all, can onely provide for all, and ſuſtain all; ſo as, to abſolute power; to every where preſence; to perfect goodneſs; to pure and divine love; this attribute tranſcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

Jer. 23. 24.
Eſay 42. 8.
1 Joh. 4. 1. God is love.

§. XIV.

Of Predeſtination.

NOw for Predeſtination, we can difference it no otherwiſe, from Providence and Preſcience, then in this; that Preſcience onely fore-ſeeth; Providence fore-ſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to all creatures, even from the brighteſt Angels of Heaven to the unworthieſt Worms of the Earth: and Predeſtination (as it is uſed ſpecially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſalvation properly, in the common uſe of Divines; or perdition, as ſome have uſed it. Yet *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, *Bernenſis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two Cities, and two Societies, uſeth theſe words, *Quarum eſt una, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternum regnare cum Deo; altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reign for ever with God; but the other is to undergo everlaſting torment with the Devil*; for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Deſtinare, eſt præparare*; and of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant Writers, as *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucanus*, *Danæus*, and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour, and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with *Gregory*, who ſaith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reaſon of his blindneſs.* And again, with S. *Auguſtine*, *Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, injuſta eſſe non poteſt; Hidden the cauſe of his Predeſtination may be, unjuſt it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9.
Lomb. l. 1. diſt 39. Thom part. diſt. 23. rn. de obl. de d. g. l. 15. de Ci- Dei.
Cal. in c 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez. in magn. anot. in cap. 9. ad Rom. Danæus l. 3. de Salut. Greg. Mag. Joh. 9.
Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeem to be by Fortune, and againſt Reaſon and Providence.

LAſtly, ſeeing Deſtiny or Neceſſity is ſubſequent to Gods Providence, and ſeeing that the Starrs have no other dominion, then is before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſum Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God*: and *Cuſanus*, *Divini præcepti inſtrumentum*; *The inſtrument of the divine precept*: we may then with better reaſon reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called, *Fortune* or *Chance*; a Goddeſs, the moſt reverenced, and the moſt reviled of all other, but not antient: for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greeks* call her Τυχὴν, ſignifying a relative being, or betiding, ſo as before *Homers* time this great Lady was ſcarce heard of; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterward ſhe grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, ſhe ordered all things; reſiſting the wiſdom of the wiſeſt, by making the Poſſeſſor thereof miſerable; valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh, by making the ſucceſs proſperous: inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her paſtimes: of which *Palladius*, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ eſt*; *The life of man is the play of Fortune*: and becauſe it often falleth out, that enterpriſes guided by ill counſels, have equal ſucceſs to thoſe by the beſt judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune the ſame external figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de Pertinace.
Sen ep 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is ſaid to have uſed to cry out upon Fortune, applying to her a Verſe of *Æſchilus*, *Tu me extuliſti eodem meis (ſenio) perditum.*

Longiſſimè à Sapientia Fors diſſidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen ſimillima:

From Wiſedom Fortune differs far,
And yet in works moſt like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly underſtood) is nothing elſe but a power imaginary, to which the ſucceſſes of human actions and endevours were for their variety aſcribed; for when a manifeſt cauſe could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cauſe of thoſe things, of which moſt men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil eſt ortum ſub Sole, cujus cauſa legitima non præceſſerit*; *Nothing ever came to paſs under the Sun, of which there was not a juſt preceding cauſe.* But *Aquinas* hath herein anſwered in one diſtinction, whatſoever may be objected; for many things there are (ſaith he) which happen, *beſides the intention of the Inferior, but not beſides the intention of the Superior*; *Præter intentionem Inferioris, ſed non præter intentionem Superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (ſaith *Melancthon*) *Quod poetæ Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, *He that ſmiteth a man, and he die, ſhall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he ſhall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath theſe words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we ſay, If he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the ſlipping of an Ax from the helve, whereby another is ſlain, was the work of God himſelf; we in our phraſe attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: and in *Proverbs* the ſixteenth, *The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord:* ſo as that which ſeemeth moſt caſual and ſubject to Fortune, is yet diſpoſed by the ordinance of God, as all things elſe; and hereof the wiſer ſort, and the beſt learned of the Philoſophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witneſſeth for them, gathering the opinion of *Ariſtotle* and his Sectators, with thoſe of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the ſame power which they called *Animam mundi*; *The ſoul of the World*, was no other then that incomprehenſible Wiſdom, which we expreſs by the name of God, governing every Being aſwell in heaven as in earth; to which Wiſdom and Power they ſometime gave the title of Neceſſity or Fate, becauſe it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: ſometime, the ſtyle of Fortune, becauſe of many effects there appear unto us no certain cauſes. To this effect ſpeaketh S. *Auguſtine* in his queſtions upon *Geneſis* the firſt Book: the ſame hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was alſo the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatſoever* (ſaith he) *thou calleſt God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the ſame, differenced by divers terms, according as he uſeth, and exerciſeth his power diverſly.*

Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloq; locamus. Sat. 10. 366.

Exod. 21. 12, 13.

Verſ 5.

Verſ. 33.

Cic. ac quæſt, l. 1.

Senec. l. 4. c. 7.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not ſometimes the cauſes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expreſs ſucceſs; how comes it then, that ſo many worthy and wiſe men depend upon ſo many unworthy and empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and ſo many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected eſtates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partiality of mans affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of our ſelves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: for whoſoever is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcern, and hath withal an honeſt and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or thoſe that govern, endure no other diſcourſe then their own flatteries: then, I ſay, ſuch an one, whoſe virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deſerving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falſly charge Fortune withal. For whoſoever ſhall tell any great Man or Magiſtrate, that he is not Juſt; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; ſhall never be made a Counſeller, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe Prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that is juſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperity; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrary qualities; ſail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Eſtate or the Eſtate's Maſter changeth: Otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attain to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſervant ſlaviſh courſe? Theſe men having nothing elſe to value themſelves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their duſty actions cryſtalline, have yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, *Omnis inſipiens, arrogantiâ & plauſibus capitur*; *Every fool is*

wonne with his own pride, and others flattering applauſe: ſo as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelfe, and ſtudy other mens humours, and obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſs, fruitful) ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to war or contend in vain againſt the nature of times wherein he liveth: for ſuch a one is often the author of his own miſery; but beſt it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Biſhop of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

Ovid. Met. lib. 1. *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.*
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counſel of his Brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſevered body buried*; for, as *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem, (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more fooliſh then for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions?* Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him Machiavel's *two marks to ſhoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he who firſt deviſed to add ſayls to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for it ſelfe, and cannot endure to hoyſe and ſtrike his ſayls, as the divers natures of calmes and ſtormes require, muſt cut his ſayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the reſt, or whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with S. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all.

1 Cor. c. 8. v. 6. c. 12. v. 6.

CHAP. II.

Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THe creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, God ſaid, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeneſs.*

1. 26.

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of Gods works to us known: *Ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greateſt wonder* (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*:) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium, The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature* (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal, and ſpiritual; in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Aſel. & de Dei. leg.

Sanctius his animal, mentiſq; capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera
poſſet:
Natus homo eſt.

More holy then the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Sanctum, quia pars prior immortalis, anima, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which S. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia,*

omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame Verſe, that man was after the Image of God in reſpect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is ſaid to be after the Image of God in reſpect of his immortal ſoul onely: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoul of man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporal, ſo is the ſoul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, ſo but one ſoul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The ſoul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof,* according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe then potentially true, all the Ariſtotelians in the world ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men reſemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Mind there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; and yet all theſe, being of real differences, are but one Mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude diverſe; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thorow and diſſolveth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the Image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, ſo the ſinful ſoul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſin, the perfection of this image is loſt in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howſoever the School-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoever the Fathers conceive; ſure I am, that S. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith: *As we have born the image of the earthy, ſo ſhall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were uſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſs each other; whatſoever *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelf in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* uſeth the word (Image) for both: ſo Saint *James* uſeth the word (Similitude) for both, in theſe words: *Therewith bleſs we God even the Father, and therewith curſe we Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God.* Howſoever therefore S. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make ſome difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inveniri; we confeſs that this image is found in eternity, but his ſimilitude in manners*, that is in the ſpiritual diſpoſitions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainly: *Quaſi verò poſſit eſſe imago aliqua, in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omnino ſimilis non eſt, procul dubio nec imago eſt; As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſs, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeneſs:* which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verſe following, God himſelf maketh it plain; for there he uſeth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguity, in the firſt Verſe of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is uſed again by it ſelf, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeneſs of God made he him.* And this ſimilitude S. *Paul*, *Coloſ.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledg after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may believe S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolmen, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame; for S. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſenſe. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

1 Cor. 1 49.

Jam. 3.

Vt ſupr

Aug. u ſupra.

Verſ. 1

Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that Man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujuſce imaginis particeps; No part in a man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating God image; for God ſaid, Let us make man according to our own image.* But the ſoul alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole Man compounded of body and ſoul. *The body of man* (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his body, muſt needs be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his own objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he allegeth that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synechdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body onely: ſo when God ſaid, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the ſoul of man, and not the body of earth and duſt: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine:*) *Curſed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (ſaith *Philo*;) *God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo; Man paſſeth away in a ſhadow:* Let us then know and conſider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition; for it is both againſt his Nature and his Word; an errour of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, againſt the very eſſence and Majeſty of God.

Zanch de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1.

In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding then theſe groſs Hereticks: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The virtue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came nearer the ſimilitude of God then the figure.* For God is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it ſelf, and (in a word) Goodneſs it ſelf, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelf to teach us, and to make us know of himſelf. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſs? Certainly, not in Dominion alone; for the Devil is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: Neither becauſe man hath an immortal ſoul, and therein the faculties of Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; for the Devils are alſo immortal, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of knowledg and ſubtilty: Neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: For who have rebelled againſt God? Who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owls, yea, even of ſhameful parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Ambroſe*, as touching Dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juſtice and Piety; for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the air) and over the Beaſts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reaſon, as it is the ability of Underſtanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call Man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he underſtood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens, Man that is endued with right reaſon is ſaid to reſemble God*, (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſs God his Creatour, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey: and therefore ſaid S. *Auguſtine* (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente; God made man in reſpect of the intellect after his own image and ſimilitude*; and *Reynerius*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei; Man was made after the image of God, in mind, or, in that he hath a mind,*

Eph 6 12. Joh. 18. 36.

Plat in Cratol.

Oſorius de Juſt. lib. 5.

Reyn. de ment.

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§. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis, The form or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi, the principal ſtrength of the mind*, or ſoul, *cujus actus eſt perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; *whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetual contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa, A divine underſtanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative.* Pœmand. *Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith Cuſanus) *vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum*: De mente Idiot. l. 3. *Our intellectual mind* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion*: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) then the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or underſtanding (ſaith *Mercurius*) *eſt Deus in hominibus, Is God in men*; Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. Lib. 9. c. 5. or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſouls the pureſt; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ, The ſoul of the ſoul*, or, with S. *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, *Quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur, Which followeth after the love of ſapience as her guide* (ſaith *Philo*;) between which and reaſon; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reaſon, is that faculty by which we judge and diſcourſe; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat, id eſt, vivificat*; or, *The ſoul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*; for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoul: and the ſame ſtrength (ſaith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the ſame hath this *Anima*, or mind, or, ſoul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine underſtanding, *Perſpicacem animæ partem, The perceiving part of the mind*, or, The light by which the ſoul diſcerneth: *Dormientum mens, non anima, ſopitur; & in furioſis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that ſleep it is this* (mens, or) *underſtanding, and not the mind or ſoul, which reſteth*, during which time it is but habitual in wiſe men, *and in mad men this* (mens) *is extinguiſhed, and not the ſoul*; for mad men do live, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often uſed for the Soul giving life, is attributed abuſively to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract mind, in ſtead of a broken underſtanding: which word (Mind) we uſe alſo for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and ſometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honeſt mind, or, a man of a juſt mind: ſometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's ſake: and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word (*Mens*) for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledg of principles, which we have without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to be, A pure, ſimple, ſubſtantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion coming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soul* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the image of this underſtanding*, or *Mens*; *and this* (*Mens*) or *underſtanding is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler over this underſtanding, this underſtanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the body.* This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, Zanch. de oper. Dei part. 3. l. 1 cap. 2. *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (ſaith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget Mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata: To exerciſe the faculty of underſtanding, the mind of man* (ſaith he) *needeth no inſtrument, as a mean, by which it may underſtand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of underſtanding. This object are the phantaſms, or the reſemblances of things received from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſie.* But in effect, his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when he maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the object to the underſtanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be underſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the underſtanding. And he addeth, that the reſemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his underſtanding and mind, as colours are to the ſight; whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſy it ſelf is to the faculty of underſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing: and as this is an *Organum*, ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the mind in all her actions maketh uſe of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a moſt grave and learned Diſcourſe in the laſt Reply of M. D. *Bilſon*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, unto *Henry Jacob*. Pag. 185. & ſequent.

Ad imaginem. Dei creavit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum; atque imitari, pro ingenii, proq; auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſe ratione, ſtuderet. Exam.

Howſoever the Truth be determined, we muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the mind it ſelf, by which we live, nor in reſpect of our ſouls ſimply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelves to God *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure faculty, which is never ſeparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infuſion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whoſe words are theſe, *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeque intelligit & diligit* (which alſo was the opinion of S. *Auguſtine*;) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere, ac diligere eum à quo facta eſt*, (that is) *The Mind* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, underſtandeth, and loveth it ſelf; but becauſe it can remember, underſtand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Baſil*; *Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus eſt. Peccatum verò Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortality, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelf, nor in all theſe joyned, by any of which, or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the ſhadow of God, though by reaſon and underſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Original righteouſneſs, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the ſeal of Gods Image (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Eſſential Conſtitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodneſs, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Duſt and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteouſneſs.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) do thoſe that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracy to which they are called, and ſincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; Gen. 5. 23. and all other men ſo long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and ſerve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruiſe and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obſtinate ſins. For the unjuſt mind cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Juſtice it ſelf; The bloud-thirſty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it ſelf; Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoul, together with God: and 2 Cor. 6. 14. to be ſhort, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkneſs, between beauty and deformity, or between righteouſneſs and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common underſtanding, have made us capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodneſs, which the ſenſual ſouls of Beaſts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dure-leſs pleaſures of this Stage-play World, then to become the ſhadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhip of God's Wiſdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſouls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heavens, and thence bring Knowledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-leſs Joy, prepared for thoſe which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creatour, preſerving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteouſneſs, and Holineſs, as ſaith S. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by S.

Auguſtine,

S Ambroſe *Auguſtine*, with whom S. *Ambroſe* joyneth, that by ſin, the perfection of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelf: both opinions by this diſtinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for, either it is conſidered according to natural gifts, and conſiſteth therein; namely, to have a reaſonable and underſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God is more loſt by ſin, then the very reaſonable or underſtanding nature, *&c.* is loſt, (or ſin doth not aboliſh and take away theſe natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is conſidered, according to ſupernatural gifts, namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the natural Image; and this manner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and deſtroyed by Sin.

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§. III.

Of our baſe and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof ſhould yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of the duſt of the Earth, or (according to the ſignification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the ſlime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, ſed ex ghaphar adamath (id eſt) ex pinguiſſima & molliſſima:* Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156. *Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Duſt, God formed and made fleſh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

That, man was formed of Earth and Duſt did *Abraham* acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God, to ſave *Sodom: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I ſpeak, I that am but duſt and aſhes:* And, Gen. 18. 17. *In theſe Houſes of Clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt*, do our ſouls inhabit, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the Job 4. 27. ſudden and reſiſtleſs aſſaults of Death, and Nature aſſureth us by never-failing experience, and Reaſon by infallible demonſtration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and diſeaſes, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, ſorrows, and paſſions: and that (when we are moſt glorified) we are but thoſe painted poſts, againſt which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet ſuch is the true unhappineſs of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our underſtanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vaſſal and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our caſt-away leiſure) the impriſoned immortal Soul, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor periſh with the mortal parts of virtuous men: ſeeing Gods juſtice in the one, and his goodneſs in the other, is exerciſed for evermore, as the ever-living ſubjects of his reward and puniſhment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to ſpend: we plead for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our ſtrength enableth us; exerciſe Malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleaſure, and health, and that Nature it ſelf hateth the houſe of old age, we remember with *Job*, that *we muſt go the way* Job. 10. 11. & 17. 13. *from whence we ſhall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I ſay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conſcience (which Pleaſure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions paſt, and withal this terrible Inſcription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Sun.* Eccl. 12. 14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perſwaſions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promiſed and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and theſe betraying lights, (with which we onely ſee) do neither look up towards term-leſs joyes, nor down towards endleſs ſorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing elſe at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor:*

Nil hoſtes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc ſumus; iiſque periclis
Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam;
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diſeaſes, famine, enemies, in us no change
  have wrought,
What er'ſt we were, we are; ſtill in the
  ſame ſnare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, caſting our hopes on the Peace, which we truſt to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) even a contemptuous laughing to ſcorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Fruſtra ſperant qui ſic de miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur*; Bern. in Pſal. qui habitat. *They hope in vain*, ſaith *Bernard*, *which in this ſort flatter themſelves with Gods mercy.*

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§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcaſs God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul ſpiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men uſe, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as love and fear him. Job 33. 4. *The Spirit of God* (ſaith *Elihu in Job*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith *Rabanus*) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, ne fortè putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formâſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis ſuis inſpirâſſe in faciem formati, ut vivere poſſit & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id eſt, juxta conſuetudinem, qua ſolent homines operari) loquutus eſt: In which ſentence* (ſaith he) *the beggarlineſs of carnal ſenſe is to be avoided, leſt perhaps we ſhould think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet alſo when he ſaith; Thy hands have made me, ſpeak this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the cuſtom which men uſe in working. Quantum eſt periculi his, qui Scripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnal ſenſe?* By this breath was infuſed into man, both life and ſoul, and therefore this (Soul) the Philoſophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat; Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding*, ſaith *Job*; and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according Eccleſ. 12. 7. to *Eccleſiaſtes: And duſt ſhall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) uſually otherwiſe taken in the Scriptures, then for the ſoul; as when *Ste-* Act. 7. 50. John 9. 30. *phen* cried unto God: *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum; Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit:* and in S. *John*, *And Jeſus bowed his head and gave up the Ghoſt*, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and ſoul left his body dead. And that the immortal ſoul of man differeth from the ſouls of beaſts, the manner of creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, *Let the* Gen. 1. 20. 24. 26. *waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beaſt of the Earth*, &c. But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own Image*, &c. and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Gen. 2. 7. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence received life; ſo ſhal they again be diſſolved into the ſame firſt matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlaſting, which God breathed into Man, ſhall, according to *Eccleſiaſtes*, *return again to God that gave it.* Eccl. 12. 7.

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§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digreſſion touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abſtract or model, or brief Story in the Univerſal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the laſt, and moſt excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine underſtanding, by which he might contemplate, and ſerve his Creatour, after whoſe Image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reaſon and other abilities, that thereby alſo he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three ſorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beaſts a ſenſual nature, he vouchſafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the ſenſitive of Beaſts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (ſaith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *Homo eſt utriuſque naturæ vinculum*, Ar. Phyſ. l. 8. c. 2. 1. 17. f. *Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures:* and becauſe in the little frame Greg. Naz. Epiſt. Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terre. of man's body there is a repreſentation of the Univerſal, and (by alluſion) a kind of participation of all the pars there, therefore was man called *Microcoſmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum* Aug. l. qu. 83. 84. 67. retr. l. 1. c. 2. *quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the ſmall and little World:* for out of the Earth and Duſt, was formed the fleſh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpiſh: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which *Ovid:*

Ovid. Met. l. 1. *Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſque laborum,*
Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of
a ſtony nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelf by the branches of veins through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelf, which, ſtirred up by the heat of the Sun, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moiſture, Oyl, or Balſamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overſhadows it, to the graſs, which covereth the upper face and ſkin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring, and unſtable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the ſtalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectual Natures, which are always preſent with God; and laſtly, our immortal ſouls (while they are righteous) are by God himſelf beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, Job 14.18. or righteous (for, *In Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels,* ſaith *Job*); yet, with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is between the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſs in men: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteouſneſs. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Univerſal (man being Ariſt. 10. Met. c. 1. f. the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum,* ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complexions reſemble the four Elements, and the ſeven Ages of man the ſeven Planets; Whereof, our infancie is compared to the *Moon*, in which we ſeem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Deſire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are ſad, and over-caſt, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loſs which can never be repaired, that of all our vain paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, then to hold the riches we have from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we paſs on unto with many ſighs, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſs of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whoſe doors lie open at all hours, and to all perſons. For this Tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, ſpringeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Do promiſe Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:
Nobis cùm ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleep after our ſhort light
One everlaſting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the ſap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerved, doth evermore aſcend or deſcend; ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſs and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſs and diſſolution.

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§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelf.

These be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celeſtial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himſelf, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or deſcribe unto himſelf what he pleaſed, and make election of his own form. Ecleſ. 15. 14. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counſel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſs, brought with them into the World (ſaith *Lucilius*), and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforeſaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the ſenſual of Beaſts, the rational, of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which ſoever he took pleaſure to plant and cultive, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and Fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekneſs to Cruelty, and from Juſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the lively Image of other creatures did thoſe *Antients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to luſt and ſenſuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which alſo S. *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe Prophets, Matth. 7. 15. *which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* by the images of ſtones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which S. *John Baptiſt*, *O ye generation of Vipers*, &c. Matth. 3. 7.

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§. VII.

Of God's ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the Univerſal created was exceeding good.

In this work of Man, God finiſhed the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe; With whom, to will is to make,* ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themſelves: John 5. 17. for *my Father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I work*; but God reſted (that is) he created no new *ſpecies* or kinds Gen. 1. 28. 22. 24. of creatures, but (as aforeſaid) gave unto man a power generative, and ſo to the reſt of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their ſeeds in themſelves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeveral kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whoſe ſimple purity and from ſo excellent a cauſe there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchaſed by diſobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of mans heart, was the Earth afterward curſed, and all creatures of the firſt Age deſtroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with thoſe creatures which the Ark contained, reſerved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the ſeat of Paradiſe is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no marvel that men ſhould erre.

CONcerning the firſt Habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, Gen. 2. 6. Of this ſeat and place of *Paradiſe*, all Ages have held diſpute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among thoſe that have written upon this part of *Geneſis*, as upon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, without all regard of the Worlds Geography, and without any reſpect of the Eaſt and Weſt, or any conſideration of the place where *Moſes* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judg, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding reſpective and preciſe. Others, by being themſelves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the firſt Interpretation; or, truſting to their own judgments, underſtood one place for another; and one Errour is ſo fruitful, as it begetteth a thouſand Children, if the licentiouſneſs thereof be not timely reſtrained. And thirdly, thoſe Writers which gave themſelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo obſervant Sectators of thoſe Maſters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it ſafer to condemn their own underſtanding, then to examine theirs. For (ſaith *Vadianus* in his Epiſtle of *Paradiſe*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate perſuaſi, tranſmittimus*; *We paſs over many groſs errours, by the authority of great men led and perſwaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the underſtanding of this place. I ſpeak it not, that I my ſelf dare preſume to cenſure them; for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum eſt errare.* And to the end that no man ſhould be proud of himſelf, GOD hath diſtributed unto men ſuch a proportion of Knowledg, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelves their own weakneſs: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God never gave the knowledg of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confeſs'd that he knew not, 2 Cor. 12. 2. whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelf acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of Mat. 24. 36. the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (ſaith *Job*)? Jude Ep. v. 2. Job. 28. 12, 13. 4. 18. *But where is wiſdom found? and where is the place of underſtanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore ſeeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houſes of Clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation depended not.

§. II.

A recital of ſtrange Opinions touching Paradiſe.

NOw touching *Paradiſe*, firſt it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *Paradiſe*, or no? or whether *Moſes* deſcription were altogether myſtical, and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe four Rivers *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledg*, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Milk*, Bartol. Sen. l. 1. 141. and

and *Honey.* This Allegorical underſtanding of *Paradiſe* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciſcus Georgius* received (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*;) whoſe frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himſelf doth fully and learnedly anſwer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, *fol.* 338. the laſt Edition.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo leaned wholly to the Allegorical conſtruction, and ſet *Paradiſe* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in noſtro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our ſouls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of *Paradiſe*, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Underſtanding; by *Eve*, the Senſe; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evil, Amb. de Parad. Sapience; and by the reſt of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, upon the firſt of the *Corinth. c.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celeſtial and terreſtrial *Paradiſe*; the one into which S. *Paul* was wrapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chryſamenſis* was of opinion, that a *Paradiſe* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the ſame being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not ſo much as exiſting. To which *Luther* ſeemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* alſo underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two ſeveral places. Firſt, upon this; *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini univerſis animantibus, ſubjicite terram, clariſſimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus conſitam, ſedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& poſteritatis futuræ fuiſſe*; *Theſe words* (ſaith he) *in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly ſhew, that the Univerſal earth, ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and ſeat of* Adam, *and of his future poſterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, Perſ. 26. out of the *Acts*, Cap. 17. *Apoſtolus ex uno ſanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent ſuper univerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradiſus ille erat*; *The Apoſtle* (ſaith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (ſaith he) *was that Paradiſe.* Which conjectures I will anſwer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the River of *Aceſines*, in the Confines of *India.*

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, Bart. 16. 126. make *Paradiſe* under the Equinoctial; and *Poſtellus*, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans alſo for the moſt part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or Sacrament onely, or elſe would have it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or raiſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Air. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both ſick of this vanity, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: ſo was our venerable *Beda*, Bed. in Gen. and *Peter Comeſtor*, and *Moſes Barcephas* the Syrian, tranſlated by *Maſius*. Pet. Comeſt. l. 1. cap. 3. But as *Hopkins* ſayes of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*, Moſes Barc. de Par. *By what evil Angel he was blown up into this errour*; ſo can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who ſo groſly and blindly wandred; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the Prophets, do ſo plainly deſcribe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compaſs upon which it lay, in reſpect of *Judea*, or *Canaan.*

Noviomagus alſo upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradiſe*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beauty aſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it poſſible, that theſe Rivers, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*) could riſe out of one Fountain, vvere it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradiſe Eaſtward, in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward* Gen. 2. *in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made*: and howſoever the vulgar tranſlation, called *Jerom*'s tranſlation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God planted a Paradiſe of pleaſure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleaſure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eaſtward*: it is manifeſt, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For, What ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that he planted a Garden in Pleaſure, or, that a River went out of pleaſure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, *The Paradiſe of Eden*; and ſo doth the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in reſpect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which ſignifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleaſantneſs, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, oppoſite to the Iſle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſenſe of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, ſo called for the flouriſhing beauty thereof; ſo was *Eden* a Region, called Pleaſure, or Delicacy, for its pleaſure or delicacy: and as *Florida* ſignifieth Flouriſhing; ſo *Eden* ſignifieth Pleaſure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleaſure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradiſe* being the choiſe ſeat of all that Region, *Paradiſe* was truely the Garden of *Eden*, and truely the Garden of Pleaſure.

Now, for *Eaſtward*, to tranſlate it, *from the beginning*, it is alſo contrary to the tranſlation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damaſcenus*, *&c.* who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and ſet the word (*Eaſtward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damaſcene*'s own words are theſe, *Paradiſus eſt locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter conſitus*; *Paradiſe is a place marvellouſly planted by the hands of God in Eden, toward the Eaſt.*

And after all theſe Fathers, *Guilhelmus Pariſienſis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, of latter times, do both underſtand theſe words of *Eden* and of the *Eaſt*, contrary to the vulgar Tranſlation; *Pariſienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, directly againſt the vulgar: of which theſe are their own words: *After this I will begin to ſpeak of Paradiſe terreſtrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eaſtward, &c. Poſt hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiſo terreſtri, quem plantâſſe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senenſis*; Moſes *enim clariſſimè prodit, Paradiſum à Deo conſitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem eſſe proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus,* Cham *habitâſſe ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For *Moſes* (ſaith he) *doth ſhew moſt clearly, that Paradiſe was planted of God in a Region of the Eaſt Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Geneſis, where we read, that* Cham *dwelt on the Eaſt border of Heden.* *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualifie this Tranſlation; for this particle (ſaith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very firſt day; alledging this place of Chriſt, that although the Devil was ſaid to be a *Man-ſlayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the ſixth day. But ſurely, as I think (referring my ſelf to better judgment) the Devil was from the inſtant of his fall a Man-ſlayer in diſpoſition, though he had not whereon to practiſe till mans Creation. And for concluſion, S. *Hierom* (if that be his tranſlation) adviſeth himſelf better in the end of the third Chapter of *Geneſis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did ſet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradiſum voluptatis, Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himſelf acknowledgeth, that this is the true ſenſe of this place, preciſely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Poſuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He ſet on the Eaſt-ſide of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) ſignifieth (with) as well as (in) and ſo the Text beareth this ſenſe; That God planted a Garden with pleaſure (that is to ſay) full of pleaſure. But *Becanus* followeth this conſtruction, onely to the end to find *Paradiſe* upon the River of *Aſecines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he ſuppoſeth to be the Tree of knowledg of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradiſe* to the Fig-Tree: which Conceit of his I will anſwer hereafter.

Verſe 16.

Joh. 8.44.

Gen. 3.24.

Now, becauſe *Paradiſe* was ſeated by *Moſes* toward the Eaſt, thence came the cuſtom of praying toward the Eaſt, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built Eaſt and Weſt, as to the point where the Sun riſeth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradiſe* (ſaith *Damaſcenus*:) affirming, that we always pray towards the Eaſt, as looking towards *Paradiſe*, whence we were caſt out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Prieſts and Sacrifices, which turned themſelves in their ſervice and divine ceremonies, always towards the Weſt, thereby to avoid the ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although *Paradiſe* were Eaſt from *Judea*, yet it was Weſt from *Perſia*) and the ſerving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other then this, that we who dwell Weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelves towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have loſt the *Paradiſe* on earth; ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſtery in adding the word (Eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, then to ſhew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sons of the Eaſt which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Perſia*: of which *Ovid*.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathæaq; regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.

The Eaſt wind with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Perſian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his firſt riſing.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern* Nations, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in reſpect of thoſe Nations that followed *Nabuchodonozer*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelf ſtood *North* from *Jeruſalem*, though inclining from the *Eaſt* towards the *North*.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World*, (*à principio*) *id eſt*, (ſaith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the ſame ſignification: *From the beginning and Eaſt-ward is all one*; *à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this ſtory of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. and 9. Verſe, in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meat, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſe-where as in the World at large, and then *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſs'd: *that he might dreſs it and keep it*; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtrial Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expreſſing alſo the Region, out of which this River ſprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is alſo a Country neer unto *Charon* in *Meſopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witneſſeth.

rſ 18.

Verſ. 10.

Ezek. 27. 23.

But to all theſe Cabaliſts, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words; *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons; ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen; ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Trigis, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* Eva *de arbore, non eſt* Adam, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*; *If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no ſuch four heads or branches, and then not any ſuch river, as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates; no ſuch fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* Eve *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* Adam, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath S. *Hierome* upon *Daniel*: *Conticeſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to ſubvert the Truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledg excepted) which Trees *Moſes* in the ninth Verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were Enigmatical or myſtical, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the glory of the Aſſyrian Kings, uſeth this ſpeech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe* therein ſeated, to be terreſtrial: for the Prophets

Ezek 31. 9.

phets made no imaginary compariſons. But *Moſes* wrote plainly, and in a ſimple ſtyle, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and preçiſe in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpoſe, to take away all ſcruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not deſcribed both the Region and the Rivers, and how it ſtood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Iſraelites, and others after them, would have miſconſtrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been ſo often mention made of *Paradiſe* in the Scriptures, if the ſame had been an *Utopia?* For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, Gen. 13.10 (ſometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their unnatural ſin purchaſed) compared to the *Paradiſe* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Iſrael reſembled to the *Paradiſe* of God, before the Babylonians waſted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradiſe* it ſelf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that theſe places had but a reſemblance thereof: being compared to a ſeat and ſoil of far exceeding excellency.

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Juſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moſes* his deſcription of *Paradiſe?* *Gen.* 2. And whence are their praiſes of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of *Paradiſe?* To which alſo appertain thoſe Verſes of Ovid. Met. l. 2. the Golden Age in *Ovid:*

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever laſt,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Heſiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the ſtoln Treaſures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poetical converſions, as if they had been conceived out of their own ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if we find what Region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cuſh*; and that all theſe are Eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the Deſarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical ſenſe of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Chriſt, as in all the old Teſtament throughout: the Story being directly true notwithſtanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradiſo generales ſententiæ: una eſt eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradiſum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantùm (id eſt) Eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradiſum accipiunt*; (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradiſe: the one of thoſe men, which will have it altogether corporal: a ſecond of thoſe, which conceive it altogether ſpiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of thoſe, which take it in both ſenſes*; which third Opinion, S. *Auguſtine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & hujus ſanctiſſimum nemus ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time, both ſenſible, and intelligible; ſo was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.* Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 13. c. 21. Suidas in verbo Paradiſus,

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§. IV.

Why it ſhould be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradiſe.

BUt it may be objected, that it is needleſs, and a kind of curioſity to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no uſe. To which I anſwer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the Story be neceſſary, then by the place proved, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if we ſhould conceive that *Paradiſe* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; from whence, *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could ſeem more ridiculous than the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeat of *Paradiſe* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſhon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the Eaſt *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt:* and theſe two Rivers ſo far diſtant, as

(except all the World were *Paradiſe*) theſe ſtreams can no way be compriſed therein?

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were ſaid to have been in ſome ſuch Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I aſſure my ſelf, that the Chriſtian Religion would have taken but a ſlender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witneſſes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we ſhould relie, or give place to the judgment of ſome Writers upon this place of *Geneſis* (though otherwiſe for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I ſay that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World ſo ſet by it ſelf, and ſeparated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who ſo doltiſh to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, ſhould fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and riſe up again in this our habitable world, and in thoſe places where they are now found? Which leſt any man think that I enforce, or ſtrain to the worſt, theſe are *Peter Comeſtor's* own words. *Eſt autem locus amæniſſimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à noſtra habitabili Zona ſecretus, adeò elevatus, ut uſque ad lunarem globum attingat*, &c. (that is) *It is a moſt pleaſant place, ſevered from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated ſo, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Barc. converted by Maſius. And *Moſes Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque reſponſum volumus, Paradiſum multò ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atque hæc noſtra extet terra, eòque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſſis; eòque impetu impulſi preſſique ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebulliántque in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which have this ſenſe: *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we give this for an anſwer, that Paradiſe is ſet in a Region far raiſed above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to paſs, that from thence theſe Rivers fall down with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſs; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again riſe and boil up in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradiſum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit*; (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſs or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every ſide, as the Orbe of the Moon doth embrace the Moon.* To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous Expoſitions and Opinions do not bring queſtion unto Truth it ſelf, or make the ſame ſubject to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe*, *which God in his wiſdom* appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melancthon* ſaies) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univerſal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt Anceſtor, from whence all the ſtreams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeveral Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelf; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common Reaſon; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightfull Garden.

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§. V.

That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradiſe, nor cauſed Hills in the Earth.

ANd firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Floud the cauſe of thoſe high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other ſtrange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the Floud withered, and grown old, in reſpect of the firſt beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed:) yet if there had been no ſign of any ſuch place, or if the ſoil and ſeat had not remained, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850 years after the Floud, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes*, would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it ſelf were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remain the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to find in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into four branches, we are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelf. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to Gen. 2.10. water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to *Paradiſe*; yet the diviſion, and branching of thoſe Rivers, muſt be in the North, or South ſide of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore theſe Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the Floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered, as future ages knew it not, ſo is there no probability that either theſe Rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new Rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is either by the ſtrength of wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not; rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind* Gen. 8. 1. *to paſs upon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters ſank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſs, cauſed the wind to blow, to drie up the abundant ſlime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanſe the Air of thick vapours, and unwholſome miſts: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore diſſever the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Flouds there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the Waters rather ſtood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeen in his days; which pillars were ſet up above 1426 years before the Floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelf to have lived ſome fourty or fifty years after Chriſt: of whom, although there be no cauſe to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeen. Now, that ſuch pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeen in his days, who lived in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. And if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, ſpeaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge maſs is now to be ſeen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and Merchants report.* It is alſo avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in theſe things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Floud, over which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain Altars of ſtone. And it is not impoſſible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be ſeen, though founded in the firſt age: but it could not be of the firſt City of the World, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Floud was not the cauſe of mountains, but that there were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud overflowed by* Gen. 4. 17. *fifteen Cubits the higheſt Mountains.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus*, ſpeaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, ſermo eſt, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is ſaid, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they ſaved themſelves thereon.* Now, although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were ſaved than eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimony, that ſuch Mountains were before the Floud, which were afterward, and ever ſince, known by the ſame names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark reſted: but untruly, as I ſhall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Floud; on which the Thalmudiſts report, that many Giants ſaved themſelves alſo; but, as *Annius* ſaith, without all authority, either divine or humane.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the Floud did not ſo turn upſide down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this, that Gen. 8. 11. *when Noah ſent out the Dove the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth*, which ſhe had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were diſcovered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might have found them floting on the water; a manifeſt proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor ſwam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium, olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum*, *a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of *Paradiſe* might be ſeen to ſucceeding Ages, eſpecially unto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Diſcovery.

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§. VI.

That Paradiſe was not the whole Earth, as ſome have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of thoſe four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chyſamenſis* being anſwered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for reaſon, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all thoſe that underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the Reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Gen 1. 28. Acts 17. 26. Univerſality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and ſubdue it, Rule over every Creature*, &c. with this of the *Acts*, *And hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, do no way prove ſuch a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his uſe. Now, although all men were of one and the ſame fountain of bloud originally; and *Adam*'s Poſterity inhabited in proceſs of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it diſproveth in nothing the particular Garden, aſſigned to *Adam*, to dreſs and cultive, Gen. 2. 8. in which he lived in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Univerſal; *Moſes* would not then have Gen. 3. 24. ſaid, *Eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the World hath not Eaſt nor Weſt but reſpectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been ſet to keep the Eaſt-ſide, and entrance into *Paradiſe* after *Adam*'s expulſion, if the Univerſal had been *Paradiſe*? for then muſt *Adam* have been chaſed alſo out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradiſe*, that place can receive no better conſtruction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradiſe* into *Paradiſe*, except we ſhould believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in ſo large a field, as the Univerſal, there ſhould grow but one Thiſtle.* *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was impoſſible for thoſe three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World ſo far diſtant) to riſe out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that thoſe four Rivers, being ſo underſtood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appear, that *Piſon* was falſly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falſly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the miſtakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanaſius*, That *Paradiſe* was ſeated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at laſt came toward the Countrey in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hieruſalem*. And certainly, though all thoſe of the firſt Age were of great ſtature, and ſo continued many years after the Floud, yet *Adam*'s ſhin-bones muſt have contained a thouſand fathome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is ſo ridiculous, as it needs no argument to diſprove it.

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§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradiſe as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* ſaith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradiſe* to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotiſſimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradiſe* was far in the Eaſt, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Maſter *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradiſe*, doth not much differ from the reſt, but finds it ſeated next or neareſt Heaven; It may ſeem, that all theſe borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well underſtood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it ſelf, into which the Souls of the bleſſed were carried after death.

Diog. Jaët. Sco. True it is, that theſe Philoſophers durſt not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehenſions) ſet down what they believed in plain terms, eſpecially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end ſuffered death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devil himſelf do him that right, as by an Oracle, *Juſt. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.* to pronounce him the wiſeſt man. *Juſtine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Auguſtine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Chriſtian. And it ſeemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Euſebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforeſaid, meant the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull, and healthfull, upon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reaſon of their ſo many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liv'd*. A further Argument is uſed, for proof of the height of this place, becauſe therein was *Enoch* preſerved from the violence of the Floud: approved by *Iſidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place alſo *Tertullian* conceived, that the bleſſed Souls were preſerved till the laſt Judgment; which *Irenæus* and *Juſtine Martyr* alſo believed. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Council* damned; of which Saint *Auguſtine* more modeſtly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum eſt, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc ſunt, an in Paradiſo an alibi, incertum eſt*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; ſo where they live, in Paradiſe, or elſewhere, it is uncertain.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cauſe, though of all other the weakeſt. For (ſaith he) it was neceſſary that *Paradiſe* ſhould be ſet at ſuch a diſtance and height, becauſe the four Rivers (had they not fallen ſo precipitate) could not have had ſufficient force to have thruſt themſelves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their paſſage through the Earth, and have riſen again in the far diſtant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

Theſe ſtrange fancies and dreams have been anſwered by divers learned men long ſince, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this ſubject; of whoſe arguments I will repeat theſe few: (for to uſe long diſcourſe againſt thoſe things, which are both againſt Scripture and Reaſon, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Anſwerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is firſt therefore alledged, that ſuch a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being ſet ſo near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, becauſe it muſt have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, becauſe the Air in that Region is ſo violently removed, and carried about with ſuch ſwiftneſs, as nothing in that place can conſiſt or have abiding. Fourthly, becauſe the ſpace between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemie* and *Alſraganus*) is ſeventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a groſs account about one hundred and twenty thouſand miles. Hereupon it muſt follow, that *Paradiſe*, being raiſed to this height, muſt have the compaſs of the whole Earth for a *Baſis* and foundation. But had it been ſo raiſed, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, ſeeing it would deprive us of the

Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the Eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which *Cicero Somn. Scip.* dwell neer thoſe fals of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like thoſe that dwell neer the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as feigned. For I have ſeen in the Indies, far greater water-fals, then thoſe of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neer them are not deaf at all. *Toſtatus* (the better to ſtrengthen himſelf) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud* Baſilium & Ambroſium *in eorum ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (ſaith he) *that I ever read thoſe things either in* Baſil *or* Ambroſe.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdom. Their taking up might be into the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For although fleſh and bloud, ſubject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before *1 Cor. 15. 36. 51.* it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *but all ſhall be changed*: which change in *1 Pet. 3. 20.* *Enoch* and *Elias*, was eaſie to him that is Almighty. But for the reſt, the Scriptures are manifeſt, that by the Floud all periſhed on the earth, ſaving eight perſons; and therefore in the terreſtrial *Paradiſe* they could not be.

For *Toſtatus* his own opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but believed that *Paradiſe* was raiſed above the middle Region of the Ayr, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Floud did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men alſo believed; for, ſay they, there were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to over-whelm it:) this is alſo contrary to the expreſs letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction, teacheth us, that *Gen. 7.19.* *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwiſe, then might we aſwell give credit to *Maſius Damaſcenus*, and the Thalmudiſts, who affirm, that there were of the Gyants that ſaved themſelves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the reſt of the School-men are) full of diſtinction, ſaith; That the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the *Exod. 14. 21.* Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not natural, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition, That it was not believed, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Beda* and others ſeem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty ſo reſembled. But this I dare avow of all thoſe School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to ſhift, then to reſolve, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſs that it is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and ſurmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both ſprings and fruits; and the Pagan Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountain-tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blown thence, nor thence waſh'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe Mountains is far under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelf-Hills the ayr is ſo thin (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of ayr to mount her ſelf by.

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§. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeat Paradiſe under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe Climats.

THoſe which come neerer unto Reaſon, find *Paradiſe* under the *Æquinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that there-under might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoil: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the Sun. But this is (*non cauſa pro cauſa*,) for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the Line, becauſe Eden is far from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it (Ganges being one of the four rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctial*, did ſo much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better,

ter, and ſo did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in thoſe days it might be thought a fantaſtical opinion (as all are which go againſt the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neereſt to the Line it ſelf. For hereof Experience hath informed Reaſon, and Time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be diſcovered. Indeed, it hath ſo pleaſed God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that ſuch inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witneſs of mens travails, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitleſs lump to faſhion out the Iſay 45. 1. reſt. For *God himſelf* (ſaith *Eſay*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that theſe hotteſt Regions of the world, ſeated under the *Æquinoctial line*, or neer it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of Eaſternly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconvenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh, and equal, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelf have ſeen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this ayr and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandy parts without trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of ſoils we find alſo in all other parts of the world. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe Regions have ſo many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, aboundance of high Cedars, and other ſtately trees, caſting ſhade; ſo many ſorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with bloſſom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their ſap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* any time deſpiſe her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are theſe Countries called *Terræ vitioſæ*, *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, neceſſity impoſing no induſtry or travel, idleneſs bringeth forth no other fruits then vain thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that, to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe; and (to ſay the truth) all the School-men were groſs in this particular.

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§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden in Cœloſyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Eſa. 37. *and* Ezek. 27.

THeſe opinions anſwered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we diſcover and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficulty of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all Hiſtorians and Geographers, as well antient as modern.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* (*Cyrus* only and a few other excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* deſpiſed, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as thoſe three Monarchies ſucceeded each other: ſo did they tranſform the names of all thoſe principal Places and Cities in the Eaſt: And after them, the *Turk* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things, the antient memory of thoſe people, which he hath ſubjected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two Conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from *Canaan* and *Judæa*; and, that it was of all other the moſt beautiful and fertile. Firſt then in reſpect of ſituation, the next Country to *Judea* Eaſtward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moſes* himſelf when he wrote: and the next unto it Eaſtward alſo was *Arabia* the *Deſart*, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any ſuch Rivers, as are expreſs'd to run out of it: So as it followeth of neceſſity, that *Eden* muſt be Eaſtward,

and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Moſes* named by it ſelf, and by the fertility, and the rivers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* Iſai. 77. v. 12. by *Rabſakeh*: *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have deſtroyed, as* Goſan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden, *which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophecieth againſt the *Tyrians*: Cap. 27. v. 23. *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

But to avoid confuſion, we muſt underſtand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where Cap. 1. v. 1. he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwiſe *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is Strabo. knowen by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlo-Syria*, otherwiſe *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, becauſe the mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides; and border it: for *Cœle* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeek: neither doth this Province lie Eaſt from *Canaan*, but North, and ſo joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, becauſe there is a little City therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Jews* believed this *Cœlo-Syria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*, though, to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, ſaving, That he failed in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſ-underſtood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, (which as *Moſes* teacheth us) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red-Sea; we muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *Goſan*, *Haran*, *and* k 27. 3. *Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo *Ezechiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *The Mart of the people for many Iſles.* And it hath ever been the cuſtom, that the *Perſians* conveyed their Merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Iſſicus*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the onely Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the ſeveral People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exerciſed: *They were thy Merchants* (ſaith the Prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue Silk, and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl*: Verſe 24. and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words: *The Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all pretious Stones, and Gold.* Now, theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yield: and becauſe *Sheba* and *Raamah* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perſian Gulf*, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gumms, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having trade with their Neighbors of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of Spices, & plenty of Gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans*, or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Terredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they paſt to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforeſaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, and which they received out of *Perſia*, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* underſtandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is ſeated upon

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieroſolymitanus* thinks it to be *Cteſiphon:* but *Cteſiphon* is ſeated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that ſide. I mean, on the Eaſt-ſide of *Tygris*; for then were it Plin. l. 8. c. 26. out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon *Euphrates*, where the ſame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Deſart, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Deſart of *Palmirena:* for theſe people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, ſtretching themſelves, from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar*, Weſtward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapſacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates:* which alſo agreeth with the deſcription of the *Sche-* Strabo.l.16 *nitæ* by *Strabo*, whoſe words are theſe: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam euntibus.iter eſt per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore Gen. 11. 31. thoſe that take *Canneh* for *Charran*, do much miſtake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) ſtandeth alſo in *Meſopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it ſelf, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates:* and the Merchants of *Charran* are diſtinctly named with thoſe of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſher, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charran*, which is ſometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the ſame *Charran* of *Meſopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Meſopotamia*; or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word (*Meſopotamia*) importing, A countrey between Rivers: for *Meſos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos, fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it ſelf, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo* in the deſcription of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœloſyria*, to the edge of *Meſopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of theſe *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea*, and the North part of the Deſarts, ſtretching themſelves toward the inhabited ſolitude of *Palmirena*, which lieth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Deſart. So as theſe of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran*, and to *Eden:* and therfore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden*, &c. But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia:* for *Seleucia* was antiently called *Chalanne* (witneſs *Appian*) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne:* of which name there are two other Cities, ſtanding in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almoſt the next unto it (as) *Thelbe-Canne*, and *Mann-Canne*, the one a little to the Weſt of *Seleucia*, and the other oppoſite unto it; where theſe Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of theſe the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain ſeat thereof, that ſo many other Cities did retain a part of the name in ſo many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that theſe additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the Eaſt and the Weſt, or the greater and the leſs *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with Eden, as Haran, or Charran, S. *Hierome* on the *Judges* Judg. 1. ſpeaketh thereof in theſe words: *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ eſt in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way againſt Nineveh) the eleventh day.*

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named Acts 7. 1. Charran (ſpeaking to the High-Prieſt:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the ſeat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craſſus* the Romane, who for his unſatiable greedineſs, was called *Gurges avaritiæ; the Gulf of avarice.* Whereof *Lucan:*

Aſſyrias Latio maculavit ſanguine Carras. Lucan. l. 1. 105.
With Roman bloud th'Aſſyrian Carre he
defil'd.

But this City Canne, or Chalne, is made manifeſt by *Moſes* himſelf, where it is written Gen. 10. 10. of *Nimrod:* *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chaln, in the Land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar:* where *Moſes* ſheweth the firſt compoſition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were ſubject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in

the ſaid Valley of Shinar, or near it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which alſo Eden ſtretcheth it ſelf, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem ſunt* (ſaith *Comeſtor.*) *Three names of one Countrey:* which Region of Babylonia, took name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower of the confuſion of Tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Geneſis*, in theſe words: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they* Verſe 2. *abode:* in which Plain Babylon was built (as aforeſaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatneſs, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that thoſe of *Eden* were alſo the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Iſaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* againſt Jeruſalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fa- Verſe 7. thers had deſtroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telaſſar. But before I conclude where Eden it ſelf lyeth, it is neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe other Countreys, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, thoſe of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Geneſis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cuſh*, &c. *And the Sons of Cuſh were Seba, and Havila and Sabtah, and Raamah*, &c. *And the Sons of Raamah were Sheba*, &c. and anon after; *Cuſh begat Nimrod:* ſo as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the Son of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah:* though ſome there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and underſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea ſide and Perſian gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which poſſeſſed it.) *For* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract Strabo. l. 16. of Countrey, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render themſelves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the beſt Myrrhe and Frankincenſe is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Perſian* gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, ſpoken of by *Ezechiel*, and ſaid to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not onely plenty of their own, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratoſthenes*, *In Perſicæ oræ initio Inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* *Eraſtothenes* (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Perſian gulf, there is an Iſland, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and ſhining Stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cuſh*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin:*) but whatſoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverſe. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and ſo that place of the 72 *Pſalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this ſenſe: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited upon the Out-let of the ſame River, upon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coaſt, and upon it, paſt up the Countrey, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main ſtream, and ſo through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the Weſt and North-weſt: ſo doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt; which Countrey, by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* alſo often uſe.

Thus much of thoſe Counnries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians:* of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar:* for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make theſe things the more plain, we muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death theſe Monarchies were utterly diſ-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the ſecond of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabſache*, the while the Army of *Aſſyria* lay before *Jeruſalem*, that the Cities of *Goſan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the *Aſſyrians*: though by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recovered. *Have the* Eſay 37. v. 12. *Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacherib*'s death, that theſe Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the 2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12. others ſubjection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held *Aſſyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senackerib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Jeru-* Eſay 39. 1. Eſay 37. 38. *ſalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God deſtroyed; the King of *Babel* ſent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Aſſyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himſelf was ſlain by his own ſons in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambaſſa- Eſay 39. 1. dours ſent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* ſhewed all his treaſures as well proper as conſecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conqueſt and ſubverſion. So as, the ſuſpition of war encreaſing between *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Aſſyria*, were employed to bear off the incurſions of the *Aſſyrians*; and their Garriſon-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Junius*, ſignifying as much as a Bulwork againſt the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hieroſolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtory of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* in ſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Book: It is ſeated in an Iſland of *Euphrates* upon a ſteep and unaſſaultable Rock, in ſo much as the Emperour *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, Aſiæ Tab. 4. having *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is alſo found the City of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tygris*; and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezechiel* have ſorted them. But the underſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*,) and *Meſopotamia*, were ſo often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Coſmog. Aſiæ. Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith Niger,) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia took the name of Babylonia.* Laſtly, it appeareth by thoſe adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eaſtward*: that is (ſaith he in his Annotations) *Juſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſtern Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.*

§. X.

Of divers other teſtimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.

And for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeemes by the two Epiſtles of the Neſtorian Chriſtians, that inhabit *Meſopotamia*: which Epiſtles in the year 1552. they ſent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeemes we may have ſome farther light for the proof of that, which we have ſaid about the Region of *Eden* in thoſe parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Iſland of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at leaſt, *Tygris* in both theſe Epiſtles is called the River of *Eden*. This Iſland, as *Maſius* in his Preface to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Iſland, by an eminency.) It hath (ſaith he) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the Iſland *Eden* may (doubtleſs) remain to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called, this name be ſwallowed up with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Iſland of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Moſal* or *Moſel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Vt ſupra. Cities higher up *Tygris*, in theſe words, *Juxta autem Tygrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè*, &c. (that is) *By Tygris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neer unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one*, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Neſtorian Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves*; *Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the City of Moſal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the Iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breſt of *Tygris*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal*, and that antient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *John Lean*, *Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame River of *Tygris*, near *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to find this Iſle of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-Cepha*, which is upon the ſame River of *Tygris*.

The only difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may think, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their Epiſtles, ſpeak not of any Iſle in *Tygris*, called the Iſle of *Eden*, but of an Iſle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more unprobable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimony from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been ſubject to the ſame change, that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Floud called *Shiner*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that antient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athæneus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the ſame being made *Latine* out of the *Greek* by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the antient Copie it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the River which watereth the Regions (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perſia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſs thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Alſo *Stephanus, de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos*'s time, though he ſpake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cælo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe four heads, into which theſe Rivers which are ſaid to water the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being known, *Eden* (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphrates*,

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates: & Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponunt*; *And all men underſtand Hiddekel by Tygris* (ſaith *Vatablus.*) And becauſe that which I have ſaid of the Iſle of *Eden* ſhall not be ſubject to the cenſure of ſelf-invention, I have here-under ſet down the words out of the two general Epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as *Maſius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occaſion of thoſe Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, which inhabit *Meſopotamia, Aſſyria, Perſia, Babylonia*, and have to this day (at leaſt in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no ſufficient authority to chooſe themſelves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Biſhops at the leaſt) ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the year of Chriſt 1552. (as afore-ſaid) a Petition to obtain allowance unto ſuch an Election, as themſelves had made: having three hundred year before that, upon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in thoſe parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous deſire to enrich himſelf, had forborn to inſtitute Metropolitan Biſhops, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelves together to conſult of the Church-government. And becauſe all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one Houſe and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame Stock and Kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignity which his Predeceſſors had held; the reſt of the profeſſors refuſed to allow him. Upon which occaſion, and for the choice of a Governour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelves. The words of the general Epiſtle to the Pope are theſe, about the middle of the ſaid Epiſtle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipſum; ſed ſubitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ ſunt circum civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt, Attur) in vicini â Nineves, ex Babyloniâ, ex Charrâ, ex Arbelâ, ex Inſulâ quæ eſt in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden*, &c. i. e. *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelves out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Moſel (or Attur) neighbouring upon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella; and out of the Iſland which lyeth in the middle of Tygris, a River of Eden*, or rather *out of the Iſle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris.* And in a ſecond Epiſtle at the ſame time ſent, they uſed theſe words: *Neq; ſuperſunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum; ſed ſoli pauci Epiſcopi, Epiſcopus Arbelæ, Epiſcopus Salmaſti, Epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en è veſtigio convenimus in Inſulam, quæ eſt intra Tygrim flumen, Eden; fecimuſq; compactum inter nos*, &c. (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Biſhops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Arbela, the Biſhop of Salmaſtus, and the Biſhop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the Iſland of Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed between our ſelves*, &c.

Now this Iſland of *Eden, Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Neſtorian* Epiſtles, and the ſtate of the Church may be in thoſe parts (ſaith he) the better underſtood. And after he hath diſtinguiſhed the four ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Neſtorians, Jacobites, Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in theſe words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurriſſe aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tygris Inſulam, quæ duodecim circiter paſſuum millibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem fere millia paſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quàm Chriſtianis hominibus habitata*: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarck*, (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuouſly together into that Iſland of Tygris* or *Eden before ſpoken of, which Iſland is ſituated about twelve miles above Moſal, containing very neer ten miles in compaſs, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Chriſtians.* And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian Churches; among the reſt he addeth the Iſle of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta, Inſula Tygris; ſive Geſerta.* Furthermore, deſcribing the City of *Hoſan-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *ſupra prædictam Tygris Inſulam, rupi aſperæ impoſitam*; *Above the aforeſaid Iſland of Tygris, being ſeated on a ſteep Rock.* Of this Iſland of *Geſerta, Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Coſmography, in theſe words: *Geſerta ou Geſire eſt au milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & penſe que c' eſt une terre des plus fertiles de toute l' Aſie; Geſerta or Geſire is in the middle of Tygris, the ſoyle the moſt fertile of all Aſia.*

By this we ſee that the antient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eaſtward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart where *Moſes* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carran* according to *Ezechiel*, and

that *Eden* which is ſeated according to the aſſertion of the ſaid Prophet, and joyned with thoſe Nations of *Reſeph, Ganneh*, and *Charran*, and the reſt which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Aſſyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelaſſar* were garriſoned to reſiſt the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe diſplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and laſtly, the ſame *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of thoſe four, which are by all men aſcribed to *Paradiſe*.

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§. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which ſeemeth to make the four Rivers to riſe from one ſtream.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which ſcruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus anſwered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Tranſlation, ſaith he, hath theſe words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradiſum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius conſentient cum rei narratione, & ejuſdem explicatione, ſi ita reddantur; Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc eſt) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleaſure to water Paradiſe, and thence was divided into four heads:* Which words (ſaith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus tranſlated; *And a River was going forth of Eden* (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleaſure*, in ſtead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleaſure:* and ſo the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region moſt delightful and fertile; and ſo alſo the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it ſelf.

And for the word (*River*) for Rivers, it is uſual among the *Hebrews:* for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that ſeedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree*, &c. Here the *Hebrew* uſeth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and again, We eat of the fruit of the Tree, in ſtead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of God; In medio ligni Paradiſi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*; and he giveth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelf, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this anſwer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reaſon, be given to the objection, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one River, from which the heads ſhould divide themſelves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable paſſages into famous Countries. And ſo we may take the word (River) Verſe the tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe *Paradiſe* to have been) divides it ſelf, and ere long yieldeth four notable paſſages into ſeveral Countries, though not all the way down ſtream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Aſſyria) were up *Tygris*.

To this end the Text ſpeaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riſeth from the River of *Eden*, doth not ſay, it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of *Aſſyria* (as it had uſed this phraſe of *Piſon* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Aſſyria.* The firſt branch *Piſon*, is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Apamia*; whence riſeth the name of *Paſi-Tygris*, as it were *Piſo-Tygris.* This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Suſiana.* The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names ſignifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) alſo *Acracanus, quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the firſt ſeat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea.* The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper ſtream of *Piſon*, or *Baſilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly ſo called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia*, where it ſheweth a paſſage up *Tygris* into *Aſſyria:* where, becauſe at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, ſeeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradiſe* was not far from theſe Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moſes* is *Euphrates*, there can be no queſtion; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tygris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward towards *Aſſur*, as we find, that *Tygris* is the River of *Aſſyria propriè dicta*, whoſe chief City was *Nineveh*, as in *Geneſis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Aſſur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief City of *Aſſyria*.

And as for the kind of ſpeech here uſed in the Text, ſpeaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be underſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diviſion from the firſt ſtream. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith *Ulpianus*) *illud eſt unde aqua noſcitur; ſi ex fonte naſcatur, fons; ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. *If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be ſeparate and divided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelf with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forſaketh the main ſtream, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the ſtrange fertility and happineſs of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was ſuch.

IT may alſo be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us deſcribed, be of ſuch fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the ſeat of *Paradiſe* was: which, if it be denied, then muſt we alſo conſider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleaſure, that it had before the Curſe: neither can we aſcribe the ſame fruitfulneſs to any part of the Earth, nor the ſame virtue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no ſuch flouriſhing Countrey, as it was when it was firſt created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: Firſt, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witneſs, and ſpeaketh of the very place it ſelf; for the Iſle of *Eden* is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from *Nineveh*, and ſo from *Moſal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini ſita erat. Hæc Regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima eſt*, &c. *Where* Euphrates *runneth out into* Tygris, *not far from the place where* Ninus *is ſeated. This Region, of all that we have ſeen, is moſt excellent*: and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax eſt, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is ſo fruitfull in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almoſt four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Seſame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to ſpeak hereof, well knowing, that thoſe things which are reported of this fruitfulneſs, will ſeem very incredible to thoſe, which never were in the Countrey of* Babylon. *They have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the moſt of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

Herod. Clio. l. 1.

To this Palm-Tree, ſo much admired in the *Eaſt-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yieldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which theſe people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger*. But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of thoſe four, which is, that from this ſelf-ſame Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *Eaſt India* they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, *Athanaſius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confeſſeth, ſaying: *That he received a garment made thereof from the* Eremite *himſelf, which he brought with him out this Region*. So therefore thoſe Trees which the *Eaſt Indies* ſo highly eſteem and ſo much admire (as indeed the Earth yielded no plant comparable to this) thoſe Trees (I ſay) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (ſaith *Strabo*) *paſſim per omnem Regionem palmæ ſua ſponte naſcentes*; *There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place, *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campeſtris intereſt inter Tygrim & Euphratem jacens, tam ubere & pingui ſolo, ut à paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, ne ſatietas perimat*; (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of* Arabia *(famous for plenty of ſweet Odours) there lieth a Champain Countrey placed between* Tygris *and* Euphrates, *of ſo fruitfull and fat a ſoil, that they are ſaid to drive*

their Cattel from paſture, leſt they ſhould periſh by ſatiety. Bis in anno ſegetes Babylonii *ſecant*; *The* Babylonians *cut their Corn twice a year* (ſaith *Niger*.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: ſo we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof. His words be theſe in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manſuetis, itemque ſemper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleaſant fruits, and Trees always green*: which witneſſeth a perpetual Spring, not found elſewhere but in the *Indies* onely, by reaſon of the Sun's neighourhood, the life and ſtirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, ſo great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are conſtrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which huſbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the firſt fourty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear ſeed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitleſs. Beſides, thoſe fields are altogether without weeds (ſaith *Pliny*) who addeth this ſingularity to that ſoil, That the ſecond year, the very ſtubble (or rather falling down of the ſeeds again) yieldeth them a harveſt of Corn without any further labour: his words are theſe, *Ubertatis tantæ ſunt, ut ſequenti anno ſponte reſtibilis fiat ſeges.*

Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Piſon, and the Land of Havilah.

AFter the diſcovery of *Eden*, and the teſtimonies of the fertility thereof, it reſteth to prove that *Piſon* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certainty of theſe two Rivers ſhould trouble ſo many wiſe men, it is ſtrange to me; ſeeing neceſſity it ſelf (*Tygris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*, or both, be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradiſe*; which River or Rivers, *Moſes* witneſſeth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Piſon*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a ſtranger fancy in the world, than when we find both theſe (namely) *Tygris* and *Euphrates* in *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſeek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Rivers as far diſtant as any of fame known or diſcovered in the world: the Scriptures making it ſo plain, that theſe Rivers were divided into four branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reaſon, and Experience bearing witneſs. There is no errour which hath not ſome ſlippery and bad foundation, or ſome appearance of probability, reſembling truth, which when men (who ſtudy to be ſingular) find out (ſtraining Reaſon according to their fancies) they then publiſh to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find ſome partakers or ſectators, the better by their help to nurſe and cheriſh ſuch weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this miſtaking (and firſt for the River of *Piſon*) ſeemeth to have grown out of the not-diſtinguiſhing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah* which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Suſiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cuſh*; and *Havilah* in *India*; from *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, the other where *Moſes* ſetteth down the generations of *Noah*, and his Sons after the Floud. For the Sons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan*, that Iſland of *Ophir*, (whence *Solomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoyning, had their names. Now, becauſe *Ganges* is a great and a famous River of the *Eaſt India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the ſame, and is ſituated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Piſon*, which River is ſaid by *Moſes*, to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps, it was ſuppoſed, that thoſe four Rivers named by *Moſes*, muſt of neceſſity be four of the greateſt in the World; whence (ſuppoſing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous River after *Tygris* and *Euphrates*) they choſe out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in theſe reſpects they ſhould rather have choſen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this ſide *India*, for beauty, for nearneſs, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reaſonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be of the four heads, ſeeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tygris*? and between *Tygris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Perſia*, conſiſting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the Eaſt, and beyond *Indus*, are all thoſe ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between thoſe two proud

Gen. 10.

Gen. 10. 29.

Gen. 2. 11.

Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, becauſe it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſs *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little leſs than fourty degrees to the Eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely, whoſoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, ſhall find that there is no River in *Aſia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelf, and the greateſt part of his Army, and in ſailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deep, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be ſwallowed up therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beſides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe *Hirotis*,) *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtream, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, Gen. 2.15. as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſomewhere be joyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: For *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riſeth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountains; ſo as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themſelves in one channel, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Therefore the River *Piſon*, which inricheth *Havilah*, is the ſame which by joyning it ſelf with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Piſi-Tygris* or *Piſo-Tygris*, of *Piſon* and *Tygris*, Gen. 2. v. 12. which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the ſon of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigneſs of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the Loadſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* ſignifieth Pearl: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierom* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Suſiana* or *Havilah*, ſtretcheth it ſelf towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Piſon* was Steuch. Hopk. de Par. *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (ſaith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont*, and all *Aſia* the leſs between it and *Tygris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retain ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-Tygris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquity there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* it ſelf, which dwelleth ſo Poſt. Coſmog. near theſe Rivers, is by ſome writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*: by *Caſtaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; Thevet. Coſmog. Aſiæ lib. and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Piſon Ptolemy* Plin. lib. 5. c. 16. indeed with many others give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharſares*, and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puck-perah*, out of the *Hebrew* (that is) The profuſion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews Parath* (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*:

Ammianus, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilianus* and *Colinutius*, term it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Diglito* and *Diglath*, *Seilax* and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants, *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (ſaith he) ſtream into four branches; two of which keep their antient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon why theſe two Rivers, joyned in one (below *Apamia*,) loſe their names and are called *Piſi-Tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the *Perſian* Sea, as *Tygris*, accompanied with *Piſon*, doth.

This errour, That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broached by *Joſephus*, (whoſe fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierom*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the *Eaſt India* to find out *Havilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa* to compaſs *Æthiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Æthiopia*) faſtned to it on the other ſide, we ſhall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impoſe upon men the tranſportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the Vally of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the Son of *Ham* firſt ſate down with his Sons *Shebah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cuſh* did that Region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the Land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cuſh* himſelf. For as the Sons of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, ſeated themſelves as near together as they could in *India*, ſo did the Sons of *Cuſh* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was firſt *Chuſea*, of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Deſarts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalekites* poſſeſs all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red-Sea. But 1 Sam. 15. 7. this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red-Sea, to *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India*, for *Saul* was no ſuch Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Havilah* muſt be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* waſted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* poſſeſs'd that neck of Country, between the *Perſian* Sea, and the Red Sea; *Havilah* being the extream of the one, towards the Eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the Weſt, leaving that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpread themſelves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the Eaſt-part, or backſide of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*.

§. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cuſh, and of the ill tranſlating of Ethiopia for Cuſh, 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOw as *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India* drew *Piſon* ſo far out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did *Cuſh* (being by the Seventy tranſlated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cuſh* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* conſequently was eſteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopians* are, as much as *black or burnt faces*, whoſe proper See more of this point c. 7. Sect. 10. Country called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopians*, and far South in *Africa*; yet thoſe of *Thebaides* are thoſe ſo often remembred in the *Egyptian* ſtories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or elſe directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chuſites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (ſaith he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the Eaſt, and Weſt: and this diviſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becauſe there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the Eaſt *Ethiopia*.

Now, if it be granted, that *Chuſh*, and the

Land of the *Chuſhites* be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures : *Habitavit Iſhmael ab Havilah uſque Sur, quæ reſpicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios*, Iſmael *dwelt from* Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards* Egypt, *as thou goeſt toward* Aſſyria. Gen. 25. 18. The ſame ſufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River that watereth *Cuſh*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Iſmael*, &c. hath this ſenſe : *Iſmael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Aſſyria*, or the Verſ. 16. Countrey bordering *Aſſyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to ſay, as, The iſſues of *Iſhmael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited all thoſe Regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) ſo increaſed and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearah* the *Chuſite*, 2 Chron. 14 9. which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thouſand againſt *Aſa* King of *Juda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a ſtrange progreſs for ſuch a multitude, as ten hundred thouſand, having ſo mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, between *Paleſtina* and *Æthiopia*. But theſe were the *Chuſites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his Victory took ſome of the Cities of King *Zearah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now, that *Gerar* is a City of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be ſuſpected : for theſe Gen. 10. v. 11. be the words of the Scripture diſproving it : Exod. 17. 8. *And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between* Kadeſh *and ſojourned in* Gerar : Now *Sur* is that part upon which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* firſt ſet their feet after they paſſed the Red-Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* ſet on them, Exod. 10. 19. ſuppoſing that they had been weary, and unable to reſiſt. Again, in the Story of *Iſaac* it is written : *Wherefore* Iſaac *went to* Abimelech, *and the* Philiſtines *unto* Gerar : and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the *Philiſtines* were no *Æthiopians*. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelf, where he deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe words : *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar : for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth, with an honeſt excuſe, ſalve this Tranſlation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* did altogether miſ-underſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homer*'s Eaſt and Weſt *Æthiopia*, they are both found elſewhere : For *Pliny* in his fifth Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of theſe two *Æthiopia*'s. But the Eaſt *Æthiopia* is that which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abiſſines* under *Preſter John*; And the Weſt *Æthiopia* is that which joyneth it ſelf with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra* : for thereabouts are theſe *Æthiopians* called *Perorſi*, *Dararites*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbreth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deſarts thereof, ſaith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, Plin. l. 5. c. 8. *Agrippa* and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter John*, and the *Troglodites*) lie due Eaſt and Weſt. But as for *Cuſh*, and the Region of the *Iſmaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſs herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharaoh*, in the Wars againſt the *Æthiopians* : for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) he tranſporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and ſetteth it in *Æthiopia*, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* Copie, than otherwiſe. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what haſt thou now to do in the way of* Egypt, *to drink the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via* Egypti, *ut bibas aquam* Gehon? To this ſaith *Pererius*, *profectò* Hebraicè *ibi non eſt vox* Gehon, *ſed* Sichor, *quæ ſignificat Nigrum & turbidum : Truly* (ſaith *Pererius*) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the* Hebrew, *but* Sichor; *which ſignifieth black and troubled water*. C. 2. v. 18.

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable argument , that *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Prieſt of *Madian*, Exod. 2. 11. & 3. 1. Numb. 12. 1. whom both the *Greek* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopiſſan*, as (with *Joſephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal Note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red-Sea; for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that *Moſes fled from* Pharaoh *into the Land of* Midian, *and ſate down by a Well*, &c. Verſe 15. And again, in the third of *Exodus*; Verſe 1. *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro, *his father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, *&*. Indeed, theſe four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, becauſe

they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures ſometimes called by one of theſe names, and ſometimes by another; as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25, 27, and 28. that *Joſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh*'s Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinon, who took the *Madianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and theſe were all *Arabians* : and ſo in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandiſe, which they brought Gen. 37. 25. with them, when they bought *Joſeph* : for their Camels were loaden with Spicerie, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix* : from whence chiefly, and from the *Eaſt India*, all the World is ſerved with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their Spices they received from the Eaſt ſide of the *Arabian* Gulf, as aforeſaid. And in the 39 Chapter, it is ſaid : That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifeſt, it is Verſ. 10. written, *Judg.* 6. That when *Iſrael* had ſown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the Eaſt, and came upon them : they of the Eaſt were *Arabians* of the Deſart; ſo as where before in the buying of Verſe. 3. *Joſeph*, the *Madianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; Chap. 7. C. 8. v. 24. and in the eighth Chapter, *v.* 24. theſe Nations are called *Iſmaelites*, and neither *Madianites*, nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* deſired that every man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory againſt *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. ſhekels of Gold, it is written : *For they had golden* Gen. 16. 12. *Ear-rings, becauſe they were* Iſmaelites. And theſe *Iſmaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (ſaith God, of *Iſmael*) *ſhall be againſt all men, and every mans hand againſt him*. Of theſe *Iſmaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though ſome Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe *Iſmaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (ſaith *Joſephus*) uſe poyſon upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Toward the South-eaſt are the *Madianites*, and *Chuſites* : and beyond them towards the Deſarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

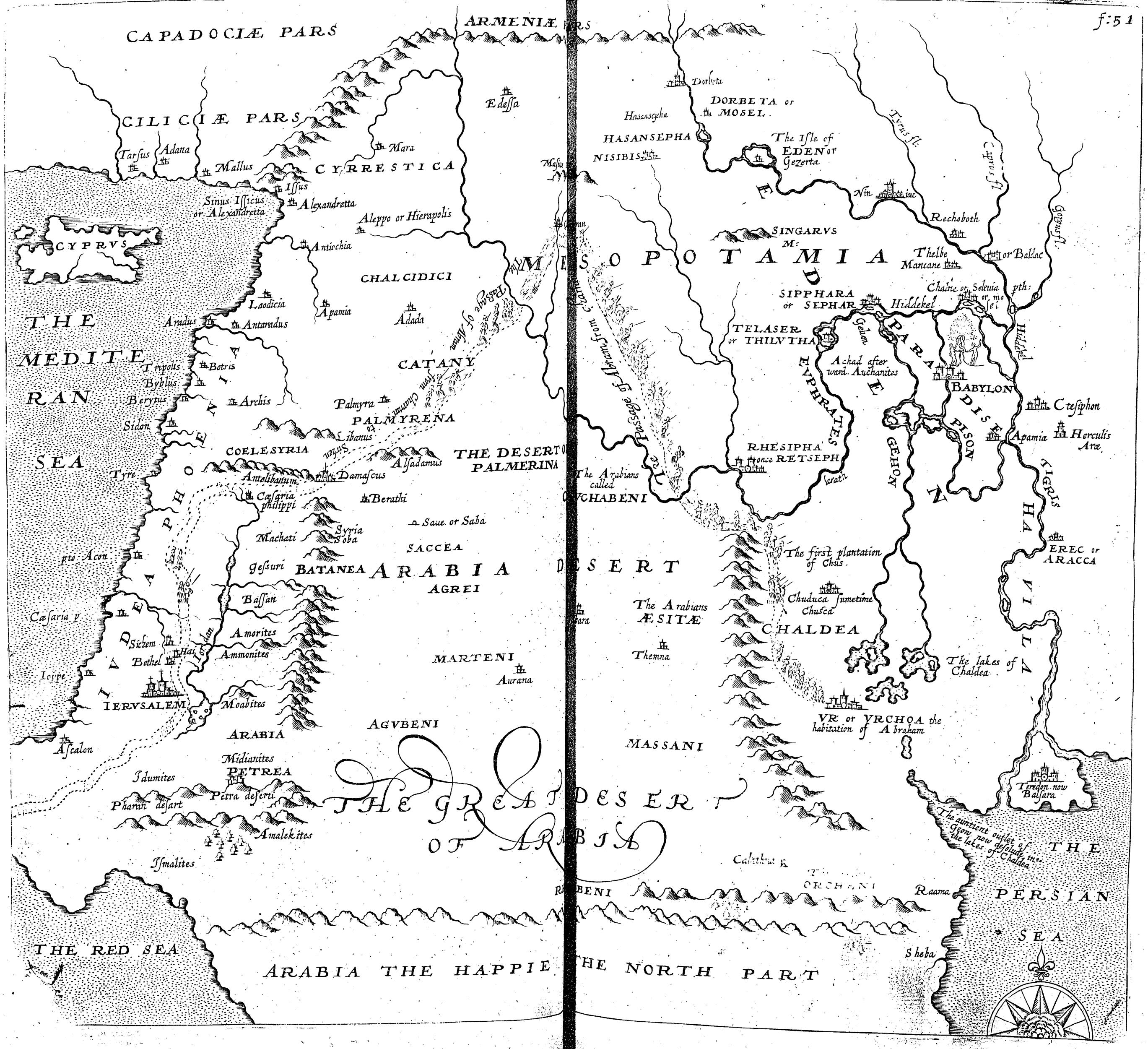
Laſtly, the ill Tranſlation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made muſt apparent in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words : *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram *the ſpirit of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, 2 Chro. 21. 16. *which confine the* Æthiopians; ſo *Hierome* reads it : the *Geneva* Tranſlation hath it, *which were beſides the* Æthiopians. Now, how far it is off between the *Philiſtines* and the *Negro*'s or the *Æthiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* do mixe and joyn with the Land of the *Chuſites*, and are diſtant from *Æthiopia* about two and thirty, or three and thirty degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Sur* and *Pharan* are between them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, ſhould have been tranſlated in theſe words : *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram, *the ſpirits of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chuſites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla ſupereſt dubitatio quin* Æthiopia *in ſacris literis ſit* Arabia *propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey which joyneth to* Arabia. * Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man ſo well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was born Exod. 2. and bred, and wrought ſo many miracles. Beſides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moſes* had told the *Iſraelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradiſe*, they might juſtly have thought, that he had derided them : for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no ſuch *Paradiſe* at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof, except we ſhall believe the *Paradiſe* of *Heſperides*, where (ſaith *Pliny*) there Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 23. v. 3. c. 2. v. 18. was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in ſtead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Iſaiah*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; and yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a River of *Æthiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Iſraelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Æthiopians*,nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*,to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and Eaſt parts, were theſe Nations of the *Chuſites*, *Philiſtines*, *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little kings,or *Reguli*, were diſtinguiſhed in names,according to the Fathers or Heads of thoſe Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North ſide of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlo-Syrians*,with the *Magogians*, *Tubalites*, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themſelves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the ſtrongeſt Cities upon the Sea-coaſt, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others; yea, *Jeruſalem* it ſelf was with-held from *Iſrael*, from the days of *Moſes*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jebuſites*.

That which now remaineth of moſt difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the ſtony, which the *Chuſites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Iſrael*: and in this *Deſart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* loſt himſelf in ſeeking out *Paradiſe*: for he was driven (to my underſtanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon* and *Piſon*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*; for I find none ſuch *In rerum Natura*,as he hath deſcribed: by which Rivers he alſo includeth within *Paradiſe*, even *Arabia* the Deſart.

And as he well proved that *Piſon* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*; ſo where to find them elſewhere, it ſeemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at *Gaza*, and whoſe Springs he findeth far Eaſt in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a ſmall ſtream, riſing between it and the Red-Sea, whoſe head from *Gaza* it ſelf is little more than twenty *Engliſh* miles, as ſhall appear hereafter. But queſtionleſs,hence it comes that many were miſtaken. They all conſidered of the habitations of the *Chuſites*, as they were planted when the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſtood, and when it flouriſhed, being then their near neighbours,and never looked back to the firſt ſeats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his children never reſted, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himſelf, with his Sons, firſt inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-ſide of *Tygris* chiefly on the Eaſt, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Suſiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia-fœlix*. *Nimrod* ſeated himſelf in the beſt of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himſelf and his brother *Mizraim* firſt kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*; and in proceſs of time, and as their people increaſed, they drew themſelves more Weſterly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* paſt over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chuſites* remained for many years after. Now,becauſe there could be no ſuch River found in *Arabia* the ſtony,which they might entitle *Gehon*, they tranſlated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*,*Nilus*. And if we do examine this miſtaking by example, we ſhall the better perceive it as it was. For let us ſuppoſe, that *Brute*,or whoſoever elſe that firſt peopled this Iſland,had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Iſland after his name *Britannia*, it might be ſaid that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in proceſs of time, the ſame *Brute* had alſo diſcovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he alſo entituled by the ſame name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, becuſe the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us ſuppoſe that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the firſt diſcoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*,as he firſt diſcovered; Shall we in like ſort reſolve that *France*,*Spain*, and *Italy*,&c. are no pars of *Europe*, becauſe that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it ſaid by *Moſes* in his deſcription of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chuſites* ſhould, or might in future time conquer,people,and inhabit; ſeeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Maſters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Succeſſours within a few years after,commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* conſumed the memory of *Chuſea*. For of this *Tower of Confuſion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatneſs of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obſcured the name and Nation of his Father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther

Herod. l. 1. and 4.


CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Sinus Issicus or Alexandretta
Issus
Alexandretta
CYRRESTICA
Mara
Edessa
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRUS
Antiochia
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Aradus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
Sidon
PHOENICIA
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Antilibanum
Damascus
Alsadamus
THE DESERT OF PALMERINA
Cæsaria philippi
Berathi
Saue or Saba
Machati
Syria Soba
SACCEA
pto Acon
Gessuri
BATANEA
ARABIA DESERT
AGREI
Cæsaria P.
Bassan
IUDEA
Sichem
Bethel
Hai
Jordan
Amorites
Ammonites
Ioppe
IERUSALEM
Moabites
MARTENI
Aurana
ARABIA
AGUBENI
Ascalon
Idumites
Midianites
PETREA
Pharan desart
Petra deserti
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE GREAT DESERT OF ARABIA
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE THE NORTH PART
Dorbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Ninive
Tyrus fl.
Cyrus fl.
Gozan fl.
Rechoboth
SINGARUS M:
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
EDEN
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
Chalne or Seleuia
TELASER or THILUTHA
Gehon
PARADISE
EUPHRATES
Achad after ward Auchanites
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Aræ
PISON
GEHON
TIGRIS
HAVILA
Passage of Abram from Charran
The Passage of Abram from Charran
Charran
Masius M.
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
The Arabians called CAUCHABENI
The first plantation of Chus
EREC or ARACCA
Chuduca sumetime Chusca
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Balsara
The auntient outlet of Geon now dissolued in the lakes of Chaldea
THE PERSIAN SEA
Cahtha
ORCHENI
RABENI
Raama
Sheba

ther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chuſites* retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soil and Territory, by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in haſt creep through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themſelves (as it were) into one main body and Forreſt. For if we look with judgment and reaſon into the Worlds Plantation, we ſhall find, that every Family ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; and though neceſſity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort and ſuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſible. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate down in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was, to which the greateſt troups of *Noah's* children repaired; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increaſe. The firſt Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The ſecond Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choyce of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelf upon *Piſo-Tygris*; *Ramah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the ſame River, on the Sea coaſt of *Arabia*: *Chuſh* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they alwaies faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A concluſion, by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

But now to conclude this Diſpute; It appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all ſorts, are to this day found in aboundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can moſt vaunt that they have excelled; yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by thoſe pleaſures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no compariſon between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) curſed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may ſafely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Univerſal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, and of Knowledg; Plants only proper and becomming the *Paradiſe*, and Garden of ſo grant a Lord.

The ſum of all this is; That whereas the eys of men in this Scripture have been dimſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our known World: ſome, above the middle region of the ayr: ſome, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, *&c.*) I hope that the Reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the ayr, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*;) Eaſtward, in reſpect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence divided it ſelf into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking waies apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moſes*, the true ſeats of *Chus* and his Sons being then in the Vally of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibility; and this River is a greater ſtranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almoſt as far off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterrane* Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf of Perſia*: the one riſeth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, threeſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a *Chorographical* deſcription of this terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance ſuſpended, until ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made ſubject to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledg, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradiſe*, *In exilium vitæ temporalis*, *Into the baniſhment of temporal life*, ſaith *Beda*. That theſe Trees of Life and Knowledg were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Goſpel) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are ſo volatile as nothing can fix them, and ſo ſlippery as nothing can faſten them, have in this alſo delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (ſay the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural conſtruction, and is to be underſtood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of lives*, becauſe the fruit thereof had a property, to preſerve both the growing, ſenſitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his own daies, but alſo given a dureful continuance to all his poſterity; and that, ſo long, as
Som. Sept. 2.l.1.174. a body compounded of Elements could laſt.

And although it is hard to think, that fleſh and bloud could be immortal, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the unchanged Law of God impoſed on his creatures; Man (notwithſtanding) ſhould have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of moſt Divines) he ſhould have been tranſlated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Floud, the days of men had the long meaſure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and ſoon after the Floud, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: ſo if *Adam* had not diſobeyed Gods firſt and eaſie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longeſt times of the firſt age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chryſoſtom*, *Rupertus*, *Toſtatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adams* fall and tranſgreſſion) *Adam* and his Poſterity had been immortal. But ſuch is the infinite Wiſdom of God, as he foreſaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or elſe, that millions of Souls muſt have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the firſt number wherewith the Earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chryſoſtom* muſt be underſtood of immortality of bodies, which ſhould have been tranſlated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which reſpect many have conceived, that the ſame was not material, but a meer *Allegorie*; taking their ſtrength out of *Solomon*, where Wiſdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the Tree of Life; as out of
Apocal. 2. 7. the *Apocalyps*, *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradiſe of God.* But to this place Saint *Auguſtine*'s anſwer may ſuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, ſo there was a celeſtial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer fooliſhneſs. And ſo in this place, the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt; For *God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the ſight, and ſweet to the taſte; the Tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the Garden:* which ſheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos*, *Heſiod*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, ſteal the invention of the created World; ſo from the Garden of *Paradiſe* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making young*; and *Ambroſia*, *immortality*; and therefore ſaid to be the meat and drink of the gods.

§. II.

Of Becanus *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledg was* Ficus Indica.

NOw, for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, ſome men have preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himſelf the honor to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gueſs at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, ſo there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himſelf. Surely, howſoever his opinion may be valued, yet he uſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the invention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* faſtened on this conjecture above ſix hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himſelf referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Authour *Philoxenus* *Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* uſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* (the firſt Part and *fol.* 48) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-Tree*; of which the greateſt plenty (ſaith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Aceſines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſs of a great Peaze, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) ſome- *Plin. l.12. c. 3.* what bigger; and that it is a Tree, *Se ſemper ſerens*, *Always planting it ſelf*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelf ſo far abroad, as that a troup of Horſe-men may hide themſelves under it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no leſs than a ſhield. *Ariſtobulus* affirmeth, that fifty Horſe-men *Lib. 1. cap. 2.* may ſhadow themſelves under one of theſe Trees. *Oneſicritus* raiſeth this number to four hundred. This Tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceeded all other in bigneſs, which alſo *Pliny* and *Oneſicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which, theſe Authours give ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeat. But it may be, they all ſpeak by an ill-underſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the River *Aceſines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my ſelf have ſeen twenty thouſand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twenty or thirty foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the ſoil) they ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or ſtem: for from the utmoſt end of the head-branches, there iſſueth out a Gummy juyce which hangeth downward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it ſelf a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughs of theſe young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and leſs (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become alſo Trees of the bigneſs of the neather part of a Lance, and as ſtreight as Art or Nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can do. Now, one of theſe Trees conſidered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) ſhroud four hundred or four thouſand Horſ-men, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where theſe Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the inner parts of *Trinidado.* The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, ſhooting alway downward to find root under water, are, in thoſe Seas of the *Indies* where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the Sea, I have ſeen five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oyſters grew on Trees in *India.* But that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus:* This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meat, and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, This Tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God; for no other Tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtem: for among ten thouſand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all but of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *In medio ligni,* are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plural number (that is) *In the midſt of the Trees.* But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*) word for word, Gen. 3. 7. is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it ſelf was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run up and down the Garden to ſeek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe leaves of all other were moſt commodious, Plin. l. 12. c. 5. by reaſon of their largeneſs; which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield:* which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494. *Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
Pentheſilæa *furens.*

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
Pentheſilæa leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* Moiſis *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere, Aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* Moſes, *as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo.* That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam,* to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: *Probibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.* Auguſt. Civit. D l. 13. c.

§. III.

Of Becanus *his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his* Ficus Indica.

BUt in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the Earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s Poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sun of juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the Tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the World moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the bittereſt ſorrows and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little; in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews, and publick oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt peaze; glory, to all the world apparent; goodneſs, to all the World inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly ability ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch Men, and ſuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the poreſt and baſeſt Man, then ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelyneſs, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam,* after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelf withal: this may ſerve to put us in mind of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

§. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledg of good and evil: with ſome other notes touching the ſtory of Adam's *ſin.*

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this Tree of Knowledg of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelf, *Moſes Bar-Cephas,* an antient *Syrian*-Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch virtue or quality, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledg created in *Adam,* as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* alſo noteth: *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phraſe) by the workmanſhip of Gods own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or ſpirit of God; he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods commandment was the fearfulleſt Evil, and the obſervation of his Precepts the happieſt Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſs is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſs: ſo was it with *Adam,* who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himſelf another terrour than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſs of his own guilty ſoul, he beheld therein the horrour of Gods Judgments; ſo as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evil, which could not be expreſs'd. He then ſaw himſelf naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledg, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation by any ſelf quality or effect: for the ſame phraſe is uſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledg, becauſe of the event, as is aforeſaid: ſo was the Well of contention therefore called *Eſek,* and the Num. 20. 13. Well of hatred *Sitnath,* becauſe the Heardſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: Gen. 26. 20, 21. and the heap of Stones called the *heap of witneſs,* between *Jacob* and *Laban;* Cap. 31. 48. not that the Stones bare witneſs, but for a memory of the Covenant. Cap. 28. 19. So *Jacob* called the houſe of God *Bethel;* Cap. 16. 14. and *Hagar,* the Well in the Deſart, *Viventis, & videntis.*

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maſtered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledg then he had perceived in himſelf, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſue do) into the miſeries and ſorrows incident; and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtain by taſting the fruit forbidden: he was tranſported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleaſing perſwaſions, unawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poyſon mankind in the very root, which he moiſtened with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelf periſhed for ever.

Ben. ſem. 2. l. 2. But what means did the Devil find out, or what inſtruments did his own ſubtilty preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to work this miſchief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; ſo as by *Adams* hearkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the expreſs commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the ſubject of labour, ſorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comfort and companion, but not for a counſellor. *But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (ſaid God himſelf) Gen. 3. 17. *Curſed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is alſo to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the moſt ugly and unworthy of all beaſts into whom the Devil entred and perſwaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her diſobedience? even a deſire to know what was moſt unfitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever ſince remained in all the poſterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her perſwaſions? even the ſame cauſe which hath moved all men ſince to the like conſent; namely, an unwillingneſs to grieve her and make her ſad, leſt ſhe ſhould pine and be overcome with ſorrow. But if *Adam* in the ſtate of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, Gods choſen ſervant, and himſelf a man endued with the greateſt wiſdom, did both of them diſobey their Creator, by the perſwaſion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not ſo wonderful as lamentable, that other men in ſucceeding ages have been allured to ſo many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perſwaſions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterfeit paſſion of diſſimulate ſorrow and unquietneſs.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, *and the Floud of* Noah.

§. I.

Of the cauſe and the revenge of Cains *ſin: and of his going out from God.*

THe ſame Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward poſſeſs'd *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelf the firſt Manſlayer, and his Brother the firſt Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murther, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his puniſhment was greater then he could bear. For the ſame offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he deſtroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, Gen. 6. v. 11, 13. *The Earth alſo was corrupt before God*: of which in the ſame place, *Moſes* giveth a reaſon: for ſaith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himſelf made the cauſe known unto *Noah*, ſaying; *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all ſorts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. After this Murther of *Abel*, Cain *went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden:* Gen. 4 in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be underſtood after the literal ſenſe, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed utrumque ſimul*; *God* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; Aug. d Civit. De l. 11. c. 19. And that this is true, *David* witneſſeth: *If I be in Heaven* (ſaith *David*) *thou art there*; *if in Hell, thou art there alſo.* Pſal. 13 8. But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) Cain *went out from the preſence of the Lord*; (that is) *he was left of God, diſfavoured and bereaved of his protection.* Chryſ. in Gen. Hom.

§. II.

Of Cains *dwelling in the Land of* Nod: *and of his City* Enoch.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierom* and many others underſtand to ſignifie Hier. Heb. wandring, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. Joſ. l. 1. cap. 3. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing elſe; and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the Murther committed, juſtly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: Gen 4. 14. *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me.* Now, that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for *dwelling* ſignifieth an Abiding: and we call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and Gen 4. 16. abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt-ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it 17. by the name of his firſt-born, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifyhimſelf againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Chriſt*, and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain* after that he had ſlain *Abel* unjuſtly, had thence-forth no certain abiding in the World: ſo the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never ſince any certain Eſtate, Common-weal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of the *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Deſart is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoever, which in old time lived by Paſtorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Paſtores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Iriſh*: yea, ſuch were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it ſelf, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of Tillage, uſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*; which alſo might be derived of *Carena*, the Countrey of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts, it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, e 23. *Geneſ.* 3. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken:* and in the Verſe following: 24. *Thus he caſt out man*, &c. *and at the Eaſt-ſide of the Garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubims:* which ſheweth that the entry into *Paradiſe* was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of *Paradiſe* which was Eaſtward, according to the Text. *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the firſt of the World, which he encloſed, either for his own defence, or (as *Joſephus* writeth) to oppreſs others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am reſolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* uſeth of himſelf, it ſeemethby the percloſe of the ſame Verſe, that (Vagabond) is therein underſtood for ſuch an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *For whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the favour of God.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the City of *Henoch*, were the firſt ſociety and civil aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe People (either for cruelty, ſtrength, or other actions) lived in memory of *Noah* and his Sons: ſo that after the Floud (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome vertuouſly, ſome impiouſly diſpoſed, and every active mind ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe People, which delighted in cruelty and oppreſſion, took on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe *Henochians* were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelf, where *Henoch* ſtood before the Floud, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the pillars or foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occaſion to the Planters of that place, to call themſelves by the ſame name: for of thoſe *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the ſame name many mountains, as thoſe which are otherwiſe call'd *Coraxici*. And ſeeing that it is hard tofind out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the counſel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith ſatisfie our ſelves, if of ſo great, and almoſt worn-out Antiquity, of the eldeſt Peoples names and nations, there remain any print or footſteps to Poſterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur: nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Senec. ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find thoſe *Henochei*, deſcribed, though diverſly written: as in

* Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. 8. Strab. l. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37.

Pliny, ſometimes *Henochii*; in *Mela*, *Enochii*; in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*; in *Lucan*, *Eniochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of theſe are on the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*, or (according to *Moſes* words) Eaſtward from *Eden*. For *Moſes*, in all places where he deſcribeth any Region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometimes he uſeth the word Eaſt or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eaſtward, or Southward, or towards the Eaſt or South. In the place of *Geneſis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (Eaſt) ſimply and directly. *And as*
Verſe 2. *they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain*, he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining ſome one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the Eaſt.

But, as we may conjecture that theſe Nations took name of *Henoch* the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was re-peopled after the Floud: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the firſt of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: becauſe, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then been ſeated North, and not Eaſt or Eaſtward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, ſo afterwards he goeth on Eaſtward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth theſe of *Colchis* (now, *Mengrelia*)
Plin. l 6. c. 4, 5. Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3. *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolemy*, *Zani*; beyond which an hundred & fifty mile Eaſtward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond theſe he again diſcovereth a third Nation, from whence all the reſt took beginning, which inhabited on the Weſt ſide of the mountains of *Paro-paniſus*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North ſide; and theſe *Henochii* are due Eaſt from the Region of *Eden*, and Eaſtward from the very Garden it ſelf.

And although we cannot be aſſured that theſe *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet becauſe they inhabited due Eaſt from *Paradiſe*, and afterwards ſpread themſelves Weſtward (as all *Noah*'s Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annias* the Frier, who ſets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moſes* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden*, being directly Weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeveral Nations of the
Steph. de Vrb. *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the ſame alſo in the Eaſt, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the ſame name. Onely the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things elſe) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which ſignifieth Cart or Coach-men, make theſe Nations to have ſprung from the Waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the interprize of *Jaſon* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jaſon*, with other *Greeks*, ranged the coaſts of *Aſia* the leſs, in an open Boat or kind of ſmall Gally,* of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the moſt part Poetical; and withall, that in ſuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was no place, and leſs uſe, of Coach-horſes or Waggoners.

Nat. Com calleth them Rh cas.
Nat. com. l. 8. c. 9. Strab l. 1

* In the ſecond Book of this firſt part, Cap. 13. Sect

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§. III.

Of Moſes *his omitting ſundry things concerning* Cain's *Generation.*

BUt of the remembrance and teſtimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may ſuffice: Now it followeth to anſwer ſome few Objections againſt certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Geneſis*: againſt which, for the firſt, it is demanded, How it was poſſible for *Cain* (having no other aſſiſtance than his Son *Henoch*) to perform ſuch a Work as the building of a City, ſeeing there is thereto required ſo many hands, and ſo great a maſs of all ſorts of materials? To which it is anſwered, that we are firſt to conſider, That of *Cain* (becauſe he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moſes* uſeth no ample declaration; and ſo it beſt agreeth with his divine Reaſon, ſeeing that he containeth the whole Story of the firſt Race, which laſted, by the leaſt account, 1656. years, in five ſhort Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakeſt reaſon, That ſeeing it pleaſed God to beſtow on the firſt generations of mens lives ſo long a meaſure as 800. and 900. years, that in ſuch a ſpace *Cain* had not want of leiſure and means to build many ſuch Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity anſwering to what other of the World ſoever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the Scriptures are ſilent: as of whoſe times, and the times of his iſſues, *Moſes* had the leaſt care. And as it is ſaid of *Cain*, that he built a City: ſo it was ſaid of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the proceſs of time required, is to be underſtood: which advice, ſeeing *Moſes* uſeth where the ſpace leſs requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reaſonable men, we may eaſily underſtand, that ſuch was his meaning alſo in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he ſpake it in this ſort, *Fuit autem poſt dies multos*, or *à fine dierum* (that is) in proceſs of time, *it came to paſs that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like ſort to be underſtood of *Cain*, that many years foregone, and when his people were increaſed, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, ſo of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he imployed in that
2King. 16. Work 150000. labourers: for this phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelves to ſay, the King invaded, when he cauſed an invaſion to be made: and he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therefore ſeeing that we find that *Moſes* had no regard to the ages, birth, or death of any of *Cain*'s iſſues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he alſo paſſeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumſtance: for of *Cain*, *Moſes*
Gen. 4. 17. writeth in this manner: *Cain alſo knew his wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city af-*
18. *ter the name of his Son Henoch. And to Henoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methuſael, and Methuſael Lamech.*

Now, of *Seth*, *Moſes* writeth far other-
5. v. 5. wiſe, and in this manner. *And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch* 807. *years, and begat Sons and Daughters: ſo as all the days of Seth were* 912. *years, and he dyed*: as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in *Libro viventium*, ſaith *Cyril.* But in *Seth* was the Church of God eſtabliſhed; from whom Chriſt deſcended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforeſaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 *Cain.*
3 *Henoch.*
4 *Irad.*
5 *Mehujael.*
6 *Methuſael.*
7 *Lamech*, who by *Adah* had
8 *Jubal*, and *Tubal*; and by *Silla*, *Tubal-Cain* and *Noema.*

I. ADAM.

2 *Seth.*
3 *Enoſh.*
4 *Cainan.*
5 *Mahaleel.*
6 *Jared.*
7 *Henoch.*
8 *Methuſalem.*
9 *Lamech*, and
10 *Noah.*

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Joſephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, *Ada* and *Sylla*: and to theſe three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the invention of Paſtorage, of Muſick, and the working in Metal; for it ſeemeth that *Jubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves: *Tubal* Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22. invented Muſick, and *Tubal-Cain* the working in Braſs and Iron: the one being addicted to Huſbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleneſs and pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the iſſues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Aſtronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

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§. IV.

Of the diverſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second ſcruple hath been made, How it came to paſs that the Patriarchs begat their children at ſo divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and five years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: *Methuſalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methuſalem*, or *Lamech* abſtained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the Generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt-begotten and eldeſt Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-born of *Me-*

thuſalem, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though theſe three were onely named, and ſurviving, and which by God were reſerved to be the Fathers of mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten years, who was the firſt Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* onely, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah*, as aforeſaid. Of this Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei.*

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt Sons, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the Evangeliſt *Mat.* 1. 2. nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is Chriſt derived from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *David* a younger Son of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly, we find, that the Kingdom it ſelf of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to *1 Kings* 2. the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon*.

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§. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and ſome of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of years between thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well neer ſeen a thouſand years, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-Ages, ſeeing that ſoon after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time; and in ſucceeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

Sol. Pol. hiſt. c. 3. *Macrob. Satur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *Plin l.* 7. *c.* 48. They that have hereon reſolved that thoſe years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the year of his life an hnndred and five, if thoſe years be taken but for moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one moneth when he begat *Enoſh*: and if the time of *Enoſh* have the ſame allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time have been but ſix years and fourty eight weeks old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at ſix, ſeven, or eight years, agreeth with the ſhort lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the ſtrong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that thoſe which lived longeſt, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourſcore and ten and odd years; which were not only leſs by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but ſhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourſcore, and ſome an hundred years. Further (if need be) to diſprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former accompt were of Lunary years) makes but ſeventeen and an half of our years.

And if we ſeek for a cauſe of this long life in Nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equal ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſity ſpring up the faireſt and fruitfulleſt plants. Secondly, the Earth it ſelf was then much leſs corrupt; which yielded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmful quality, as ſince that time the curſe of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Floud infuſed ſuch an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of ſtrength, and another of weakneſs, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: ſo Time it ſelf (under the deathful ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themſelves, being of a moſt pure and cleanſed matter, ſhall wax old as a garment; *Pſal.* 10 *v.* 26.

and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the ſuperiour.

But beſides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and ſimplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the Milk of a ſtrange Dugge; an unnatural curioſity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend unto them: The haſty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelf hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintain her own top; and ſuch half-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxuriouſneſs of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſs Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal. 4. —— *O Prodiga rerum*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu;
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum.
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâque bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis, fluviuſque, Cereſque.

O waſtfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and
ſent;
Vain-glory of a Table ſumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preſerved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to
carouſe,
But with the Brook the peoples thirſt is
ſerved;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not
ſterved.

Pier. Hierog. l. 2. The Egyptians affirm, that the longeſt time of man's life is an hundred years, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty years, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Beroſus* to an hundred and ſeventeen years. Theſe opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Pliny*) four and fifty perſons of an hundred years of age: *Plin. l.* 7. *c.* 49. ſeven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and ſeven and thirty years old: and laſt of all, three men of an hundred and fourty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpatian* the Father, and the Son.

The ſimple diet and temperate life of the *Eſſæans*, gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Perſian* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm *Joſ. ant. l.* 13 *c.* 8. out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three Ages, *Plin. l* 7. *c.* 48. and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſs *Aſia*, little leſs: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia*, many lived three hundred years (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that ſome of them lived full two hundred years; and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelf; as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius Hecatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* preſented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old Counteſs of *Deſmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who lived in the year 1589. and many years ſince, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munſter* can witneſs: *Strozzius Sicogna*, out of *Torquemada*, *Maffæus*, and the like Authours, telleth of ſome that have not onely farr exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe days wherein *Galen* the Phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ſtrong

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate uſe of diet, pleaſure, and reſt: for thoſe which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring ſtone, cannot ſtand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every inſtant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppreſs and overcharge Nature, maketh her to ſink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good conſtitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate uſe of thoſe things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

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§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledg by Tradition: and that Enoch *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth ſcruple hath been made, How the certain knowledg of the Creation came to *Moſes*, ſeeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any ſuch had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity periſhed in the Univerſal Floud.

But if we conſider the curioſity and policy of elder Ages, we ſhall find, that knowledg was the greateſt treaſure that men ſought for, and which they alſo covered and hid from the vulgar ſort, as Jewels of ineſtimable price, fearing the irreverent conſtruction of the ignorant and irreligious: ſo as whatſoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the ſame was not left to publike diſpute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wiſe men to a poſterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animum ſine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Eſdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moſes* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *ſecretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more ſecret and true explanation of the Law*; which (ſaith he, out of the ſame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joſhua*, and *Joſhua* to the Elders: for, to teach theſe myſteries, which he called *ſecretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare ſanctum canibus, & inter porcos ſpargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and to caſt Pearls before Swine.* In ſucceeding times this underſtanding and wiſdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beaſts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to ſuch as ſerved in their Temples, and to their Kings and Prieſts. Of the firſt the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falſely.

Dion. Areop.

Fol. 18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in Engliſh. And this cuſtome was alſo held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our antient *Brittains*, and of latter times by the *Iriſh* Chroniclers called Rimers. If then ſuch as would ſeem wiſeſt in the uſe of reaſon, will not acknowledg, that the ſtory of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inſpiration, the Holy-Ghoſt guiding the hand of *Moſes*; yet it is manifeſt, that the knowledg thereof might by Tradition (then uſed) be delivered unto him by a more certain preſumption, then any or all the teſtimonies which prophane antiquity had preſerved and left to their ſucceſſors: which their wiſe men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* inſtructed *Seth*, and *Seth his* children and ſucceſſors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifeſt, that *Methuſalem* lived together with *Adam* himſelf two hundred fourty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methuſalem* no leſs then five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledg by an eaſie and ordinary way might come to *Iſrael*, and ſo to *Moſes*.

Cabala eſt ſcientia Theologiæ non revelata. P. M. 83. Miran, 110. fol.

But beſides this Tradition, it is queſtionleſs, that the uſe of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by thoſe Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Joſephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike ſome ruin or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe Prophecies of *Enoch*, St. *Jude* teſtifieth; and ſome part of his Books (which contained the courſe of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (ſaith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had ſeen, and read ſome whole Pages. It is not therefore ſtrange, that *Moſes* came to the knowledg of the Creation, and ſtory of the firſt Age, ſeeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the ſpirit of God inſtructed and inſpired him as it did: which alſo his many and ſtrange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifeſt.

Joſ. l. 1.

Jude Epi. v. 14.

Origen Homil. 1. in Numb.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howſoever ſome men make mention of them, ſure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus* (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelaſius* among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not theſe of *Enoch*; but that whatſoever was remembred out of them, the ſame was delivered by Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius*, that ſuch a Book there was, and that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the Apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occaſion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moſes*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Joſephus* (the moſt diligent ſearchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of St. *Auguſtine*, *Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch, *illum ſeptimum ab* Adam, *negare non poſſumus: That* Enoch *the ſeventh from* Adam, *did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, ſuppoſed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch Book was found amongſt thoſe Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Prieſts in *Armario Judaico* (ſaith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might be preſerved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the Propheſies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to poſterity, I know not; whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the ſame is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledg aſcribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to ſome of his Sons, to *Zoroaſter*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had ſeen and might preſerve this book. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledg therein (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been ſaid before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methuſalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*; it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceive how *Moſes* came to the knowledg of the firſt Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then ſelf-authority.

Origen. Hom. 18. Num & comment. Evang. Johan.

Gelaſ. diſt. 15.

Tert. de habit. mulierum.

Heb. 11. 15.

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§. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

NOw let us conſider the relation of *Moſes*, who nameth ſeven deſcents of *Cains* children: and of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten; *Seth* being given by God in ſtead of *Abel*: And of *Seth* was *Enoſh* begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſs Religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* inſtructed his Children in the knowledg of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it ſeemeth that after the death of *Enoſh*, men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they ſerved and praiſed God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of *Enoſh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moſes*, but their owne births, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen:* for God took him away. By that, *that he walked before God*, was meant, that he was a juſt and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the ſame phraſe *Moſes* uſeth of *Noah*; Noah *was a juſt and upright man in his time, and* Noah *walked with God.* The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; Enoch *pleaſed God.* And although *Aben-Ezra*, and others, underſtand this place, *(tulit eum Deus) ſcilicet, mortuus eſt; God took him away, (that is) he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phraſe of the Scripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day, to ſay, God took him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moſes* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the reſt of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he uſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Henoch* was not diſſolved as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the Patriarchs, *Moſes* uſeth theſe words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying only, *He was miſſing*, or, *he was not ſeen. Et non inveniebatur* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away.* In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death.*

Gen. 5. 24.

V. 9.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the ſame kind of changing which St. *Paul* promiſeth, when he ſaith, that, *when the end ſhall come, we ſhall not all die,*

1 Cor. 15. 51.

but all ſhall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moſes* paſſeth over to *Methuſalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the reſt) the times of their birth and death: ſaving that *Lamech* propheſied of his Son *Noah*, Gen. 5. 29. ſaying, *This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed.* Of *Noah*, *Moſes* writeth more amply than of any of the reſt of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the laſt Gen. 6. 9. of the ten generations of the firſt Age, whom God (with his Family) preſerved, becauſe he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of thoſe ſtrong and mighty men, ſo able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whoſe ſtories, if they had been preſerved, and what elſe was then performed in that newneſs of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Poſterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their ſtrength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of neceſſity muſt the ſame adde of wiſdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatſoever can be told of aftertimes, eſpecially in reſpect of this old age of the world, when we no ſooner begin to know, but we Aphor. 1. begin to die; according to *Hippocrates: Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is ſhort, art is long, time is headlong.* And that thoſe people of the firſt Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of theſe words of *Moſes*; *Theſe* Gen. 6. 4. *were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But theſe men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for ſtrength of body, and cruelty of mind) truſted ſo much to their own abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the ima-* Verſe 5. *ginations of their hearts were evil, onely evil and continually evil.* And this wickedneſs was not onely found in the iſſues of *Cain*, but it was then univerſal, when the children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and miſ-led by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of thoſe other men, loving themſelves and the world onely.

That theſe *Sons of God* were Angels, which Gen. 6. 5. being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, ſome of the Fathers ſuppoſed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Euſebius*, miſ-led by *Joſephus*: of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miſtaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themſelves with large anſwers, and very needleſs: the queſtion being uncapable of diſpute, eſpecially ſince S. *Chryſoſtom* and S. *Auguſtine* have anſwered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Chriſt witneſſeth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, ſhould after a ſeparation from the reſt which fell with *Lucifer*, forſake the glorious preſence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madneſs to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moſes *ſo called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as alſo, divers in later times.*

Of theſe Giants which *Moſes* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod*, or *Hercules*) hath written a large Diſcourſe, intituled, *Gigantomachia*; and ſtrained his brains to prove, that there were never any ſuch men: his reaſons (whoſoever deſires to loſe time) he may find them in the Treatiſes before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monſtrous fictions: who affirm ſhameleſly, That the Giants have in elder times, not onely caſt up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Iſlands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of caſting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture. That *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men*, of whom the firſt Giants were begotten, was that conceit, taken from *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the *Sons of God*, and by the Earth, the *Daughters of Men*: which verſes of *Orpheus* are by *John Caſſam* (who hath written a very witty Diſcourſe of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœleſtes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cœli.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O
heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants
name.

But what will not Opiniators, and ſelf-believing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have been in all times ſince; ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body, and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, That they were called Giants onely, becauſe Oppreſſours. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelf calleth them mighty men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Floud, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkned to a diſpute, and yielded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do cleerly, and without all Allegorical conſtruction, avow, That beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, Gen. 14. 5. of *Moſes*, of *Joſuah*, and of *David*; namely, Numb. 15. 34. the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi*, or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* which Deut. 2. v. 19. 20. dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*; whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*. Like- Verſ. 21. wiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and, whom the* Ammonites *call* Zanzummims; *a people that was great, and many, and tall as the* Anakims. And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chederlaomer*, King of *Elam*, overthrew, aſſiſted by Amos 1. other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites*, men of Giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to 3. 16. the Cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Baruch*, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warr.* Parti- 3. 11. cularly, it is written of *Og* King of *Baſan*, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Baſan* four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great ſtature of thoſe people in general, and eſpecially of the Sons of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All the people* Numb. 13. v. 34. *which we ſaw in it, are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the Sons of* Anak, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſight, like Graſhoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight* (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought, and deſired, to re- Cap. 14. 4. turn again into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearfull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſix Cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour 1 Sam. 17. v. 4. which he wore, weighed five thouſand ſhekels of Braſs: the ſhaft of his ſpear was like a Weavers beam, and his ſpear head weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of Iron. Alſo in *Samuel* 2 Sam 21. v. 19. there is mention of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had 1 Chron. 20. 7. twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion Jud. 14. 6. 14. 19. 16. 3. as it had been a Kid, and after ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſs: And laſtly, he took the gates of *Azzah*, and the two poſts, and lifted them away with the barrs, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things, then, I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, ſoon after the Floud, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſs of the World.

But the wickedneſs (eſpecially in cruelty and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by the Floud, gave end to all fleſh, but to the juſt *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man:* which Saint *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth; *Neque enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cujus eſt de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa ſententia, quam certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: ut & perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes; God* (ſaith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men uſe to do) but if the Scripture did not uſe thoſe words, or the like, it ſhould not (in a ſort) inſinuate it ſelf familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, ſtir up the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of the truth, and nouriſh thoſe that underſtand.*

Gen. 6. 6. De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly riſing, and hardly at length vaniſhing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching theſe ancient Times, obſcurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find ſome ſigns of more ancient Truth.

HEre, before we proceed any further, the occaſion offereth it ſelf for us to conſider how the *Greeks*, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a myſtical ſence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have ſought to obſcure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive thoſe inter-mixed Diſcourſes of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philoſophers, and not as any thing borrowed or ſtoln out of the Books of God. But, as a ſkilfull and learned Chymiſt can as well by ſeparation of viſible elements draw helpfull Medicines out of poiſon, as poiſon out of the moſt healthfull Herbs and Plants (all things having in themſelves both life and death) ſo, contrary to the purpoſes and hopes of the Heathen, may thoſe that ſeek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philoſophers, the Story of the firſt Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expreſt.

§. II.

That the Corruptions themſelves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, *and in the old* Egyptians.

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was firſt found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Man-kind, it took ſuch effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the poſterity of our firſt Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, ſuffring a perpetual Eclipſe of ſpiritual light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of ſuch imperfection and harmfull quality, as the waters of the general floud could not ſo waſh out or depure, but that the ſame defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among the few Sons of *Noah*, there were found ſtrong effects of the former poiſon. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; ſo the Sons of *Cham* did poſſeſs the vices of the Sons of *Cain*, and of thoſe wicked Giants of the firſt Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began, ſoon after the Floud, to aſcribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. Firſt, they worſhipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and

Phœnicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve ſeveral Gods, and divine powers, whom they worſhipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in uſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis, ſibi erexiſſe; The Egyptians* (ſaith he) *firſt deviſed the names of the twelve gods, which the* Greeks *received from them, who firſt erected unto themſelves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

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§. III.

That in proceſs of time, theſe leſſer errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſs Superſtitions of the Egyptians.

BUt as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: ſo did theſe groſs and blind Idolaters, every Age after other, deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrink and ſlide downwards from the knowledg of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worſhipping mortal men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the ſame reſpect to Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleneſs, Sickneſs, Sorrows, yea, to the moſt unworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obſoniorum credidi ſuaviſſimum.
Carnes ſuillas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obſonium.

I ſacrifice to god the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th'*Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the fleſh of Swine; I find it ſweet.
You worſhip Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they my ſtore devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal.*

Porrum, aut cæpe, nefas violare aut frangere morſu:
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it ſin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onyons, which they ſerve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own ſowing
Have ſtore of gods in every Garden growing!

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§. IV.

That from the relicks of Ancient Records among the Egyptians *and others, the firſt Idols and Fables were invented: and the firſt* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, *&c.*

BUt in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the Heathens themſelves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of theſe inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the firſt Age, and of whatſoever was done therein, partly from ſome inſcriptions upon ſtone or metal remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learn'd the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: for, all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* alſo, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the reſt, which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*, *Euſebius* out of many prophane Hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have obſerved, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, (as ſome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was ſaid to have invented the founding of Cities; and the firſt City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii*, before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Hyginus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For beſides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latiſſimam à primo & antiquiſſimo* Jove *ædificatam: yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient* Jupiter, ſeated in the Eaſt parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moſes*: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the Eaſt ſide of* Eden, *&c.* where alſo the *Henochii* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*,

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euſeb. l. 1. de Præp. Evang c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 2. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. contra Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Incloſer, or ſtrengthener of Cities (ſay *Phornutus* and *Pauſanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios*, there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. Phorn l de Natura De- Deorum. Pauſan l 4. 5. & 10. in Protago. And, that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* alſo witneſſeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that, ſoon after mankind began to increaſe, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he ſaith, that Cities were built an exceeding ſpace of time before the deſtruction by the great Floud.

This firſt *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the ſame *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his own Siſter (as alſo *Jupiter* is ſaid to have done) inhabited the Eaſt, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*. Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22.] And beſides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built ſix others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tehe*, *Jeſca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now, as *Cain* was the firſt *Jupiter*, and from whom alſo the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: ſo were *Jubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain* (inventors of Paſtorage, Smith-craft, and Muſick) the ſame which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*. Lact. l. 4. c. 17. And as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: ſo doth *Auguſtine* expound the name of *Noema*, or *Naamath*, the Siſter of *Tubalcain*, to ſignifie *Venuſta*, or beautifull, *Voluptas*, or pleaſure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is ſaid to be *Venus*, the Lady of pleaſure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and firſt *Saturne*; *Cain*, the eldeſt *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea*, or *Naamath* the firſt *Venus*: ſo did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Saturne*, ariſe from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sons of *Noah*: ſo alſo was the fiction of thoſe golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: ſo was *Paradiſe* it ſelf tranſported out of *Aſia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Heſperides*: the Prophecies, that *Chriſt* ſhould break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occaſioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the converſion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of Religion, and ſuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and aſcention of *Aſtræa*: of which *Ovid*;

Ovid. Met. l. 1. *Ultima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit.*

Aſtræa laſt of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would underſtand Juſtice it ſelf to have failed, as it is a vertue abſtract, and may be conſidered without a perſon; Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 1. yet, as it is uſual among the ancient Poets to deſcribe Vertues and Vices by the perſons of men and women, as Deſire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Luſt by *Venus*; ſo do they alſo the perſons of men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Juſtice and *Aſtræa*, *Enoch*; the juſtice and piety of *Enoch*, being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*: for *Noah* was ſaid to be a juſt man; Gen. 7. Gen. 5. 24. *And Noah walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen: for God took him away.*

From this Story alſo of the firſt Age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they ſteal thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken againſt the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as S. *Auguſtine* termeth him. Lib. de vit. Di. Which war of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus deſcribeth.

Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis *transferre Gigantes*
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the Stars, to thruſt them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, Joſeph. contr. Apion. as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, ſhould bury them under the moiſture of a ſecond Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it ſelf. Alſo the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was (as it ſeemeth) borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, ſprinkled the people with bloud.

We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal Anceſtor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Egypt* which reigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the children of *Iſrael* (as of late ſome learned men, miſtaking his time, ſuppoſed) called his Son and Succeſſour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the ſame *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. Plut. in Iſide. But herein was the memory of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerved, that the *Egyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt antient Parent, and of the firſt Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Setheitica*. Strab. l. 17. We alſo find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure, from the *Egyptians* did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they ſcorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not ſeem to learn elſewhere, they gave the ſame names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefeſt Jupiters, *and the ſtrange ſtory of the third.*

BUt of all thoſe Armies of *Jupiters*, remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, becauſe thoſe were of moſt fame: which other Writers have alſo done, who ſought out, and laboured in their originals.

The firſt was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Aether* and *Dies*, ſo called becauſe the one had reference to his Celeſtial conditions (for *æther* is as much as *ſhining* or pure *fire*:) the other diſcovered his natural virtues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witneſſes of mens actions.

The ſecond was ſaid to be the Son of *Cœlum* or Heaven, for the ſame former reſpect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were deviſed, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*,) the Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Juvans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*; it ſignifieth life, but ſomewhat ſtrained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had ſuch a name before the ſame was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe antient Kings beautified with theſe conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howſoever they were, or were not with thoſe virtues inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howſoever deſerved) as the worthieſt that ever were, acquired by their well-deſervings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui, The antients called all Kings Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia hiſtoria* confirmeth; *Reges olim* Joves *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters*. But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Jupiter* was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but ſent thither by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be foſtered Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: becauſe it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titans* permiſſion, he ſhould put to death all his male children, leſt the *Titans* might be interrupted by any one of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement, becauſe *Saturn* performed in his firſt born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

Haud ſit pinguior,
Crudis ſepulchrum quòd ſit ipſe filiis.

Saturne to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This compoſition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sybilla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de ſe natum ne nutriat ullum,*
Quò poſſint regnare, ſenis poſt fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn* ſwear
No Son to nouriſh, which by reigning might
Uſurp the right of *Titans* lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno* conveyed *Jupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhe did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnoſſus*, the chief City of that Iſland, by *Creſta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof. Euſeb. in Temp.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Meſſena*. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirm that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and ſkins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a God; others, that he was nouriſhed by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledg that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and took him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* again reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the leſs powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once ſetled, and became potent, he gave himſelf over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as do aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the ſin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with inceſt, marrying his owne Siſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and took by ſtrong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame; *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom he had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Savonas*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemneſtra*: by *Danae*, *Perſeus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *Iö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus*, married *Libya*, of whom that Country took name, for ſo the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Aegina* the Daughter of *Aeſopus*, and carried her into the Iſland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*; and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they bely not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were born in Ages ſo far differing. And of theſe his ſeveral raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe antient fables of his transformations into ſhowers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monſter *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Book, *de natura Deorum*, affirm, that he deſerved nothing leſs; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian*.) Luc. in Sacrif. *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe, & ſepultum Jovem teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt; The Cretians, or Candians do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they ſhew his Grave and Sepulchre:* which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jaſius*. This, *Callimachus* in his Hymns alſo witneſſeth; but, as offended thereat, ſaith thus:

> The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care
> not what they ſay:
> For they a Tomb have built for thee, O
> King, that liv'ſt alway.

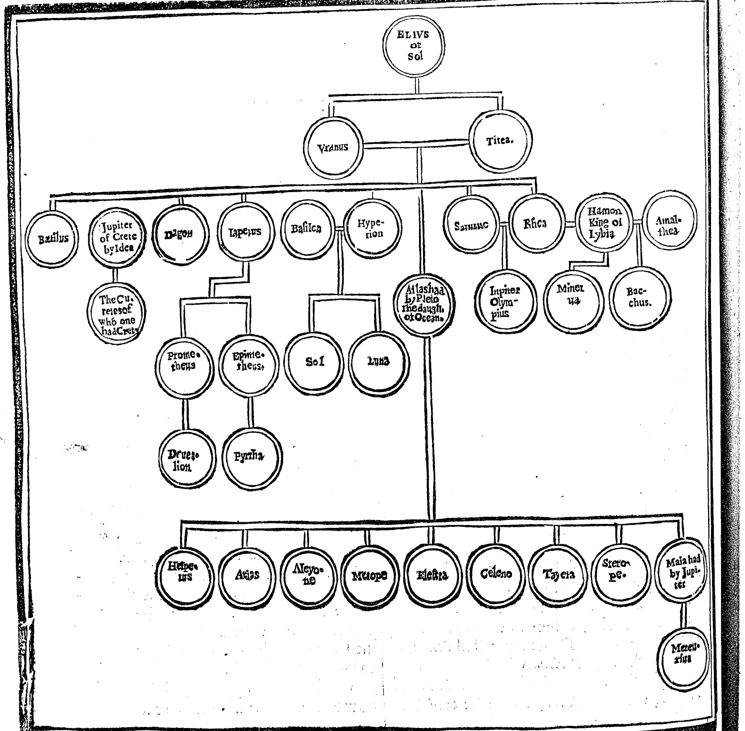
Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report Diod. l. 1. c. 5. from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he ſaith) by ſome *Greek* Writers, that the original of theſe Gods was from the Weſtern parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth Heaven) called ſo, for his great ſkill in *Aſtrology*; and for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea*, he had ſeventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſs was Canonized as a Goddeſs, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Huſband was ſtyled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as Queen in *Engliſh*, ſhe is by the *Latine* tranſlatour of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as far in virtue as in years, was by general conſent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to huſband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardlineſs of theſe children moved her Brethren to envie, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they took the Boy and

drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſs of this child, cauſed his ſiſter to break her own neck; and the loſs of both her children, made the mother to play many mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhe is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhe died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a Dream, that he and his ſiſter, by the providence of God, ſhould become immortal; that alſo the *Sun* and *Moon* ſhould be called by their names, and that their death ſhould be revenged upon the Murtherers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and withall held her ſelf as a goddeſs; and tearmed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whileſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguiſhed, the other Sons of *Æranus* divided the Kingdom. Of theſe, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a juſt and wiſe Prince, deeply ſkilfull in *Aſtrologie*: and, for invention of the *Sphere*, ſaid to have ſupported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Heſperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the middeſt of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning Starr. The ſeven Daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in quality to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven Stars, called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curetes*: he called that *Iſland* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Iſle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as theſe *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keep his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, neer to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He alſo begat on *Amalthea*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he cauſed ſecretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nyſa*, an Iſland in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nimphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe news, ſhe fled from her Huſband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not onely entertained her as a ſiſter, but took her to Wife, and at her inſtigation, made warr upon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titans*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeem, being very gracious in thoſe names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things elſe commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming againſt him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not farr from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond Expedition. In the ſecond Expedition he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he paſſed; in ſo much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous government, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a battel of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, ſetting the Town on fire, to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt-Countreys: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whileſt *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as farr as into

India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his ſiſter *Minerva*, together with the reſt, that afterwards were held gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chaſed them, took and ſlew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were Deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, ſucceeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to diſturb him. Between this tale of the *Lybian* gods, and the *Egyptian* Fables of *Oſiris*, there is a rude reſemblance, that may cauſe them both to be taken for the crooked Images of ſome one true Hiſtory. For the Expeditions of *Oſiris* and of *Bacchus*; the warrs of the Giants in the one Story, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Iſis*, and the Cymbals of *Baſilea*, with many pretty circumſtances, neerly enough reſemble each other, howſoever not alike fitted to the right perſons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Euſebius* cites him) would have all theſe to be *Phœnicians*, and is earneſt in ſaying, That it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it ſeem the more allegorical, by giving to *Vranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogie, he adds *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Vranus*, and among the children of *Vranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Vranus*, the proper name of *Terrenus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*.

Euſeb l. 1. cap. 7.

The Pedigree of them is this:



§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones; whereof ſome gat, ſome affected, the name of* God.

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwiſe *Nimrod*, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at leaſt by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three, by him remembred: for long after theſe times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they ſeek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the Floud, began (ſomewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to entitle *Cham*, the Parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, *from the ſands*, is ridiculous (ſaith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which ſignifieth Heat: becauſe the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was ſeated in *Libya*, where the ayr is exceeding hot and ſcorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the moſt renowned) it is certain, that he was born not long before the War of *Troy*, as by many of his Sons is made manifeſt; namely, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that Age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was deſtroyed.

Peucer de Oraculo.

Now, ſeeing that mortal men, and the moſt wicked, were eſteemed immortal among the *Heathen*; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, ſought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monſters as the reſt: for by what reaſon could the ſame *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? ſeeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as ſhe was.

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§. VII.

That the wiſer of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUt that ever *Pythagoras* or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of theſe fooleries, it cannot be ſuſpected, though ſome of them (over-buſily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in puniſhment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Heſiod* in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually ſtung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the Books of *Moſes*, as by places ſtoln thence, almoſt word for word, may appear; of which *Juſtine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatiſe converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he diſſembled in ſome things for fear of the Inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Auguſtine* hath already anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè iis delectatus eſt, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*. Now, howſoever *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato ſought knowledge*, from the *Egyptians*, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and Books of *Moſes*; * *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reaſon to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſavouring of Divinity: and the ſame opinion had S. *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

* *Euſebius Præp Evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. contra Celſum. Ambr. ad Iren. Ep. 6. lib.* 1.

But whether it were out of the ſame vanity, which poſſeſſed all thoſe learned Philoſophers and Poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſhed (not under the right Authours names) thoſe things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the ſeverity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyſon; I cannot judge. *Juſtine Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whoſe words among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe; Plato, Moſis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum ſolumque Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato, *fearing the Areopagites, thought it not ſafe for him among the Athenians, to make mention of* Moſes, *that he taught there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*, *Id ipſum de Deo diſſeruit quod & Moſes*; *He diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) *which Moſes did*. For, where it pleaſed God by his Angel to anſwer *Moſes*, *Ego ſum exiſtens*, (which is) *I Am*; and, *Exiſtens miſit me ad vos*; *I am hath ſent me unto you*; herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) no otherwiſe differ than that *Moſes* uſed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moſes *enim, qui exiſtit* (*inquit*;) Plato, *quod exiſtit*; *for* Moſes ſaith, *He who is*; Plato, *That which is*. Now, of Gods incomprehenſible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expreſs the ſame, he giveth this teſtimony: *Genitorem Univerſitais tam difficile eſt invenire, quàm inventum impoſſibile dignè profari*; *It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Univerſal, as it is impoſſible, if he were found, to ſpeak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majeſty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus*

Areopagus or domus ſeu mons Martis, Mars his hill: a houſe wherein capital matters are tried: ſo called at firſt, becauſe *Mars* therein firſt pleaded his cauſ for the murther of Hulirrhothos *Pauſan in Attic. Nat. Com. l. 2. 6, 7. Juſt. Mart. ad in. Gen. fol. 8. 14. ut ſup. Exod.* 3. 14

In Timæo.

De legib. c. 10. *bonus, & quidem Deus cauſa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non cauſa; God is abſolutely good, and ſo (aſſuredly) the cauſe of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil, he is no cauſe at all.* And again, *Charitas Dei fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cauſe of the worlds creating, and the original of all things.* Laertius. *Apuleius* the Platoniſt; *Summus Deus infinitus eſt, non ſolùm loci excluſione, ſed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The moſt high God is alſo an infinite God, not onely by excluſion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect heart.* *Thales* affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the moſt ancient: *Quia nunquam eſſe cœpit: becauſe he never had any beginning. Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of men; *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, becauſe God was every where preſent, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moſes* ſtory of the Creation, than this opinion and deſcription of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuiſſent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita;
Arbores, aves, feræ, quaſque affert mare,
Genuſque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when diſ-joyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and men
The ſtill-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*; ſo we find the ſame excellent underſtanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expreſſed the infinite and ſole power of one God; though he uſe the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute thoſe things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (ſaith *Mirandula*) *quos* Orpheus *canit, non decipientium Dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; ſed naturalium virtutum divinarumque ſunt nomina; The names of thoſe gods whom* Orpheus *doth ſing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodneſs; but they are the names of natural and divine Vertues.* Yea, that he reacheth higher, and ſpeaketh of God himſelf, this his inſtruction to *Muſæus*, and the *Hymn* following, teach us: *Reſpiciens verò ad divinum hunc ſermonem, et diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem aſcende viam, & ſolum aſpice mundi regem. Unus eſt ex ſe genitus, ex eo omnia nata ſunt: ipſe verò in illis verſatur, nec quiſquam eum intueri poteſt mortalium, ſed ipſe nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my ſacred ſpeech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reaſons ſphere, and the right way aſcend,
And ſee the worlds ſole King. Firſt, he is ſimply one,
Begotten of himſelf, from whom is born alone
All elſe; in which he's ſtill: nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to ſee him once, yet he ſees all.

And again the ſame Authour,

Jupiter *omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem;*
Jupiter *eſt caput & mediũ:* Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *eſt fundamen humi, & ſtellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.*
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis Jupiter *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna *eſt* Jupiter *ipſe.*
Rex & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.
Nam priùs occuluit; magno pòſt numine ſacrum
Cor reſerans, bonus in dulcẽ dedit omnia lucem.

The firſt of all is God, and the ſame laſt is he;
God is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be,
God is the baſe of Earth, and of the ſtarred ſkie.
He is the Male and Female too, ſhall never die.
The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.
The King th' original of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy breaſt he did all comprehend,
Whence all the bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Now (beſides theſe former teſtimonies) that all the learned men of antient times were not ſo ſtupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to thoſe large and learned Collections of *Juſtine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſſis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded

of what nature God was, deſcribed him by theſe Attributes and properties: *Bonus, juſtus, ſanctus, ſeipſum poſſidens, utilis, ſpecioſus, optimus, ſeverus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c. Good, juſt, holy, poſſeſſing himſelf, profitable, beautiful, beſt, ſevere, free, alwaies doing good, ſafe without fear, glorious, and ſelf-charity. Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus: Rex omnium ipſe ſolus; He is the only King of kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator ſummus atque optimus artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diverſos ſecundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deſerts. This God* (ſaith *Antiſthenes*) *cannot be reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere known; Niſi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes: Save only in that everlaſting Country, whoſe image thou haſt none at all.* Hereof alſo *Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus ſimilis; There is one God among gods and men moſt powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals:* and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quieſcere facit, magnus potenſque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini patet, niſi ipſi ſoli, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all things at reſt, is great and mighty; as is manifeſt to all: but of what Form he is, it is manifeſt to none, ſave only to himſelf, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* ſaith, *Totius rerum naturæ cauſa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ſummus animi genitor, æternus animantium ſoſpitator, aſſiduus mundi ſui opifex, ſine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehenſus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cauſe, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoul, the eternal preſerver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expreſs what he is.* Therefore was it ſaid by Saint *Hierom*, *Si enim cunctos Philoſophorum revolvas libros, neceſſe eſt ut in eis reperias* Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in Princip. *aliquam partem vaſorum Dei: ut, apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou conſider all the books of the Philoſophers, thou canſt not but find in them ſome part of the Veſſels of God, as, in* Plato, *God the Creatour of the world: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c.* And this is certain, that if we look into the wiſdom of all Ages, we ſhall find that there never was man of ſolid underſtanding or excellent judgment; never any man whoſe mind the Art of education hath not bended; whoſe eys a fooliſh ſuperſtition hath not afterward blinded; whoſe apprehenſions are ſober, and by a penſive inſpection adviſed; but that he hath found by an unreſiſtable neceſſity, one true God, and everlaſting Being, all for ever cauſing, and all for ever ſuſtaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſs'd, then that *Egyptian* Hermes, howſoever it failed afterward in his poſterity: all being at length by deviliſh policy of the *Egyptian* Prieſts purpoſely obſcured; who invented new gods, and thoſe innumerable, beſt ſorting (as the Devil perſwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fitteſt to keep in aw and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heatheniſm and Judaiſm, after many wounds, were at length about the ſame time under Julian *miraculouſly confounded.*

BUt theſe are again vaniſhed: for the inventions of mortal men are no leſs mortal then themſelves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worſhipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimny, which the lack of Fuel ſtarveth, Water quencheth, and want of Ayr ſuffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno's* Jealouſies; *Death* hath perſwaded him to chaſtity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it ſelf, hath alſo eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their ſtately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houſes and ſumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple conſecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia* that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Theſſalia*, or elſewhere, that can ask counſel or help from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollo's* Prieſts are become ſpeechleſs; and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and couzening *Aſtrologers*.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to theſe his over-throws and diſhonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief manſions) was many times robbed, burnt, and deſtroyed; yet by his diligence the ſame was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himſelf it received the laſt and utter ſubverſion. For it was firſt robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubœan* Pyrates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* utterly ſack'd: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles:* Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes:* Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenſes:* Sixthly, by *Nero:* who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again ſet up at the common charge. But whatſoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Army made ſpoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithſtanding all this, it was again gloriouſly re-built, and ſo remained till ſuch time as *Julian* the *Apoſtata* ſent thither to know the ſucceſs of his *Parthian* enterpriſe, at which time it was utterly burnt and conſumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himſelf, and all the reſt of the Idols therein, molten down, and loſt in the Earth.

The like ſucceſs had the *Jews* in the ſame *Julians* time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelves to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem:* for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many thouſands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others ſlain and ſcattered by Tempeſt and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, aſcribing this to the nature of that Element. For, ſaith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* buſied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire iſſuing neer the foundation, and oft conſuming the Workmen, made the Enterprize fruſtrate.

Am. Mar. l. 13. c. 1.

§. IX.

Of the laſt refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOw the Devil, becauſe he cannot play upon the open ſtage of this World, (as in thoſe daies) and being ſtill as induſtrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himſelf then ever. For whereas he firſt taught them to ſacrifice to Monſters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beaſts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now ſets before them the high and ſhining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that truth is the Goddeſs of dangers and oppreſſions, that chaſtity is the enemy of Nature, and laſtly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taſte; ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth every ſenſe: for true wiſdom (ſaith he) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, then in the obtaining of power to oppreſs, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Polititian* find in his Pupils any remorſe, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he perſwades them that God hath ſo great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying thoſe great blocks of rugged poverty and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his divine preſence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and over-grown with graſs, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: ſo hath that of Death a double and twofold opening, worldly miſery paſſing by the one, worldly proſperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our ſufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetouſneſs, licentiouſneſs, injuſtice, and oppreſſions (the harbingers of moſt fearful and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for us. And as the Devil our moſt induſtrious enemy was ever moſt diligent: ſo is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing faſt towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time neer at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and ſome humane Teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of Noah's *Floud.*

OF this diſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah:* who (ſaith *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Decedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelf, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and unnatural wickedneſs*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of religion and of the gods:* among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah: *There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods then the reſt, whoſe name was* Noah: who with his three Sons, *Sem*, *Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſaid unto* Noah, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou ſhalt make cabins in the Arke, and ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already faſhioned in the Clouds, which ſoon after ſhould ſwallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the Ayr, *Noah* and his family excepted.

Joſeph. l. 1. c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14. v. 13.

But this univerſal grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine teſtimonies do not perſwade all natural men to thoſe things to which their own reaſon cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obſcuro veritas latet: Whileſt the truth lieth wrapt in obſcurity.* Many there are who have diſputed againſt the univerſality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this floud of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and Kingdoms: moved ſo to think, becauſe in elder Ages there have been many other Flouds (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature.

im- de relig.

Hereof *Nicolas Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Joſephus. Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conſervatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit de quo etiam* Moſes *Judæorum legiſlator ſcribit:* thus far this Author. *There is* (ſaith he) *above Minyada* (or the Country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were ſaved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an Ark, and reſted upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the ſame of which* Moſes *the Lawgiver of the Jews makes mention.* And of this opinion were the *Talmudiſts* (ſaith *Annius*) that many Giants ſaved themſelves upon Mount *Sion.*

Joſ. ant. l. 1 c. 4. Euſeb de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

But *Beroſus* (who, after *Moſes*, was one of the moſt antient, howſoever he hath been ſince deformed and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the general Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua univerſus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous deſtruction of Waters, by which the World univerſal periſhed:* witneſſing withall, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their Wives (in all eight perſons) were only ſaved.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noahs *Floud.*

BUt from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth (ſaith *Lactantius*,) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelves alſo, ſought to perſwade the World that there

Rho. l. 15. c. 33.

was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bæotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (ſaith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygium id appellant Poetæ, tanquam pervetus dixeris ab Ogyge vetuſtiſſimo: The Poets gave the name of* Ogygia *to things exceeding ancient, as of* Ogyges *the moſt ancient.*

Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c 3.

Ca. 22.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as thoſe men can make him, yet it is manifeſt that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Euſebius* makes him later, and in *Moſes* time) and was born 67. years after him. There is alſo an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farr later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth Book of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in* Ægypto *regnaſſè autumant hunc; unde ſit* Cadmus, *qui in* Græciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à Bove jugulato ſic nuncupatas; quoniam* Syrorum *lingua Bos dicitur* Thebe. *There are* (ſaith he) *who think that this* Ogyges *did reign in* Egypt, *whereby he ſhould be* Cadmus, *who travelling into* Greece, *built* Thebes, *ſo named of a Beef ſlain: becauſe in the* Syrian *Language, a Beef is called* Thebe.

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to *Euſebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Floud of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the ſame account: and ſo there came 1200. between theſe Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Euſebius* was much miſtaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now, although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not preciſely ſet down, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whoſoever makes it moſt ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that and the general Floud.

Lib. 1. cap. 7.

Xenophon annianus.

For, *Paulus Oroſius*, affirms that this tempeſt fell upon the *Athenians*, but 1040. years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* ſaith, it was 1043. elder than *Rome*; wich was founded (according to the ſame *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds year, 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I wil give my reaſons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Floud preceded the building of *Rome* (ſaith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. years: and the Floud of *Ogyges*, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by eaſie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between theſe two Flouds muſt be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the ſame of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priſcus*, as ſome do) it appears by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica*, or *Ogygia*, did not extend it ſelf any farther then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For, whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witneſs, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judæa* was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithſtanding the height of waters) there remained on certain Altars of Stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: ſure it is no where found among prophane Hiſtorians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of *Ogyges* ſpred it ſelf over any part of *Syria*, much leſs over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponneſus*, it is very probable. For it ſeemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were ſwallowed up (Cities ſeated on the North part of *Peloponneſus*): of which *Ovid*.

Mela. l. 1. Plin. l. 5. Sol. ca. Joppe ... ibid.

Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, *Achaidos urbes,*
Invenies ſub aquis.

Ovid. l. 15.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground,
Are ſought in vain, but under Sea are
found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges*, was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved, and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they ſay) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, cauſed the monſtrous Serpent *Python*, to follow and affright her, whereſoever ſhe travelled; till at length arriving at the Iſle of *Ortygia*, ſhe was there received; in which ſhe was delivered, firſt of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this expoſition: That at ſuch time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reign) ceaſed, out of the abundant moiſture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled ſuch thick miſts and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: ſo as when at length (the Earth being dried, and theſe vapours diſſipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of *Ortygia* eſpied the light of the Moon ſomewhat before day, and in the ſame morning the Sun alſo appeared: fabulouſly (becauſe *Diana* repreſented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be born in the Iſle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which ſignifieth Manifeſtation.

Nat. Com. l. 1.

Plin. l. c. 11.

And ſurely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being ſo great, as Hiſtories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayr, ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome unuſual face of Skies. *Varro* in his Books, *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by S. *Auguſtine*) reports out of *Caſtor*, that ſo great a miracle hapned in the Star of *Venus*, as never was ſeen before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatneſs, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraſtus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 21. c. 8.

Now, concerning the courſe of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any were read of ſo good Aſtrologers, flouriſhing among the *Greeks*, or elſewhere in thoſe days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I ſee no reaſon, why the difference found in the Star of *Venus*, ſhould be held miraculous; conſidering, that leſſer miſts and foggs than thoſe which covered *Greece* with ſo long darkneſs, do familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure ſhould vary, queſtionleſs it was very ſtrange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the oppoſite half ſhould remain ſhadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, deſcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth ſeem; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

A worthy Aſtrologer now living, who by the help of perſpective Glaſſes, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to have been diſcovered in *Venus*, by his late obſervations. Whether ſome watry diſpoſition of the ayr might repreſent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeen through his inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of S. *Auguſtine*) accompanied with ſuch unuſual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) ſigns, teſtifying the concurrence of cauſes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may ſeem to have had no other token, or foreſhewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himſelf, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came ſuddenly, and took them all away.

Luke 17. v. 27.

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§. III.

Of Deucalions *Floud: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud: nor the Umbri in* Italy, *a remnant of any univerſal Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*; of which S. *Auguſtin* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus (ut* Varro *ſcribit) regnante Athenienſibus* Cranao, *ſucceſſore* Cecropis *(ut autem noſtri,* Euſebius & Hieronymus) *adhuc eodem* Cecrope *permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum eſt* Deucalionis: (that is) *In theſe times, (as* Varro *reporteth)* Cranous *the ſucceſſor of* Cecrops *governed the* Athenians, *or, (as our* Euſebius *and* Hierome *ſay)* Cecrops *yet living, that Floud (called* Deucalions) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the ſaid 18. Book, he uſeth theſe words: *Eduxit ergo* Moſes *ex* Ægypto *populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis Athenienſium *Regis, cum apud* Aſſyrios *regnaret* Aſcatades, *apud* Sicyonios Marathus, *apud* Argivos Tripas: Moſes *led the people of God out of* Egypt *about the latter time of* Cecrops, *King of the* Athenians, Aſcatades *reigning over the* Aſſyrians, *over the* Sicyonians Marthus, *and over the* Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curioſity of a few years, more or leſs, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. years of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one year of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion*, by all approved Hiſtorians, is ſaid to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaeton*'s time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* ſix years after *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*; which makes twenty years difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. years before *Moſes* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud and Burning, the year 2440. and to *Moſes* egreſſion the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moſes* was more ancient, and Cedren l. 1. fol. 34. lived with *Inachus*;but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the Burning of *Phaëton* preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Theſſaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. years, or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. year of *Moſes* life,and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud Clem. Alex. 1. Strom. ex Cteſ. 770. years: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit poſt* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* Ogygis: *There happened in* Greece, *in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of* Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* (as before;) then it is manifeſt,that taking 763.out of this number of 1020.it falls out,that *Ogyges* Floud happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Euſebius* Euſeb. in Chron. and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which give 60. years more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe Flouds in this ſort. The general Floud was in the year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. years. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613. years. Now, *Deucalion* was born in the year of the World 2356.and had lived 82.years, when his kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700.years between the general Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782. years.The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* Deucalionis, *ſecundo anno Sphæri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta* Theſſaliam *vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the ſecond year of* Sphærus, *are numbred* 700. *years, and when* Deucalion *was* 82.*years old, he ſaw* Theſſaly *drowned.* This Floud hapned in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſs *Ariſtotle*, in the firſt of his *Meteors*. c. 1. And *Varro* (whom S. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this floud of *Deucalion* to have hapned in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*:*Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward, but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular floud then hapning, oppreſt *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either think it,or feign it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion* the King, ſaving himſelf, and ſome others on the Mountain of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt,ſaith *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of man-kind. Solin. l. 1. Strab. l. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 1. Plin. ibid. That this floud covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called Ὄμβριοι: *quia ab imbribus diluvii ſuperfuiſſent*;and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Book, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brucii*,and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Floud of *Noah*, and ſo took name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Appenine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; ſhewing who,&who only then were preſerved,which is ſufficient.Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the firſt people which after the general Floud inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cameſenes*; (ſo named from *Cameſe*, whom Athenæ dipnoſoph. l. 15. out of Dro Corcyræ faith, that Cameſen the wife and ſiſter of Janus Lact. l. 1. c. 13. *Cato in Originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours, names for a conſort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturn* arriving on thoſe Coaſts, deviſed Laws to govern them by: the memory of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*; *Nepos*, *Caſſius*, and *Varro* among the *Latines*, have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*:

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus *Olympo*, Æn. l. 8. 319.
Arma Jovis *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.*
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit; Latiumque vocari
Maluit.

Saturn deſcending from the heavens high
Fearing the Arms of *Jupiter* his Son,
His Kingdom loſt, and baniſht thence,
doth fly,
Rude people on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, & by Laws:which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium*.

And afterwards in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*; and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again ſought to diſ-plant the antient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Æn. *Tum manus* Auſonia, *& gentes venere* Sicani.

Then came th' *Auſoniam* Bands, and the
Sicanian Tribes.

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spain*, and ſate Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give teſtimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe Plantations and re-plantations, came the *Umbri*, deſcended of the *Gauls* (ſaith *Annius*) not of Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta. thoſe *Gauls* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius* have aſſured us: and therefore this Floud of *Deucalion*, was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe Nations were planted in *Italy*, and diſpoſſeſs'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was firſt called *Camaſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalions* Floud happened) poſſeſs'd the ſame, about 306. years before the War of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being the Father of two Pauſan. Arcad. l. 8. and twenty Sons, the youngeſt called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 10. *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe, came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Herod. l. 2. Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* Plin. l. 3. c. 4. in his ſixth, ſpeak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſs'd and paſt over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not antiently ſuch a Nation as theſe *Umbri* in thoſe parts, I do not affirm; having reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Umbri* of *Italy* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of ſome other Records teſtifying the univerſal Floud: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of ſome elſewhere.

SAint *Auguſtine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Univerſal Floud, becauſe they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledg) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call (worm-eaten,or) of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were ſucceſſively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledg of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquity, then ſuch as they had themſelves,nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, ſo did others vaunt themſelves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent ſome other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledg of *Noah*'s Floud, as *Beroſus* witneſſeth; and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforeſaid) though he alſo affirm by hear-ſay, that ſome Giants ſaved themſelves upon the Mountain *Baris* in *Armenia*, but ſpeaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: uſing the word *Sermo eſt*; *That ſuch a ſpeech there was.* And *Euſebius* remembreth a place out of the Euſ. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. antient Hiſtorian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Siſſithrus*, to preſerve himſelf from a Floud, fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ſhip, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) ſent forth Birds, that finding no Land to reſt on, returned again; which he alſo did a ſecond time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered with mud and ſlime. To this effect are *Euſebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may ſeem a true deſcription (though in other terms) of *Noahs* Floud.

Cyrillus alſo affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhiſtor* maketh mention of this general Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Prieſt, who re-counted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt*, the ſtory of the Floud univerſal, which (ſaith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. Frier *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud,which alſo *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, ſowhat Diod. l. 1. more

Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6.

more antient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica.* For he named the general Floud for the firſt, which happened (ſaith he) under the old *Ogyges*; *ſub priſco Ogyge*, which was *Noah.* He called the ſecond, *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Aſſyrians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, eſpecially all the Region ſubject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward ſlain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in theſe words: *Fluvium propter curſus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum,* Herculem, *tum conſilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è veſtigio compreſſiſſe, & aquarum impetum ad priorem curſum convertiſſe: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ, rem geſtam in fabulam vertentes,* Herculem *tradunt Aquilam* Promethei *jecur depaſcentem occidiſſe: This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the ſwiftneſs of his courſe, as alſo for the depth, was in thoſe dayes called the Eagle: but* Hercules *by his great judgment and virtue did again compreſs and ſtraighten this River, ſo far extended and over-ſpread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of* Hercules *into a fable) deviſed, that* Hercules *ſlew the Eagle which fed on* Prometheus *liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that ſorrow and torment, which for the loſs of his people and Country (by the Waters deſtroyed and covered over) he ſuffered.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief ſort writeth of all theſe Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimeſtris Inundatio terrarum ſub priſco* Ogyge: *ſecunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (ſaith the ſame *Xenophon*:) *the firſt, which was univerſal, of nine moneths; and this happened under the firſt* Ogyges: *the ſecond was* Niliaca, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Theſſalia* under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance, (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen's* rape. *Diodorus*, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Aſia* the leſs, & elſe where, of no leſs deſtruction then any of the other particular Inundations, ſaying, that the ſame happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Helleſpont* breaking in over the Land.

Munſter.

Eclipſis & terræ motus continui, multa hominum millia oppreſſerunt. Friſia quoque per maritimos fluctus pæne ſubmerſa fuit, & perierunt plusquam 100000.

But there have been many Flouds in divers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of theſe two laſt remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the ſame year, *Gregory* then being Biſhop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous Overflowing in *Italy*, and eſpecially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a moſt fearful ſtorm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reaſon of the many dead Serpents caſt up and left upon the land after the Waters decreaſed and returned. And in the year 1446. there periſhed 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica.* Before that, in the year 1238. *Trithemius* ſpeaketh of an Earthquake, which ſwallowed many thouſands: and after that of a Floud in *Friſeland*, in which there periſhed 100000. perſons. *Strozius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damaſus*, in which alſo many Cities of *Sicil* were ſwallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the ſixth: alſo in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He alſo remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people periſhed. Likewiſe *Viginier*, a *French* Hiſtorian, ſpeaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in *Anno Domini* 1557. with ſo dreadful a tempeſt, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; ſaying, That by the violent deſcent of the Waters from the Mountain, about *Niſmes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate and Veſſels of other Mettal, ſuppoſed to be hidden at ſuch time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

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§. V.

That the Floud of Noah *was ſupernatural; though ſome ſay it might have been foreſeen by the Stars.*

NOw, howſoever all theſe Flouds, and many other, which have covered at ſeveral times, ſeveral Regions, not only in theſe parts of the World, but in *America* alſo, (as I have learned of ſome ancient Southſayers among them) may be aſcribed to natural cauſes and accidents; yet that univerſal

Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the eſpecial commandment of God himſelf; who at that time gave ſtrength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes by whatſoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, ſtrength and faculties ſupernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, obſerveth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation, ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watry Sign, and the Houſe of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moiſture, according to the rules of *Aſtronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not only ſigns, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength receiv'd from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelf: and further, that by * *Catarractæ cœli, Engliſhed* the Windows of Heaven) *Moſes* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Catarractæ*, ſignifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (ſaith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleaſed God to ordain by the courſe of the Heavens ſuch a Conſtellation, by which all men might behold therin their deſtruction towards, and thereby forſake thoſe wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

llo de
ncordia
heolog. &
ſtrolag.
n.7.11.

he word κατταρ-
s pro- ly ſig- eth a- place ſtop- ge, a- nit ich the ce of e water ing na- ally, ied n- ds, eth break- ; of ws, o, or go. nce, auſe dows not open, alſo t, the d hath nex- nded dows) ars or ed. es.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who underſtood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for thoſe watry ſigns, *Cancer, Piſces, Pleiades Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars, Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt Inundations. His own words are theſe: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ ſunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer,* &c. as aforeſaid. As yet (ſaith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the* Hebrews *meaneth by thoſe words* (*Catarractæ cœli*, or Windows of Heaven) *unleſs he thereby underſtandeth thoſe celeſtial powers, by whoſe influences are ingendred the rain and inundations of waters, ſuch as are the watry ſigns of* cancer, *&c.*

But, in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his unſearchable wiſdom this Conjunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he (as aforeſaid) adde vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increaſe of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condenſing ayr into water by the miniſtery of his Angels, or whoſoever elſe beſt pleaſed his All-powerfulneſs.

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§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the univerſal Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli, Gen. 7. *v.* 11.

NOw, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reſted the ſeventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the higheſt mountains. Of this propoſition, whether God had ſo reſtrained himſelf, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the higheſt mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh; for it is written, *That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, (that is) the waters forſook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatſoever was diſperſed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us conſider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thouſand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, ſeven thouſand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center*, ſome three thouſand five hundred miles. Take then the higheſt mountain of the World, *Caucaſus, Taurus, Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the higheſt) in *Tennerif*; and I do not find, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand five hundred miles deep, ſhould not well help to cover the ſpace of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and ſixteen times: for, *the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extenſion of the Ayr over and above it, we ſhall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this Ayr,as every where compaſſeth and imbraceth the Earth, which condenſation is a converſion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in thoſe Elements; it will not ſeem ſtrange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary underſtanding, that the Earth (God ſo pleaſing) was covered over with Waters,without any new Creation.

Laſtly;For the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Beroſus*,and others, That ſuch a conjunction there was, fore-ſhewing that deſtruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven,was meant this conjunction; there needs no other anſwer than that obſervation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the graveſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerved, that in the year 1524. there ſhould happen the like conjunction as at *Noah*'s Floud; than which (ſaith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and ſeaſonable year: The like deſtruction was propheſied,of the year 1588. But *Picus* Earl of *Mirandula* proveth,that there could not be any ſuch conjunction at that time.

To conclude,I find no other myſterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moſes* uſing the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the ſenſe of the word) to expreſs the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whoſoever hath ſeen thoſe fallings of Water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a reſiſtleſs violence in one body)may properly uſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moſes* did; That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to cuſtom, and that order which we call natural. God then looſened the power retentive in the uppermoſt ayr, and the Waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (ſays *Job*)*he withholdeth the Waters,and they dry up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia ſiccantur*;*And all things are dried up*) *but when he ſendeth them not, they deſtroy the Earth:* And in the 26 Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the clouds*. But theſe Bonds God looſed at that time of the general Floud, and called up the Waters which ſlept in the great Deep; and theſe joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done,he then commanded them to return into their dark and vaſt Caves;and the reſt (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, formerly condenſed into drops.

Job 12. *v.* 15.

Gen. 8.1.

§. VII.

Of ſome remainder of the memory of Noah *among the Heathen.*

NOah, commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, ſeven of the clean, and of the unclean,two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*,ſignifieth Quietneſs: after others,and according to the Prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, Ceſſation; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, anſwering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The firſt Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges*, there was alſo a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, becauſe he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was ſaid to ſteal away *Jupiters* fire; Fire in that place being taken and underſtood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſdom and foreſight. He had alſo the Name of *Janus*, (*id eſt*) *Vinoſus*,becauſe *Jain* ſignifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And ſo *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris Ritualibus, in the Books of Ceremonies*,preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancienteſt feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*,and not from the *Latine*: for it was in uſe before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this teſtimony: *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæſerat ulla regnandi cupiditas*, &c. *Vinum & Far primus populos docuit* Janus *ad ſacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & Sacra docuit*; *In the time of* Janus (ſaith he) *there was no Monarchy: for the deſire of rule had not then folded it ſelf about the hearts of men.* Janus *firſt taught the people to ſacrifice Wine and Meal: he firſt ſet up Altars, inſtituted Gardens,and ſolitary Groves,wherein they uſed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater teſtimony than this there cannot be found among all the *Heathen*,which in all agree ſo well with the Scriptures. For firſt, whileſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the firſt that took on him ſoveraign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Floud, was the firſt that planted the Vine, and became an Huſband-man; and therefore offered the firſt-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meal. Thirdly, he was the firſt that raiſed an Altar, and offered ſacrifice to God a thankſgiving for his merciful goodneſs towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith *Arnobius*: *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The ſeed of the World*: becauſe, as out of that confuſed Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beaſts and Plants; ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the perſon of *Janus*:

Gen. 9.

Gen. 8.20.

Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6.

Me Chaos antiqui(nam ſum res priſca)vocabant:
Aſpice quàm longi temporis acta cano!
The Antient call'd me *Chaos*: my great years
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appears.

Ovid. de Faſtis. l. 1.

He was alſo intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and *the Sun*, for his excellent knowledg in Aſtronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in reſpect of the Floud. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* γῆ, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Rain, becauſe *Noah* entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah*'s Floud. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; becauſe he lived in ſafety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionyſus*, *quaſi* Διονύσσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-brain*, or *Witſtinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwiſe, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Niſa*, a Town of *Arabia fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he firſt yoaked Oxen,and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Moſes*; *and* Noah *became an Husbandman*. Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention ſtolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Boäcus*, was taken (ſaith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the firſt and antient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was ſurnamed *Nyſius*, of the Mountain *Nyſa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves feign of his enterpriſes: and theſe Mountains of *Nyſa* joyn with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other *Eaſtern* Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud.

Nat. Com. l. 5. *c.* 13.

Cælius.

Gen. 9. 20.

ck. in is con- alibus, Danæus rima di te.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this ſecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many Names given him, brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelf. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elſewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin l. 6. *Steph. de Vrb.* *Herod. l.* 4. *Strabo l.* 7.

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§. VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Ark*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Ark* neer the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe hills are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelf from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Ark*; to which alſo he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to tranſport the Timber which he uſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are ſure of, that the Ark was built in ſome part of the Eaſtern World; and to my underſtanding, not far from the place where it reſted after the Floud. For *Noah* did not uſe any Maſt or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Ark* no otherwiſe move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Alſo, becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continual and down-right Rains, there were any Winds at all, therefore was the *Ark* little movd from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together: for it is written, *God* Gen. 8. 1. *made a Wind to paſs upon the Earth, and the Waters ceaſed.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the *Ark* any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the Waters lifted us. This is alſo the more probable, if that antient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Ark* had *fundum planum, A flat bottom,* and not rayſed in form of a Ship, with a ſharpneſs forward, to cut the Waves for the better ſpeed.

This kind of Veſſel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet,* and the *Greeks Larnax,* for ſo they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and ſome ſay, that the Hill *Parnaſſus,* to which in eight days he ar- Steph de Vrb. fol. 117. rived, was firſt called *Larnaſſus,* and by the chang of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnaſſus*; but *Pauſanias* thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph *Cleodora,* called *Parnaſſus,* the Inventor of *Auguration.*

Peucerus finds the word (*Parnaſſus*) to De Oracul. fol. 94. have no affinitie with the *Greek,* but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas,* which ſignifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai,* as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

Joſephus calls the *Ark, Machina,* by the ge- Epiph. in Ancor. neral name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew, Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet,* That *Aron* ſignifieth properly the *Ark* of the *Sanctuary,* but *Thebet* ſuch a Veſſel, as ſwimmeth, and beareth it ſelf upon the Waters.

Laſtly, this *Ark* of *Noah* differed from the faſhion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Creſt in the middeſt thereof, and the ſides declining like the Roof of an Houſe; to the end, both to caſt off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himſelf and his children might ſhelter, and Gen. 6. 4. ſeparate themſelves from the noyſomneſs of the many Beaſts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Ark.*

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place only uſed, is diverſly underſtood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Tranſlation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine,* Cedar; the *Seventy,* ſquare Timber; the *Latine,* ſmooth Timber. Others will have it Cypreſs Trees, as dedicated to the dead, becauſe Cypreſs is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* ſignifie any ſpecial kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promiſe of God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence: For with *Noah* God promiſed *to eſta-* V. 18. Plin. l. 16. c. 80. *bliſh his covenant. Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the uſe to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he ſaw in *Vtica,* in the Temple of *Apollo,* Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were ſtill found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not ſubject to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is eaſie to cut, light to carry, and of a ſweet ſavour, laſting alſo better then any other wood, and becauſe neer the place where the *Ark* reſted, there are found great ſtore of theſe Cedar trees, as alſo in all the Mountains of the Eaſt, beſides thoſe of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, beſide the other commodities, the greateſt length of Timber, and therefore fitteſt to build Ships withal. *Pererius* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers ſorts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one ſort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or falſe, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will ſerve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Maſts and Yards. But *Noah* had moſt reſpect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to ſever the clean Beaſts from the unclean, and to preſerve their ſeveral ſorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he caſt his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels ſteered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compaſs or the North ſtar. The Pitch which *Noah* uſed, is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been a kind of *Bitumen,* whereof there is great quantity about the Vally of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah,* Pererius. now the dead Sea, or *Aſphaltes,* and in the Region of *Babylon,* and in the Weſt *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of ſufficient capacity.

THe *Ark,* according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites

Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion, it had ſix parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. *Au-* De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 26. *guſtine: Proculdubio figura eſt peregrinantis in hoc ſeculo Civitatis Dei; (hoc eſt) Eccleſiæ quæ ſit ſalva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jeſus Chriſtus: nam & menſura ipſa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudiniſque ejus ſignificat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus eſt venturus, & venit,* &c. *Without doubt* (ſaith he) *it is a Figure of the City of God travelling in this world as a ſtranger, (that is) of the Church, ſaved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jeſus Chriſt did hang: for even the very meaſure of the length, heighth and breadth, anſwereth the ſhape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Chriſt was fore-told and performed.*

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was meaſured, it hath been a diſputed queſtion among the Fathers, and others; and the diffences are in effect theſe: The firſt kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, meaſured from the ſharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The ſecond (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus,* or the *Perſian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the ſacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laſtly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth ſix common Cubits. But of all theſe ſorts, which were commonly meaſured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens ſtatures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leſs proportion of bodies, ſo is the common Cubit from the ſharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leſs length than it was in elder times.

Saint *Auguſtine,* conſidering the many ſorts of Beaſts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was ſometime of opinion, that the *Ark* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almoſt ſix of the common: For, meaſuring the *Ark* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the ben. oſp. capacity of that Veſſel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuſe,* or the Ship of *Ptolemy Philo-pater.* But arc. in Deme. S. *Auguſtine* (who at the firſt was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better conſideration, that there needed not ſo huge a Body to preſerve all ſorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reſerved. For it was not needfull to take any kinds of Fiſhes into the *Ark,* becauſe they were kept living (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) in their own Element. *Non fuit neceſſe conſervare in Arca quæ poſſent in aquis vivere, non ſolùm merſa ſicut Piſces, verùm ſuper-natantia, ſicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conſerve thoſe creature in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fiſhes which can live under water, but alſo thoſe Fowls which ſit and ſwim on them.* And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta; quia* Adam *non hujus, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God curſed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the Sea, did* Adam *eat.* So, as S. *Auguſtine* ga- Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27. thereth hereupon (as aforeſaid) that ſo huge a Frame needed not.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we ſhall find nothing monſtrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the moſt part) have more of miſchief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reaſon, found many impoſſibilities in this work of God. But it is manifeſt, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species,* which now ſeem differing, and of ſeveral kinds, were not then *in rerum natura.* For thoſe Beaſts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or elſe it was not needfull to preſerve them, ſeeing they might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyæna*'s, and the like; the one begotten by Aſſes and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by diſcovering of ſtrange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beaſts and Birds, differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe Northern parts; it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficial conſideration, that all thoſe which were red and pied ſkins, or feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſs painted, and wear plain ruſſet or black; they are much miſtaken that ſo think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe,* and the Ounce of *India*; and, even thoſe Dogs which are become wild in *Hiſpaniola,* with which the *Spaniards* uſed to devour the naked *Indians,* are now changed to Wolves, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattel, and do alſo oftentimes tear aſunder their own Acoſt. hiſt. India. Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Iſlands of *Caribana*; and the Blackbird and Thruſh hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of *Virginia.* The Dog-fiſh of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species,* then were the *Nigro*'s, which we call the *Black-Moors*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but ſome kind of ſtrange Beaſts: and ſo the Giants of the South *America* ſhould be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We alſo ſee it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the beſt Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumers, by being ſet in a barren ſoyl. Therefore, taking the kinds preciſely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark after the meaſure of the common Cubit, was ſufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but half a foot of meaſure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a half of Giantly ſtature (and leſs allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot in depth.

But firſt of all, to make it manifeſt that the Geometrical Cubit is not uſed in the Deut.3.11. Scripture, the ſtature of the Giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had 1 Sam.17. 4. the length of ſix Cubits and an handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if theſe Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monſtrous and moſt incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* been nine foot long, and farr weightier and bigger then all *David*'s body, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been uſed for a Meaſure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have obſerved, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth, and three of height) reached the length of 27. foot upright, and ſo muſt their Prieſts have aſcended by ſteps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment, given in theſe words: Exod.20. 26. *Thou ſhalt not go up with ſteps unto mine Altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one foot and a half, according to the meaſure of Giantly ſtature; which meaſure (doubtleſs) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be alſo probable, that as the Men were, ſo were the horſes whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correſpondent ſize. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the diſtinct *ſpecies* of Animals, whoſe lives cannot be preſerved in the Waters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a Veſſel of thoſe dimenſions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now uſual meaſure: whence it followeth of neceſſity, that thoſe large bodies which were in the days of *Noah*, might have room ſufficient in the Ark, which was meaſured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be ſaved. (that is, ſeven of the clean, two of the unclean, with neceſſary food) might have place in the Ark, *Butæo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief ſumm of whoſe diſcourſe to that purpoſe, is this. *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, ſheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now, whereas the poſts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may ſeem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cupical Cubes was a ſufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of ſuch greatneſs we ſeek room for 89. diſtinct *Species* of Beaſts, or (leſt any ſhould be omitted) for 100. ſeveral kinds, we ſhall eaſily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigneſs are no way anſwerable to them; and for meat to ſuſtain them all. For there are three ſorts of Beaſts, whoſe bodies are of a quantity beſt known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the reſt may be reduced, by ſaying, (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one Elephant is anſwerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and ſo of the reſt. Of Beaſts, ſome feed on vegetables, others on fleſh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on vegetables: of which number onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeven of a kind entred into the *Ark*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for ſacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, ſo that in all there were in the *Ark* one and twenty great

Beaſts clean, and ſix and fifty unclean, eſtimable for largneſs as ninety one Beeves; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the leſſer ſort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Ark* ſix and twenty kinds, eſtimable, with good allowance for ſupply, as fourſcore Sheep. Of thoſe which devour fleſh were two and thirty kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and four Wolves. All theſe two hundred and eighty Beaſts might be kept in one ſtory or room of the *Ark*, in their ſeveral Cabins; their meat in a ſecond: the Birds and their proviſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their neceſſaries.

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§. X.

That the Ark reſted upon part of the Hill Taurus (*or* Caucaſus) *between the* Eaſt-Indies, *and* Scythia.

||. I.

A Prœterition of ſome Queſtions leſs material: with a Note of the uſe of this Queſtion to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to diſpute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leiſure ſufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, Saint *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controverſie: or, whether thoſe Creatures which ſometimes reſt on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horſes, were kept in the *Ark*, or no, I think it a needleſs curioſity; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fiſh-pool might be made as well within the *Ark*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who ſuppoſe that the *Ark* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Cryſtal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeek moſt to ſatisfie my ſelf and others in, is, In what part of the World the *Ark* reſted after the Floud: becauſe the true underſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the ſeat of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the *Ark*) do onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better underſtood.

||. II.

A Propoſal of the common opinion, that the Ark reſted upon ſome of the Hills of Armenia.

AND firſt, for the true place where the *Ark* reſted after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their firſt ſettlement and plantation, I am reſolved (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt Writers were utterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to think out of any Humour, or newneſs of opinion, or ſingularity; but do herein ground my ſelf on the original and firſt truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *That the Ark ſtayed upon one of the mountains of* Ararat, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordæi*, or *Gordiæi*, in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordæi*, and *Kardu*, ſeem to be one and the ſame) of which opinion alſo the moſt of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing (towit) that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the ſame Gen. 8.4. which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Joſephus*) makes him find another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the *Ark* (of which *Moſes* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any ſuch Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Joſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia fœlix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a Mart-town ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* Mountains. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe Mountains of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolemy Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by Hiero.51. 27. this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, called *Nyniada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is uſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* ſeems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni*

Nat. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12.

of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* alſo was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witneſſeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about theſe Mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are ſeated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thoſpitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordiæi* (that which ſurmounteth the reſt) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* ſignifieth a place of deſcent: but this out of *Joſephus*. Which name (ſaith *Junius*) was of the event, becauſe of *Noahs* coming down with his children. But this alſo I take to be a ſuppoſed event; ſeeing any Hill from whence on every ſide we muſt deſcend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Joſephus* Λούϐαρις (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, becauſe *Joſeph*. l. 1. c. 4. ſays, the place is called Ἀποϐατήριον (as it were the deſcent or coming down) and *Epiphanius* lib. 1. *contr. Hæreſ.* calls it Λύφας, which word in the *Armeuian* and *Egyptian* Tongue ſignifieth Deſcent, of *Lubar*, which is to deſcend; whence alſo *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, becauſe it was commonly built on ſome high place: whereof alſo the *Latine Delubrum* may ſeem to be derived; and *Acts* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of ſtrength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwiſe rightly be given, eſpecially to that Mountain, by reaſon that the paſſage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the reſt adjoyning.

Joſep. de Antiq. l. 1. cap. 4.

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§. III.

The firſt Argument againſt the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come ſooner, had they come from ſo near a place as* Armenia.

BUt there are many Arguments to perſwade me, that the *Ark* of *Noah* did not reſt it ſelf in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* Mountains.

Beroſ. l. 1.

For the firſt: It is agreed by all who follow *Beroſus*, that it was in the year 130. or in the year 131. after the Floud, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chuſh*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Ark* had firſt found Land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have ſpent ſo many years in ſo ſhort a paſſage: ſeeing the Region of *Meſopotamia* was onely interjacent, which might by eaſie journeys have been paſt over in twenty days; and to haſten and help which paſſage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it ſelf, which is every where tranſpaſſable by Boats of great burthen: ſo as where the Deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the River on the contrary ſide ſerved to advance it; the River riſing out of the ſame Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the *Ark* of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelf; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it ſoundeth ill to the ear of reaſon, that they would have ſpent many years in that low and overflown Valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called, of the many Rivers which imbroider or compaſs it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no ſooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themſelves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the firſt known City of the World, founded after the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten years later: though (for my ſelf) I rather think that they undertook that work in two reſpects; firſt, to make themſelves famous, *To get us a name* (ſaith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to uſurp dominion over the reſt.

Gen. 10. 10. Beroſ. l. 1.

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§. IV.

The ſecond Argument; That the Eaſtern People were moſt ancient in populoſity, and in all humane glory.

FOr a ſecond Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the Eaſt parts of the World firſt abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking Land there. And that this is true, the uſe of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the Eaſt had) may eaſily perſwade us, that thoſe Sun-riſing Nations were the moſt ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *Eaſt-Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to underſtand, That the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though expreſſed in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell between *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to go forth into Battel: but that they drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden Shield. For the invention of Letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no leſs antient then *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembred) long before the Floud. But from the Eaſtern world it was that *John Guthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicolaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithſtanding that this Myſtery was then ſuppoſed to be but newly born, the *Chinois* had Letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledg, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred years ſince diſcovered thoſe Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinois* account all other nations but ſalvages in reſpect of themſelves.

And to add ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtory of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſs, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſity in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatneſs had not travailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*. *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-riſing, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, we ſhall find that thoſe Nations have ſent out, and not received; lent knowledg, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more civil; the farther Weſt, the more Salvage. And of the Iſle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſſimi; & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoſcunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Iſlanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philoſophy, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they uſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians: They acknowledg one King, and worſhip one God.* The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who have been imployed in thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceed (in thoſe formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

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§. V.

The third Argument; from the wonderful reſiſtance which Semiramis *found in the Eaſt Indies.*

BUt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the invaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and adviſed Reader: who may conſider in what Age ſhe lived, and how ſoon after the Worlds new birth ſhe gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more then three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned alſo 500000. Horſe; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhe lived: All Hiſtorians conſent that ſhe was the Wife of *Ninus*, and the moſt approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Army was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhe encountred in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſs of *Diod. Siculus*; Staurobates *coactis majoribus, quàm quæ erant* Semiramidis, *copiis*: Staurobates

gathering together greater Troops then thoſe of Semiramis. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had been increaſed but by a *Colonie* ſent out from *Shinaar* (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took ſome time in the performance) this increaſe in the Eaſt, and this Army of *Staurobates* muſt have been made of ſtone, or ſomewhat elſe by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might eaſily grow up in that time, from ſo great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter in the Story of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication natural, produce ſo many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* ſent thither had been ſo late as *Babel* overturned, and the confuſion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty years to *Cuſh* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecba*: and then thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat
Gen. 10. 7. *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make ſixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain ſix years to have been ſpent in travailing from the Eaſt, ere they arrived in *Shinaar*, in the year after the Floud 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might be of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101. and the Confuſion to have been at *Pelegs* birth, theſe men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayr; and not on thoſe low and mariſh grounds (which require ſound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confuſion in that year 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* uſurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to *Beroſus*) and that the Work of *Babel* laſted
Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris exſtructione fol. 173. fourty years (according to *Glycas*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incaſſum laborantibus*; *Men labouring in vain* 40. *years to finiſh it*. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was ſent into *Eaſt India*; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empreſs of all that part of the world gathered the moſt of Nations into one body.

‖. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers conſiderations in the perſon of Noah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that ſpace 130. years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reaſon, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of thoſe people, by *Noah* deſtined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Weſtern World; (which Travails *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himſelf, then covered with many years, planted himſelf in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him; which was, where he firſt came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Huſbandman, whoſe buſineſs was to dreſs and manure the Earth; and not to range over ſo many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he ſhould (if the Tradition be ſound) have left certain *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where they ſay he ſetled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they ſay he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and ſubjects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the ſtory) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they ſay he baniſh'd him out of *Italy*. Theſe be but the fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reaſonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in ſuch a Forreſt as the World was, when after ſo great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the ſame lay waſt and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or paſſage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Buſhes, and Bryers, that in thoſe years were grown up.

And there are ſo many reaſons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not ſuſpect his paſſage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah* who was Father of all thoſe Nations, a man reverenced both

for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his children and iſſues to have undertaken that unbelieving preſumptuos work of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and prevalent perſwaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vain labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himſelf, he would have held them in that awfull ſubjection, as, whatſoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durſt not have diſobeyed the perſonal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of man-kind was by themſelves purchaſed through cruelty and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up building againſt his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the ſame, if not a more ſharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came ſo far Weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he ſent thoſe numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greateſt troop, becauſe they had the greateſt part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or thoſe upon whom he uſurped. *Nauclerus*, and *Cœleſtinus*, take the teſtimony of *Methodius* Biſhop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increaſe (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*, of which *Nimrod* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that ſo great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to have dwelt in the *Eaſt-India*. The reſt of *Sem*'s iſſues had alſo the Regions of *Perſia*, and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joctan*, or of all the reſt a certain number (*Cham* and his iſſue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelf, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I ſhall ſpeak at large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reaſon which moves me to believe that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of thoſe Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all man-kind, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principal a Perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and weariſome experience of the World) withdrawn himſelf, and reſted a-part with his beſt Beloved, giving himſelf to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile ſoil, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the Earth; after which, and his thankſgiving to God by ſacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farr away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

‖. VII.

Of the ſenſleſs opinion of Annius *the Commentor upon* Beroſus: *who finds divers places where the Ark reſted; as the* Caſpian *and* Gordiæan *Hills, which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome places of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvellouſly to prove that the Ark of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Caſpii*; which Mountains ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authors ſpeak of the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far-diſtant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeen, Printed, and Publiſhed *Ptol. tab. Aſia.* 3.
Ptolemies Geography, in which they are altogether diſſevered. For that laſt Edition of *Mercators* ſets theſe Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *Engliſh* miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus*, and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the Mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which makes 420. miles. And for thoſe Authors by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengtheneth himſelf, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them *Diod. l. c.* 3.
in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitûs ignorantiâ*; *They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdoms*. But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* ſtood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of

of the *Scythians:* and to prove the ſame he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was overflown with Waters, *Et in* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *And that in* Scythia *the ſtock of mortal men was renewed.* The ſame Author alſo teacheth, that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalions* Floud) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians. Ex his veniſſe* Janum *cum* Dyrim, & Gallis *progenitoribus Umbrorum*; *From theſe* Scythians, he ſaith *that* Janus *came with* Dyrim, *and with the* Galli *the progenitours of the* Umbri: And again, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper* Scythis *tribuitur*; *Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-ſpring is alway given to the* Scythians. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under Tribute till *Ninus* Time. Alſo *Pliny* called the *Umbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquiſſima, a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians.* Now, that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did firſt inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the Ark reſted; and confeſſing that this great Ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a Nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes.* And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was reſtored after the great Floud 250. years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, *In* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *In* Scythia *Saga, mankind was reſtored:* he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Beroſus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in* Scythia *ſalvatos.* For *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Parapiniſus*; on which, or near which it is moſt probable that the Ark firſt took ground: and from thoſe Eaſt parts (according to *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia.*

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Beroſ. l. 1.

Ptol. Aſiæ. tab. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

But now, the beſt authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus:* where he hath read that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à* Scytha *Rege eorum, from* Scytha *their King.* But (in a word) we may ſee his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falſhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a moſt approved and diligent Authour, beginneth in that place with theſe words: *Fabulantur* Scythæ, *The* Scythians *Fable:* and his Interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*; *The original and ſucceſs of the* Scythians *a Fable.* And (indeed) there needs no great diſproof hereof, ſince *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* (ſaith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirms: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* (ſaith *Pliny*) are the *Scythians* next to the *Perſians*, therefore they gave all the reſt that name. Now, that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man believeth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrey about *Araxes Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene*, and *Soducene*, and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are, or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus*, or without, to the number of 100. ſeveral Nations, are by *Ptolemy* preciſely ſet down.

L. 6. c. 61.

Tab. Aſiæ 7. & 8.

But, to come to thoſe latter Authours, whereof ſome have written, others have ſeen a great part of thoſe North-Eaſt Regions, and ſearched their Antiquities with great diligence: Firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without theſe Mountains, is alſo beyond our purpoſe) Scythia *inter* Imaum *montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab Oriente Imao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, uſque oſtia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipſius maris hinc uſq; ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur:* Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus, *is that part of the World which in their own ſpeech is at this time called* Gaſſaria; *and the ſame is bounded on the Weſt-ſide by* Sarmatia Aſiatica, (*or of* Aſia:) *on the Eaſt, by the* Imaan *Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: on the South, by the* Saccæ (which are the *Sacæ*) *the* Sogdiani, *and the* Margiani, *to the mouth of* Oxus, *falling into the* Hyrcan *Sea, and by a part of the ſame Sea as farr as the mouth of* Rha.

Rha, Now Wolga.

Now, if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica* to the Weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*quæ magna ſanè Regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations*, ſaith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he diſſevereth *Sarmatia* it ſelf from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the Weſt bound of *Scythia.*

Com. 2. Aſiæ fol. 472.

Ad meridiem flexo Boſphoro pars ſeptentrionalis ponto Euxini uſque in oſtium Coracis fluvii: unde relicta à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniſq; in littus Hyrcani maris provenit.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nation; neither doth his fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born of the bloud of thoſe Kings (though afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledg himſelf for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races deſcended: though he writ that ſtory at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. publiſhed.

Spec. hiſt. lib. 30.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compaſs of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whoſe Travails are extant) hath obſerved ſo much of thoſe Regions as he hath don: proving and diſproving many things, heretofore ſubject to diſpute. And among others he burieth that antient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of thoſe famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muſcovia* known to every Merchant, and that they ariſe out of Lakes, low, wooddy, and mariſh grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariſeth to the South of the City *Tulla*, ſome twenty *Engliſh* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanoweſero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies.* *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki:* from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dſuina* or *Dividna.* And this learned *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia.* *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Ruſſians, Lithuanians, Muſcovians*, and thoſe adjoyning, bounded on the Weſt by the River of *Viſſa*, the Name perchance miſ-printed *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a River which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia:* and for the Eaſt-border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don.* *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame River of *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther Eaſt: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia within the Mountain Imaus.* And the ſame *Matthias Michon* further affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelf above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: theſe be his words: *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis* (*mutatis ſedibus*) *paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam: It is manifeſt* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coaſts of the Eaſt: from whence they entred into Aſia, & gat new ſeats a little more then* 300. *years ſince:* For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Aſiatica.* And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and this his Diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was Printed at *Auguſta* in the yeer 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the Eaſt; for in the Eaſt it was, that the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted, and the *Scythæ Sacræ* were thoſe people which lived at the North foot of thoſe Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themſelves with the great *Imaus.* And were there no other teſtimony then the general deſcription of the Earth now extant, and the witneſs of *Ptolemy*; it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only thoſe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* Sea: on the Eaſt ſhore of which Sea, but not on the Weſt, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

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§. VIII.

The fifth Argument; The Vine muſt grow naturally neer the place where the Arke reſted.

TO this if we add the conſideration of this part of the Text, *That* Noah *planted a Vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the *Arke* was ſuppoſed: for if the Vine was a ſtranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought Vines into *France*, and

Gen. 9. 20.

Saturnus into *Latium*: yea at ſuch times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neer unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was firſt brought them out of *Italy*; and after they taſted thereof, they haſted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth ſuch pleaſant Fruit: ſo as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elſe-where into *Italy*.

Servius Aeneid. Eutropius.

Now it is manifeſt, that *Noah* travailed not far to ſeek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counſel how to diſpoſe of the World among his children: and the firſt thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thankſgiving to God; and whereſoever the *Arke* reſted, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Huſband-man, and not a wanderer.

||. IX.

An anſwer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord ſcattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, ſaving that it may be inferred out of theſe words (*from thence*) becauſe it is written: *So that the Lord ſcattered them* [*from thence*] *upon all the Earth*; which hath no other ſenſe, but that the Lord ſcattered them (to wit) thoſe that built this Tower: for thoſe were from thence diſperſed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Weſtward. And by theſe words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it ſeemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altiſſimam, quaſi per eam Cœlum eſſent aſcenſuri: Certain of them built a moſt high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have ſcaled the Heavens.*

||. X.

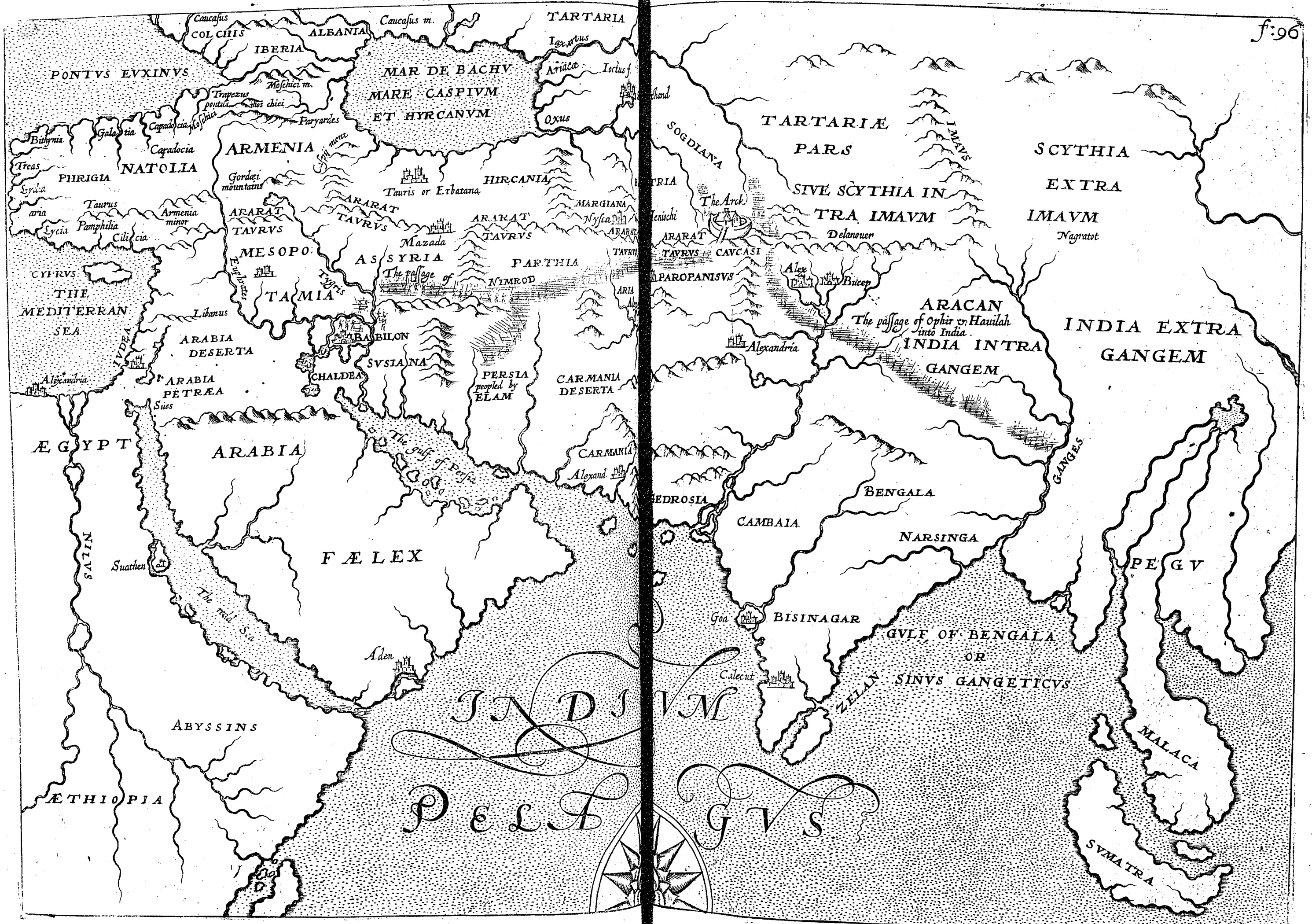
An anſwer to the objection of the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the heighth of the Hills there.*

BUt before I conclude this part, it is neceſſary to ſee and conſider what part of Scripture, and what reaſon may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Ark of *Noah* was forſaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only theſe words: *The Ark reſted on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, ſaith the Marginal Note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* calls it *Kardu*; of which, the higheſt hath the name of *Lubar*, ſaith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the ſame word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; becauſe *Armenia* it ſelf had antiently that name: ſo as firſt out of the name, and ſecondly out of the heighth (which they ſuppoſe exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark firſt ſate thereon.

Gen. 8 Epiph. 1. con Hæreſ.

But theſe ſuppoſitions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of thoſe Mountains of equal ſtature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the higheſt Mountain of all other to reſt on: for the Plains were alſo uncovered before *Noah* came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was ſuppoſed that the Ark ſtayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and ſeat of theſe Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not *Armenia*; they are placed where the City of *Cœlenes* was afterward built. Likewiſe in the ſame deſcription ſhe maketh mention of *Marſyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it ſelf with the River *Mæander*, which is far from the *Gordiæan* Mountain in *Armenia*. We may alſo find a great miſtaking in *Joſephus* (though out of *Beroſus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Joſephus* ſets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cœron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, ſo called by reaſon that the waters have from thence no deſcent, nor iſſue out) the people vaunt that they had in thoſe days reſerved ſome pieces of *Noahs* Ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Aſſyria*: ſo that all *Media* and a part of *Aſſyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the diſcovery of the Mountains *Cordiæi* was firſt borrowed out of *Beroſus* by *Joſephus*; yet the Text which *Joſephus* citeth out of *Beroſus* differs far from the words of that

Beroſus


Caucaſus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
IBERIA
Caucaſus m.
TARTARIA
Iaxartus
Ariaca
Ioctus f
Oxus
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Moſchici m.
Trapezus
pontica
Moſchi
Paryardes
Bithynia
Galatia
Capadocia
Caſpii montes
ARMENIA
NATOLIA
Troas
PHRIGIA
Gordæi mountains
Tauris or Erbatana
HIRCANIA
MARGIANA
Nyſca
Heniochi
Taurus
Pamphilia
Lycia
Cilicia
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MESOPO
TAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
ASSYRIA
Mazada
The paſſage of
NIMROD
PARTHIA
ARIA
CYPRVS
THE
MEDITERRAN
SEA
Libanus
IVDEA
ARABIA
DESERTA
BABILON
CHALDEA
SVSIANA
PERSIA
peopled by
ELAM
CARMANIA
DESERTA
ARABIA
PETRÆA
Sues
Alexandria
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
The gulf of Perſia
CARMANIA
Alexand
NILVS
Suathen
The redd Sea
FÆLEX
Aden
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
SOGDIANA
TARTARIÆ
PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA IN
TRA IMAVM
IMAVS
SCYTHIA
EXTRA
IMAVM
The Arck
ARARAT
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
Delanouer
Nagratot
PAROPANISVS
Alex
Bucep
ARACAN
The paſſage of Ophir & Havilah into India
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
GEDROSIA
CAMBAIA
BENGALA
NARSINGA
GANGES
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
Calecut
GVLF OF BENGALA
OR
SINVS GANGETICVS
ZELAN
INDICVM
PELAGVS
MALACA
SVMATRA

Beroſus, which wandereth up and down in theſe days, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus* cited by *Joſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam Bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti ſolent:* (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiæan Mountains; and that divers do ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they uſe it in ſtead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* uſeth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith:* ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diverſly written. The antient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C*); and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G*): the one that the *Bitumen* is uſed for a preſervative againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And if it be ſaid that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledg, nor from any approved Author: for one of them, uſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*); the one, *that ſo it is reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſaid*; and both but by hear-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountains which *Ptolemy* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelf giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia*, *Moſchici*. Theſe be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur uſque ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretched along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes:* which Mountains *Pliny* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which ly to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the *Gordiæan* Mountains in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, do ſtill remain *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Aſiæ

6.

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§. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers*, with other, that have ſeen the Mountains of *Armenia* find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any Mountain that ever hath been ſeen in *Armenia:* for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*; *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos.* Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint: Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountain called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof.* And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu: Caucaſus* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is the greateſt Mountain both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beams* (*uſq; ad conticinium*) which is, ſaith *Macrobius*, *between the firſt crowing after mid-night and the break of day:* Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the higheſt Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria:* which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at

Plut. Munſ. Coſm.

Ariſt. Met. cor l. 1. c. 13.

any ſuch late hours. Beſides theſe Mountains which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucaſus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame Mountain, which himſelf calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe Hills which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifeſt) yieldeth it ſelf to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabeſunda*) howſoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

||. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we ſhould take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth firſt appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybils* ſet it in *Phrygia*, and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus* authority, thoſe men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt Hill, and therefore moſt likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (ſaith *Hierom*) ſignifieth high Towers; and ſo may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucaſus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the Eaſt, are undoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themſelves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolemy* diſtinguiſheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia*, *Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt-ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt-ſide, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moſchici* are thoſe Hills which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

||. XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia, *to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvail that the ſame Ledg of Hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *ſhould keep the ſame name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAſtly, we muſt blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it ſelf, or elſe we muſt dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elſewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*; or elſe we ſhall wound the Truth it ſelf with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to every eye, we muſt underſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more then any one Hill among thoſe Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*: But as theſe, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, ſo all that long Ledg of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and croſs the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeem to ariſe. So all theſe Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpii*, *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diverſly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucaſus*, lying between the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountains which cut aſunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountains of *Ararat* run Eaſt and Weſt, ſo do thoſe marvailous Mountains of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* called theſe former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeveral names given by *Ptolemie*, was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdoms, which theſe great Mountains bound and diſſever; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropaniſus*: having all theſe Kingdoms, either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the Mountains of *Aſia* (both the leſs and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receive other titles, as they ſever and divide particular Places and Regions. For theſe Mountains which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſs, on the North-ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe

Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the Mountains called *Taurus*, running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her Weſt-bank, and on her Eaſt-ſide the Mountains are ſometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemie's* three Tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, untill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eaſtern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelves *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*; out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riſeth, which divideth the ancient *Perſian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her ſelf to *Oxus* (now *Abia*:) and drawing now near their ways end, they firſt make themſelves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly, of *Caucaſia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaſpis* and *Zaradrus*, ſpring forth and take beginning. And here do theſe Mountains build themſelves exceeding high, to equal the ſtrong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the Weſt parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe Mountains in this place onely are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith *Ptolemie*) that is, between *Paropaniſus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

||. XIV.

Of the beſt Vine naturally growing on the South ſide of the Mountain Caucaſi, *and toward the* Eaſt-Indies: *and of other excellencies of the ſoil.*

NOw, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nyſeus*, (ſo called of *Bacchus Nyſeus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on theſe higheſt Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ark* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approved. In his *Indo-ſcythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantaſtical opinions of this ſubject. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the beſt Vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the moſt delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewiſe in this Region of *Margiæna*: and under theſe Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the moſt excellent Vines of the World are found; the cluſters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the ſearchers of the Land, by *Moſes* direction, found bunches of equal bigneſs at *Eſcol*. *Numb. 13. 24.*

The fruitfulneſs of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of theſe Hills, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiæna*, near the Mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feaſt himſelf and his Army ten days together, finding the moſt delicate Wine of all other.

||. XV.

The Concluſion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

ANd therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe Mountains do alſo traverſe *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it ſelf ſometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paraponiſus* and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: ſo was *Ararat* the general name which *Moſes* gave them; the diverſity of appellations no otherwiſe growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like caſe do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it waſheth the Coaſts of *Carthage*, and over againſt it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Aſia*, *Ægeum*: between *Seſtus* and *Abydus*,

dus, *Helleſpont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this ſide, the *Brittain* Sea: to the Eaſt, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Queſtion, we muſt appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain ſence: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction than the words bear literally, becauſe they are uſed to the very ſame plain purpoſe of a deſcription, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely, where the ſence is plain (and being ſo underſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our ſelves any new or ſtrange expoſition; And (withall) to reſolve our ſelves, that every word (as aforeſaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we muſt reſpect and reverence the teſtimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as Saint *Auguſtine* hath taught us, touching the Goſpel of *Chriſt Jeſus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Diſcipulis Chriſti) in Evangelio legerit, quàm ſi ipſam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore geſtabat, conſpexerit*; *That no man otherwiſe take or underſtand that which he readeth in the Goſpel (the Diſciples of Chriſt having written it) than if he had ſeen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, ſetting it down.*

The words then of *Moſes*, which end this Gen.11.2. Diſpute, are theſe: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Playn in the Land of* Shinaar, *and there they abode*: which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted and took land to the Eaſt-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moſes* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always preciſely nameth toward what quarter of the World the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mountain in the Eaſt: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from Gen. 10. 30. the preſence of God, he addeth; *And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*: And when he deſcribeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words; Gen.4.16. *Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain Eaſt-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents*: Gen.12.8. *having Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt*: and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is written; *And* Abraham *went forth journeying towards the South*: alſo when *Ezekiel* prophecieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quarters: and of the Ezek. Queen of *Saba* it is written, that *ſhe came from the South to viſit* Solomon: And the Matth.1 *Magi*, (or *Wiſemen*) *came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto Chriſt*. 42. Matth. And that all Regions, and theſe travels were preciſely ſet down upon the points of the Compaſs and Quarters of the World, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cœlocyrians*, the *Tubalines*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the Eaſt, nor ſo near unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelf; and we muſt not ſay of *Moſes* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and thoſe *Gordiæan* Mountains, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the Ark reſted, ſtand in fourty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiæan* Mountains ſtand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, 95. degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſs. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus*; *In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings.* And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeak by hear-ſay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Beroſus* and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledg of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civil, which

which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtructor: and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame degree of 35. are the greateſt Grapes, and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which overtopped in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that thoſe parts were firſt Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for my ſelf I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountains of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt feigned, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentiful warm Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamque rem ſua ipſius lingua* Iſh-Adamath (*hoc eſt*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratuſque eſt*, *The ſtudy of Husbandry pleaſed* Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) *in the knowledg and order of which it is ſaid that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exerciſed in the earth.* Which alſo ſheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelf with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the World where he was firſt delivered out of the Priſon of the Ark, whereinto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the firſt planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

§. I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder then* Japhet.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l.16. c. 3. OF theſe Sons of *Noah*, Which was the eldeſt, there is a queſtion made. St. *Auguſtine* eſteemed *Shem* for the eldeſt, *Ham* for the ſecond, and *Japhet* for the youngeſt: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and eſpecially in *Moſes*, that there was never any reſpect given to the eldeſt in years, but in virtue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifeſt. In a few words, this is the ground of the controverſie; The *Latine* Tranſlation, and ſo the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Geneſis* the 10. *v.* 21. in theſe words: *Unto* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and elder brother of* Japhet, *were children born*. But *Junius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the ſame words in this manner: *To* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber. *and brother of* Japhet *the eldeſt Son, were children born*: So the tranſpoſition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar Traſlation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by theſe Tranſlations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwiſe indifferent) ſeeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to firſt and laſt in bloud, but to the eldeſt in piety, yet the arguments are ſtronger for *Japhet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly underſtood without any danger or inconvenience, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of judgment ſhould make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth year of his life, begat the firſt of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the ſix hundreth year (to wit) Gen. 11. 10. the hundreth year following, came the general Floud; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: ſo as *Shem* was but an hundred years old, two years after the Floud: and *Noah* begat his firſt born being 500. years old; and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the Floud, and in the ſix hundreth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which ſeeing the Scriptures before remem- Gen. 9. 24. bred hath denied him, and that it is alſo written: *Then* Noah *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him (to wit)* Ham; of neceſſity the firſt place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger ſon*, ſo converted by the Vulgar and *Geneva*, Junius *us* turns it *filius minimus*, *His youngeſt ſon*: but St. *Chryſoſtom* takes it otherwiſe, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or ſecond brother, and *Japhet* the youngeſt ſon of all: which *Cham* for his diſobedience and the contempt of his Father (whoſe nakedneſs he derided) was diſ-inherited, and loſt the preeminency of his birth, as *Eſau* and *Ruben* did. In Gen. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in reſpect of *Shem* the eldeſt, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that preciſe difference of *younger* and *youngeſt*, becauſe it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himſelf was always named in the firſt place; yet whereas in the firſt Verſe of the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*, in the ſecond Verſe *Moſes* leaveth to begin with the iſſue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* firſt. So the firſt place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty reſpect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour were deſcended of him. And therefore, whether we ſhall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this converſion, Shem *Frater* Japhet *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelius*, Shem *Fratris* Japhet *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, Shem *Frater* Japhet *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judg. But for ought that I have ſeen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldeſt. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the ſtrength of the former argument, That *Shem*'s age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a ſuppoſition that the Scriptures took no account of ſmaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any ſuch neglect at all: for it is written, that Gen. 11. v. 10. Shem *was an hundred years old, and begat* Arphaxad *two years after the floud*; and again in the 12. Verſe: *So* Shela *lived after he begat* Ebar, *four hundred and three years, &c.* ſo as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always preciſely accounted.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all reaſon are to be preſumed; touching the firſt planting of the World; as that all Hiſtories muſt yield to Moſes: *that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the firſt Ages were of the iſſue of* Ham.

BUt let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly underſtood, we ſhall find that many Nations have ſuppoſed or feigned themſelves thoſe Anceſtors and Fathers, which never ſaw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch deſcended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the ſons and iſſues of *Noah* were diſtributed, and what Regions were firſt planted by them, from whence by degrees the reſt of the world was alſo peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the ſame muſt be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For ſo far as the ſtory of Nations is therein handled, we muſt know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and teſtimony of antiquity whatſoever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, the ſame hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful obſervers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth *Euſebius* in the *Proœme* of his Chronology: Moſes *is found more antient than all thoſe whom the Grecians make moſt antient, as* Homer, Heſiod, *and the Trojan War*; *and far before* Hercules, Muſæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Caſtor, Pollux, Æſculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the reſt of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the Greeks have ſeated in the top and higheſt Turret of their Divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the antienteſt was the ſon of *Æther* Cicero de Nat. Deorum. l. 3. whoſe three ſons begotten on *Proſerpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* Moſes *populum Dei ex Egypto noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moſes *brought the children of Iſrael out of Egypt in the laſt days of* Cecrops *King of the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of that City it ſelf, but *Theſeus* long after him. De civit. Dei l. 18. c. 11. But becauſe the truth hereof is diverſly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needleſs queſtion, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of *Japhet* were { *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meſhach*, and *Tiras*.
{ The Sons of *Gomer* were, { *Askenaz*. *Riphath*, *Togorma*.
{ The Sons of *Javan* were, { *Eliſha*, *Tarſhis*, *Kittim*, and *Dodonim*.

Firſt, we are to conſider, that the World after the Floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them, upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore we muſt call to mind, and conſider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſs of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten graſs; what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what mariſhes, fens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was peſtered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitfull Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ſtart of 130. years to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod*, either by order or ſtrength, took the Dominion, did, after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palæſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldæa*, at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people, by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed, the great Maſters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, untill divers years were conſumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Deſcents together.

§. III.

Of the Iſles of the Gentiles *in* Japhets *Portion: of* Beroſus *his too ſpeedy ſeating* Gomer *the Son of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhets *Sons*, Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moſes* beginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Iſles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which diviſion, as well to *Japhets* Sons, as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diviſion were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one; of which queſtion elſe-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Iſles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the Iſles adjoyning, and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an Iſland, both in reſpect that the Sea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus*, and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelf is (in effect) ſurrounded with water, ſaving that it is faſtned to *Aſia* by the North; for it hath thoſe Seas before named to the Eaſt, the *Mediterrane* to the South and South-weſt, the Ocean to the Weſt, and *Brittiſh*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale*, to the North, North-eaſt, and North-weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades*, or Iſles lying between *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Iſles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*; *Sicilia*,

cilia, Corſica, Sardinia, Malta, the Iſles of *Brittanie*, and *Zeland*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Aſia*, and the North, which was alſo very great, anſwereth to Gen 9. 27. that bleſſing of God by *Noah. Dilatet Deus* Japheth; *Let God ſpread abroad* (or increaſe the Poſterity of) *Japheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of* Shem. For though *Junius* here uſeth the word *alliciat*, and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva, perſuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet*, or *amplificet*; and ſuch was the bleſſing given to our Fathers, which God promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a bleſſing by God to the Poſterity of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they ſhould be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldeſt. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Beroſus* and *Annius*, whoſe authority the greateſt number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, depart from *Babylonia*,&planted *Italy*: which alſo *Functius* confirmeth in theſe words, *Anno decimo* Nimrodi, *&c.* Funct. Chronol. *In the tenth year of* Nimrods *Reign*, Gomerus Gallus *planted a Colony in that Land afterward called* Italy: *and in the twelfth year of the ſame* Nimrods *Reign*, Tubal *ſeated himſelf in* Auſturia *in* Spain (*now called* Biſcay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *years after the Floud, according to* Beroſus. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confuſion of Tongues, the Children of *Noah* did not ſeparate themſelves, at leaſt ſo many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore conſider with reaſon, what time the building of ſuch a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform ſuch a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himſelf out of his Authour *Beroſus* witneſſeth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium*; *To the height and magnitude of the Mountains.* Sure that both this City and Tower was almoſt builded, the Scriptures witneſs: *but the Lord came down to ſee the City and Tower which the* Gen. c. 11. *Sons of men had builded.* Let us then but allot a time ſufficient for the making of Brick to ſuch a Work, of the greateſt heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation anſwerable) that ever was. For where the univerſal Floud covered the higheſt Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a City and Tower* (ſaith *Nimrod*) *whoſe top may reach unto the Heaven*: meaning, that they would raiſe their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the higheſt Mountain, otherwiſe they could not aſſure themſelves from the fear of a ſecond Inundation: a great part whereof was finiſhed before it fell, and before they left the work. They alſo began this building upon a ground, the moſt oppreſſed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which theſe waters forcibly over-bearing and overflowing, made in the time of the ſucceeding Emperours, is made manifeſt; approved alſo by the Prophet *Jeremie*, ſpeaking of *Babylon* in theſe words: *Thou that dwelleſt upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a ſubſtantial foundation for ſo high a raiſed building on a mariſh ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Geneſis* giveth fourty years. For it ſeemeth that the Tower was near finiſhed when God overthrew it: it being afterward written; *So the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City.* Out of which place it may be gathered (becauſe the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their ſuppoſed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is alſo to be noted, that till ſuch time as this confuſion ſeized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) theſe Nations did not diſperſe themſelves: for *from thence the Lord ſcattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers ſpeech. Now, to Gen. 11. think that this work, in the newneſs of the World, (wanting all inſtruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the ſame year, could creep through 3000. miles of Deſart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let thoſe light believers, that neither tye themſelves to the Scripture, nor to reaſon, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near ſuch a time, (and then) when the World had ſtood 1556. years; it were more than fooliſhneſs, and madneſs it ſelf, to think that ſuch a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. years, and whereof they had ſpent ſome part in travelling from the Eaſt. Again, if all *Aſia* ſet to their helping hands Pliny. in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they conſumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but half that time) and in ſuch an Age as when the World flouriſhed in all ſorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants ſuppoſed) be erected in

thoſe few years remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgment weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the Weſt *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many years by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India*, or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar*, which lieth in 79. degrees (the diſtance between thoſe places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the body of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon*, or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia*, or *Biſcay*, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the Ark reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000. miles, to Countries leſs known unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was known to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what he underſtood of moſt part of the world elſe, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelf to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* 66. Reign: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a Nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, that the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and ſo ſave this great travel through Deſarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in thoſe days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque ſo great a People, as we may juſtly ſuppoſe thoſe Conductors carried with them, will not eaſily believe that there were any Veſſels in thoſe days to tranſport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whoſe milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting diſhes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeſt times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themſelves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdſmen. Now, if *Tubal* had paſt by Sea from any part of *Palæſtina, Syria*, or *Silicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado, Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract; paſt the *Streights* of *Gibralter*; diſdained all *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*, with all thoſe goodly Ports and Countreys; and have ſought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biſcay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were ſcarce any Veſſels that durſt croſs the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jaſon* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, ſuch as they uſe this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but four and fifty paſſengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum uſus: For in former times they uſed very ſmall veſſels.* Diod. Sicul. l. 4 c. 4. fol. 115. I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themſelves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* aſcribed the invention of Ships to them:

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros. Tibull. Eleg. 7.
Tyrus knew firſt how Ships might uſe Strab. l. 16.
the Wind.

And for thoſe Boats called *Longæ naves*, or Gallies, *Pliny* ſaith, that *Ægeſias* aſcribeth Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. the device to *Paralus*: and *Philoſtephanus*, to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias*, to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus*, to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus*, to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythræi* are ſaid to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Aminocles* Thucid. the *Corinthian* to have increaſed them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* firſt to have been uſed by *Neſichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Veſſels, in thoſe parts of the World, the *Romans* ſerved themſelves in the *Punick* War. But theſe be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deviſing of theſe Gallies on *Seſoſtris*, though *Semiramis* uſed them in the paſſage of her Army over *Indus* in *Abrahams* Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. time. So it is ſaid, that *Danaus* was the firſt Euſeb. de præp. Evang. c. 1. brought a Ship into *Greece*; and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention: and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to Tert. de Coron. mil. *Minerva*: others, to *Neptune*; *Thucydides*, to the *Corinthians*. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe Ages, as the *Egyptians* uſed to coaſt the ſhores of the Red-Sea upon raffs, deviſed by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britans* had a kind of Boat (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have ſeen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſe-where. *Naves ex corio circumſutæ in Oceano* Britannico (ſaith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primum cana ſalix, madefacta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſupernatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moiſtned Oſyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven firſt into a little Boat: (billow
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling *Poe*
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* ſo
On th'out-ſpread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah*, by Gods inſpiration, was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Ark*, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the *Ark* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattel; as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or uſe of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Navigation would not have been dead for ſo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and Neceſſity: and to the reſt, neither probability, nor poſſibility.

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§. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal, *and* Meſhech, *ſeated firſt about* Aſia *the Leſs*; *out of* Ezechiel, Chap. 38. 39.

NOw, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus*, was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſs and fabulous; whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for currant, have been by him far miſs-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the Son of *Japheth* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japheths* Iſſues poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the Leſs was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeaks of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity. Chap. 37. v. 19.

By which Prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* David *my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Sheepherd*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this Union, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their return, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœloſyrians*, next bordering

Palæſtina, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſs, which lay North from *Judæa*. The C. 38. v. 2. words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: *Son of man, ſet thy face againſt* Gog, *and againſt the Land of* Magog, *the chief Princes of* Meſhech (or *Moſoch*) *and* Tubal: and afterward; *Behold, I come againſt the chief Prince of* Meſhech *and* Tubal: and in the ſixth Verſe; Gomer *and all his Bands, and the Houſe of* Togorma *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* having firſt delivered the purpoſe of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that ſhould in vanity aſſayl *Iſrael*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how ſeated and joyned together. *Gog* ſignifieth in the *Hebrew* (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) *tectum* or *covering of a houſe*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt*: for (ſaith In Ezech. he) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli tegumentum ſub ſpecie humana*: *That Antichriſt ſhall be the covering of the Devil under humane form.* He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog*: the Letter (M) being an *Hebrew* Prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of*, or, *from*: ſo he taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt*. So far *Pintus*; at leaſt in this not amiſs, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a Nation: with which agreeth this obſervation of *Beroaldus*, *Magog* (ſaith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is uſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) alſo Prince of *Meſhech* (or *Moſoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the firſt Verſe of the 29. Chapter is made manifeſt: *Behold, I come againſt thee* Gog *the chief Prince of* Meſhech *and* Tubal. This muſt needs be meant by the Succeſſors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſeek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguiſh the Religion it ſelf (which the *Hebrews* profeſs'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and de dead Images. S. *Ambroſe* and *Iſidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike, becauſe they invaded *Europe*, and ſacked *Rome*, and many other places and cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, eſteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others, of a Region: others, for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who ſayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greeks* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having ſlain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof alſo the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* alſo findeth in *Lydia* (of Strab. lib. 13. which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum ſtagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* ſet it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mœnander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who, after he had ſubdued the Country about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the Promontory *Trapeſe* after his own name *Gyges*. Theſe Opinions do alſo ſeem to ſtrengthen that of *Junius*. For Suid. Col. 207. *Magog*, ſaith he, is that part of *Aſia* the leſs, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Son *Crœſus*; who (as *Junius* further notes) Jun. in Ezech. 38. having maſtered all thoſe Regions as farr South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the City *Gigarta*, or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* ſignifieth the City of *Gog*) ſeated in *Cœloſyria*, whoſe People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now, that *Magog* is found in *Cœloſyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, ſaying; Cœloſyria *habet* Bambycen, *quæ alio nomine* Hierapolis *vocatur*: *Syris verò*, Magog; Cœloſyria *hath in it* Bambyce, *which in another name is called* Hieropolis; *but of the* Syrians, *Magog*. He further telleth us, that the monſtrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worſhipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, ſaying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expreſſeth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word *Magog*, as ſounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may believe *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, the ſame *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where Strab. l. 16. the ſame Idol was worſhipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of theſe Authors did not miſtake the place of this *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be, that the ſame name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palæſtina*, and were both ſubject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Joſephus*, but grant that, perhaps, *Magog* might alſo be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithſtanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœloſyria*, and the North parts adjoyning be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from theſe parts they might be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-eaſt, waſted the better part of *Aſia* the leſs, and poſſeſt *Cœloſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* ſtandeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North-quarters thoſe Nations ſhould come. For as the Kings of the South which infeſted the *Iſraelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: ſo thoſe of the North were the Kings of *Aſia* and *Syria*, the Succeſſors of *Seleucus*, the Succeſſors of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias*. *Pliny* takes it not onely to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have ſaid, but alſo *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the ſame name: now, the known name is *Aleppo*: for ſo *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for ſo the word *Hierapolis* ſignifieth) yet was it a place of moſt deteſted Idolatry, and wherein was worſhipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergates*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

Lib. 4. cap. de bello ſacro.

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third Verſe of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meſhech* and *Tubal*; and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly North from *Judæa*: with whom alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) ſafely conclude, that theſe Followers and Vaſſals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in reſpect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœloſyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Beroſus*, *Joſephus*, and whoſoever elſe hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Joſephus* refer himſelf to latter times, and think that ſome *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſs into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (moſt part poſſeſſed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſs of time theſe people might from their firſt habitation, paſs into the Countries neer the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain*.

Joſephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were antiently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (ſaith *Juſtine*) *they paſſed into* Spain *to ſearch out the mines of that Region*: having belike underſtood that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following Verſes, telling how the *Argonautes* did viſit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant.

The *Calybes* plough not their barren ſoil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchaſe of their endleſs toil
For Merchandize, which their poor lives ſuſtains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was firſt peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever ſince an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were eaſily drawn to paſs over the *Streights* into that Countrey: and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrods* Reign, *Tubal* paſt into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Vual*: a poor Town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we muſt find *Moſhoch* or *Meſhech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farr off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their aſſiſtants. And that *Meſhech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe be his words: Meſacus, *qui à* Moſe Meſech, *priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte uſque ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſteà* Cappadocia *dicta eſt, in qua urbs* Mazica, *&c. hæc eſt terra* Magog *principalis*; Meſacus, *whom* Moſes *calleth* Meſech, *placed the ancient* Meſians *from the Mount* Adulas, *unto the Coaſts of* Pontus. *This Region was afterward called* Cappadocia, *in which is the Town* Mazica, *&c. this is the principal Countrey of* Magog. And this doth *Annius* alſo avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meſech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly Weſt, and not North from *Judæa*. Alſo *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that theſe Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far ſoever ſtretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horſmen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all ſhall ride upon Horſes, even a great multitude, and a mighty*. Then, if any man believe that theſe troups came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and firſt paſſed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is half the length or compaſs of the then known World; he may be called a ſtrong Believer, but he ſhall never be juſtified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palæſtina* or *Judæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſs, (namely; the *Seleucida*) and held it, til *Scipio Aſiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they poſſeſt *Syria*, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt, he ſeated himſelf with *Togarma*, not farr from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſs; and in long tract of time his valiant Iſſue filled all *Germany*, reſted long in *France* and *Brittany*, and poſſeſſed the utmoſt borders of the Earth, accompliſhing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the ſignification of their Parents name, which is *Utmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Reſtorer of our Antiquities, M. *William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth ſignifie *Robbers*; neceſſity inforcing them to ſpoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the ſeats which they poſſeſſed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authority of *Cæſar* affirming it, is proof ſufficient. But in times following, they purſued richer Conqueſts, and more eaſie, though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawn at length into *Aſia* the leſs, and occupied thoſe parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitours. I ſay not that they claimed thoſe Lands as theirs by Deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late Ages they returned thither; unleſs he will think, that all thoſe Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now, concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wiſdom, ſirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moſes* never heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Japheths* Sons) they muſt find him in ſome old Poet: For *Functius*, a great *Beroſian*, confeſſeth: *Quis hic* Samothes *fuerit incertum eſt*; *Who this* Samothes *was, it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom *Cæſar* ſaith the *Gaules* ſuppoſe to be their Anceſtor; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with *Functius*: *Mays on ne ſcayt qui il eſtoit*; *No man knows who he was*.

In Chron.

Cæſar. Comment.

Vigni part. 1. Chron.

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§. V.

Againſt the fabulous Beroſus *his Fiction, That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

BUt before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is neceſſary to diſprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelf; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wreſted) by thoſe Authors of whom himſelf hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Beroſus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* ſeeks to perſwaded us, that *Noah* (ſurnamed *Janus*) was the ſame which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92. years. This to diſprove, by *Moſes* ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to me, if there were nothing elſe to diſprove it. For, if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needleſs labour for me to diſprove the authority of that *Beroſus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, ſeeing ſo many learned men have ſo demonſtratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Beſides that, *Tatianus* the *Aſſyrian*, in his Oration againſt the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Beroſus* wrote onely three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Succeſſor of *Seleucus* *Nicanor*:

Ann. de Hetruſ.

Pict. de aur. ſæculo.

Cato de origen.

Lavin. illuſt. de Gall.

Joſeph. l. 1.

Nicanor: but *Annius* hath deviſed five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Beroſus*. And whereas *Beroſus* handled onely the eſtate of the *Chaldæans* and *Aſſyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the buſineſs of all the World. And if we may believe *Euſebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) conſumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrival into *Italy*, there paſt 1126. (after the leaſt rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the firſt of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the Worlds year (as ſome reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Floud: and ſo there paſt between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* ſurnamed *Janus* 704 years. For *Saturnus* ſucceeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Aſſyria*; with *Pelaſgus* of *Peloponneſus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampſon* Judge of *Iſrael*. Now, all theſe five Kings of the *Latines* having conſumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the laſt of them in the time of *Sampſon*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: ſo had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Tranſlation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the ſame. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were deſcended of a farr more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19, 23. and ſo the place of Eſai. 66. 19. (for *Javan*) *Hellada*: and (for the plural *Javanim*) *Hellenæ*.

Laſtly, we ſee by a true experience, that the *Britiſh* Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the *Engliſh* Speech ever ſince the invaſion of the *Angles*, and the ſame continuance have all Nations obſerved among themſelves, though with ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ſtrange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain reſemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguiſhed) ſhould have been found in the Languages of thoſe Countreys. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelves with the *Grecian Janus* which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years (ſaith *Euſebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fifth King: which alſo Saint *Auguſtine* and *Juſtine* confirm: and this agreeth with reaſon, time, and poſſibility. And if this be not ſufficient to diſprove this vanity, I may out of themſelves add thus much: That whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (others *Camaſena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who inſtituted the holy Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Heatheniſh Ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to believe that *Noah* himſelf (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *have walked with God*, to be a juſt man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and ungrateful, to ſet up or deviſe any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have inſtituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew beſt pleaſing to God himſelf.

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§. VI.

That Gomer *alſo and his Son* Togorma *of the Poſterity of* Japheth, *were firſt ſeated about* Aſia *the Leſs: and that from thence they ſpred Weſtward into* Europe, *and Northward into* Sarmatia.

To turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obſerve, that as both reaſon and neceſſity taught them; ſo, when they multiplied in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelves into the next Countreys bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart, and overpreſt with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chuſh* took the South part of *Chaldæa* down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might paſs to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoa*, near the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame River get up to *Babylon*, and receive ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes*, in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, calleth the Land of *Chuſh*: becauſe the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chuſhite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for a while op-

preſt,

preſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſon of *Chuſh*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the River: by which River his people might alſo paſs to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial ſeat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was antiently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Chuſh* himſelf took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſt-ward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*.

Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 4.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Perſian gulf*, which waſheth the banks of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſons of *Cuſh* might take Land down the River as they pleaſed. Alſo the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid River of *Tygris*, and from thence a *Colonie* paſs'd to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheths* ſons ſettle themſelves together, and took their ſeats in *Aſia* the leſs: from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves Northward, and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate down firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palæſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his children, paſs'd on into *Aſia* the leſs, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſs, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſs *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthful waters ſavouring of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

Lib. 4.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moſchici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moſchici*, and the Mountains *Pariardes*: out of whoſe North part ſpringeth the River *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melancthon*); and it may be, that in proceſs of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melancthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching forth*. *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Solomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſs *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the prophecy of *Ezechiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Faires, Horſes, and horſemen, and Mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be, in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod's* reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the firſt and ſecond Plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the Floud, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſs underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations

1 King. 5. 18.

Jun. in Gen. 10. verſe 3.

Judg. 17. 14.

Note.

could be hardly known: only reaſon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the reſt.

From *Madai* the third ſon of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth ſon of* Japheth: *and of* Meſech *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Japheth.

OF *Javan* the fourth ſon of *Japheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and ſo the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Eſay*: *Et mittam ex iis qui ſalvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here uſeth the word (*Tarſhiſh*) for *Tarſus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* uſe the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Anceſtors, and growing (as it were) out of the ſoile it ſelf: who abounding in people, ſent Colonies into *Aſia* the leſs, of whom came *Thucyd.* the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marrs the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tels us that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſaly* with all his Fathers treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciouſly received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two ſons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſtors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſtneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe words: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia*; *Theſe Countries are not Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*: and on the other ſide which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia.*

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certain companies into *Aſia* the leſs, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themſelves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hæcateus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſs had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Aſia* the leſs in his paſſage; and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelf believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*; for ſo much he had learned from themſelves: which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Aſia* the Leſs, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howſoever the *Greeks* vaunt themſelves to be Fathers of Nations, and the moſt antient; yet all approved Hiſtorians (not their own) deride and diſprove their pride and vanity therein. For this diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) reſted between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Juſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanaïs* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) lived together *Lib. 18. civ. De c. 10.* with *Moſes*.

The ſixth ſon of *Japheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſech* (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that between *Meſech* the ſon of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſech*) the ſon of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus*, with the Vulgar, writeth *Meſech*, the ſon of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Maſh*; *Junius*, *Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalm*, that either *Meſhech* the ſon of *Japheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himſelf: or elſe (which may rather ſeem) that it took name from *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) uſeth theſe words: *Wo is me that I remain in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus; *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſence: *Wo is me* *Pſal. 120. v. 5.* *becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum taburnaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of Aſia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians.* But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Meſhech* or *Meſch* both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſock* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled ſo far North (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*: and herein alſo *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judgment; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalm*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country *Gen. 25. 13.* took name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſon of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſs to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angel to *Hagar*, Gen. 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the Leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt Plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly into *Muſcovia*; and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witneſs antiquity.

Tyras, the ſeventh ſon of *Japheth*, which *Mont. in Chr.* *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the World *Tyras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three,

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

§. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sons of* Gomer.

A*ſcanez* was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neer the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*: *Melanch. in Car. lib. 1.* (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanes*) and that the word ſignifieth, *a Religious Keeper of fire*: it being an antient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to

Hom. Iliad. 2. the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God:* becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis*; *In face and body like one of the gods: Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, Virg. Geor. l. 3. together with the Hills *Gargara:* as, *Illas ducit amor trans* Gargara, *tranſque ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the mountains* Gargara, *and the roaring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farr within the Countries of *Bithynia:* and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troâs*, built by *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas:* ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Now, whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we ſhall learn of what Nation the *Aſcanez* Cap. 51. v. 27. were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of* Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſcanez, *againſt her*, &c. meaning, againſt the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the leſſer *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name (ſaith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-Padan*. Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we ſhall erre much to call *Askenez Germany*, or *Almain:* for we hear of no ſwart *Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenez* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes:* of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphath*, the ſecond Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered farr off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeat himſelf with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no room or ſoil in thoſe days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Joſephus*) called the *Paphlagones:* and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melancthon*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia:* the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarũ gens maxima Heneti*, *The greateſt number of the* Sarmatians *were the* Heneti; who ſpake the ancient *Polac:* which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a cuſtom exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks:* Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence thy croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melancthon*) of a warmer ſoil of Fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, Melanct. Carion. whom *Melancthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the Land between the *Baltick* and

Adriatick Sea: and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the Plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melancthon*) ſignifieth wandering, or wanderers, or *Nomades:* a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have ſpoken already; now therefore of *Javans* children, which were four:

Eliſa, Tharſis, Cethim, Dodonim.

§. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: *and of the double ſignification of* Tharſis, *either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Eliſa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles:* and of this *Eliſa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melancthon* makes *Eliſa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*; or of both. And ſeeing the *Greeks* were deſcended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Eliſa* his Verſ. 7. eldeſt Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chap. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Iſles of *Eliſa*, *Hyacinthus & purpura de inſulis* Eliſæ *facta ſunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silk and purple, brought from the Iſles of* Eliſa, *was their covering*. The *Chaldæans* for *Eliſa*, write *Italia:* but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Eliſa:* and ſo I think they might do with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch Purple-Die in *Italy* in thoſe days, nor ſince, that I can read of: but thoſe Iſles of *Eliſa*, were by a better conjecture the Iſles of *Greece*; and the beſt Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelf: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coaſt of *Getulia*.

Tharſis the ſecond Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus*, for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, underſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſerving the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa*.) But *Solomons* Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Eſion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moſes* Father-in-law,) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chuſites*; and they ſailed to the higher part of the *Eaſt-India*. For it had been a ſtrange Navigation to have ſpent three years in the paſſage between *Judæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been ſailed in ſix or ten days. And if ſo great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterrane* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would ſoon have entertained that Trade alſo. But this enterpriſe of *Solomon* is in this ſort written of, in the firſt of *Kings: Alſo King* Solomon *made a Navie of Ships in* Eſion-Gaber, *which is beſide* Elath, *and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of* Edom: *and* Hyram *ſent with the Navie his ſervants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſervants of* Solomon: *and they came to* Ophir, *and fet from thence* 420. *Talents of gold*, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word uſed for the Sea in general) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterrane* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Ships, and were the firſt Navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* uſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for we uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but uſed for the Sea it ſelf. But in this place, *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond Son of *Javan*, or by his Succeſſors in memory of their firſt Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the firſt overthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelf into the River to bathe and waſh his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharſis* was S. *Paul* born. Now, this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, and that part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Javan*, who was to paſs over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the ſame Coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gave the Iſlands betwen *Aſia* the leſs and *Greece* to *Eliſa*, and left *Tharſis* upon the Sea-ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melancthons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (ſaith he) and ſignifies *percuſſores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that the place of *Iſai.* 23. (according to *Melancthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab* Eſai *prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſſimo tertio inquit, venturos eſſe everſores Tyri ex terra* Cittim; *This calamity* (*ſaith* Melancthon) *was foreſhewed by* Eſai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the deſtroyers of* Tyre *were come out of* Cittim. And although the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men Iſlanders, which came to them by Sea, and ſeparate from the Continent (and ſo alſo *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, ſaith *Beoraldus*) yet we muſt take the firſt performance of the former Prophecie which took effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who, after ſeven Moneths ſiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ſeven thouſand principal Citizens; ſtrangled two thouſand, and changed the freedom of thirteen thouſand others into bondage and ſlavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the firſt of the *Macchabees*, in theſe words: *After that* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *the Son of* Philip, *went forth of the Land of* Cethim, *and ſlew* Darius *King of the* Perſians, *and* Medes. *Joſephus* ſets *Cethim* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, in which (ſaith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Country of *Zeno* the Philoſopher (witneſs *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it ſtood in S. *Hieroms* time. So it may be that all the Iſlands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the Iſlands of *Cethim*; and in that ſence might *Cyprus* be ſo called alſo; and yet, becauſe *Tharſis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over againſt it, it is alſo very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that Iſland too ſtraight for his people, after they were increaſed, and that the reſt of the Coaſts, both in *Aſia* and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he ſent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngeſt brother (by the moſt opinions) ſate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharſis*, and *Eliſa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodanim* are uſed indifferently by many Tranſlators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are ſo alike, as the one may eaſily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is alſo found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Moloſſia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted ſoil in *Cyprus*: ſo *Dodonim* (ſeated in a farr leſs Iſland) did of neceſſity ſend his people farther off; and keeping alongſt the Coaſt, and finding *Peloponneſus* in the poſſeſſion of *Eliſa*, he paſſed a little further on the Weſtward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built (or perchance not ſo ancient as *Dodonim* himſelf) yet his poſterity might give it that name in the memory of their firſt Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themſelves, but by their ſucceſſors many years after: every of their Families being deſirous to retain among them, by thoſe memories, out of what branch themſelves were taken and grafted elſe-where. And becauſe great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greateſt Cities often fired and demoliſhed, therefore thoſe that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Anceſtors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freeſt from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* ſettle himſelf and his children in the edge and frontier of *Aſia* the leſs, towards the Sea-ſhore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Iſlands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meſech*, and the reſt, round about him. And in like ſort did *Chuſh* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the Weſt and South-weſt: and the Sons of *Chuſh* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelf) travelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and South-weſtward into *Arabia Petræa*: the reſt of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chuſh* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palæſtina* adjoyning. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all thoſe Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to thoſe of the Sons of *Shem*, which ſpread themſelves towards the Weſt, and the borders of the *Mediterrane* Sea: of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But firſt of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chuſh, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

§. X.

That the ſeat of Chuſh *the eldeſt Son of* Ham, *was in* Arabia, *not in* Æthiopia: *and of ſtrange Fables, and ill Tranſlations of Scriptures, grounded on the miſtaking of this point.*

||. I.

Of Joſephus *his Tale of an* Æthiopeſs, *Wife of* Moſes, *grounded on the miſtaking of the ſeat of* Chuſh.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifeſt in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Pſalm*, verſ. 51. *Then* Iſrael *came to* Egypt, *and* Jacob *was a ſtranger in the Land of* Ham: and in the 78. *Pſalm*, *He ſlew all the firſt-born in* Egypt, *even the beginning of their ſtrength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is alſo found a great City in *Thebaidai*, called *Cheramis* (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* alſo diſcovers an Iſland in the ſame Region. But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeak firſt of him. Now, though I have already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and (I hope) proved that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet ſeeing it cometh now to his turn to ſpeak for himſelf, I will add ſome farther proof to the former. For, the manifeſtation hereof ſets many things ſtreight, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenceleſs interpretations. Surely, howſoever the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have herein failed, that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Deſart: which Regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſate down altogether. And there is nothing which ſo well cleareth the Controverſie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. verſ. 1. where *Moſes* his Wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeak of *Nebuchodonozor*'s Conqueſts. For whereas *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Numb.* 12. verſ. 1. as alſo elſe-where, underſtand *Chuſh* for *Æthiopia*, we muſt give credit to *Moſes* himſelf herein; and then it will appear that *Joſephus* was groſly miſtaken, or vainly led by his own invention.

Herod. in Euterpe.

For *Joſephus*, preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moſes* (which in Scripture, *Numb.* 12. verſ. 1. is called a Woman of *Chuſh*) was a Woman of the Land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the perſon and fame of *Moſes*, while he beſieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain *Moſes* for her Huſband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it ſelf, and to deliver it into *Moſes* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Joſephus*. And after he hath deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Chambyſes* called ſo from the name of his Siſter (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: *Hic cum* Moſes *reſidere exercitum otioſum ægrè ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat* Æthiopum *Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which Tale hath this ſence in *Engliſh*: *When* Moſes *was grieved that his Army lay idle, becauſe the Enemy beſieged durſt not ſally and come to handy-ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the mean while: The* Æthiopian *King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at ſome aſſaults given, beheld the perſon of* Moſes, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moſes *had not onely up-held and reſtored the falling eſtate of the* Egyptians, *but had alſo brought the conquering* Æthiopians *to the very brink of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increaſed, ſhe made means to ſend unto him by one of her truſtieſt ſervants, to offer her ſelf unto him, and become his Wife; which* Moſes *on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliver the City into his poſſeſſion; whereupon ſhe condeſcending, and* Moſes *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.*

Antiq. l. 2. cap. 5.

||. II.

A Diſpute againſt the Tale of Joſephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moſes* hath not a word) hath *Joſephus* faſhioned, and therein alſo utterly miſtaken himſelf, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it ſelf to have been the Countrey of *Moſes* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, ſaying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Joſephus*

can perſwade us, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came from the South to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Black-Moor*. And though *Damianus à Goes* ſpeak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Preſter John*, of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals*, that he was deſcended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Solomon* had any Son by that great Princeſs: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Hieruſalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aid and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our Opinion of *Moſes* his Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moſes* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North-coaſt of the Red-Sea, over againſt the body of *Egypt*, and near *Eſion-Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red-Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Idumæa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North; to *Arabia Petræa*, by the Eaſt; to the Mediterrane, by the Weſt; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-eaſt. And if we mark the way which *Moſes* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appear that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelf, he had formerly lived fourty years; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and S. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide, this Text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in
Verſ. 15. *Exodus* the ſecond, *Therefore* Moſes *fled from* Pharaoh, *and dwelt in the Land of* Madian *or* Midian, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro *his Father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, *and drave the Flock to the Deſart, and came to the mountain of God in* Horeb. Now, that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moſes* himſelf, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a *Negro*, but a *Madianiteſs*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt *Exod.* 1. means: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate, and a ſtranger) defended the Daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countreys.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Æthiopian*, it had been a farr progreſs for him to have paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Ægyptians* hating *Moſes*, and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandered fourty years, and did by theſe late travels of his, ſeek to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milk of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own deſire, and Gods Commandments.

Laſtly, this Opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chryſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who a- *Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl.* vowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuiſſe* Moſen, &c. Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two Wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things feigned by them? for it is manifeſt, that the Wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for* Æthiopia *beyond* Egypt; *being the ſame that joyneth to* Arabia: So farr *Chryſamenſis*.

||. III.

Chuſh *ill expounded for* Æthiopia, *Ezechiel* 29. 10.

NOw, as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the Wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the con-
Ezech. 29. 10. queſt of *Nebuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifeſt that *Nebuchodonoſor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of* Seveneh, *even to the borders of the* Black-Moors: which laſt words ſhould have been thus converted: *From the Tower* Seveneh, *to the borders of the* Chuſites, or *Arabians*, between which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſence at all, *Seveneh* it ſelf being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Black-Moors*. So as if *Nebuchodonoſors* conqueſt had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſs no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of *England* between *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſence with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nebuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

||. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, *Chap.* 30. *Verſ.* 9. *in the like manner miſtaken.*

ANd as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam* Æthiopiæ *confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day ſhall their meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs* Moors *afraid*. Now, the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia*, for *Æthiopia*, or the *Black-Moors*, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing, that to paſs out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia*, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt Nebuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long weariſom march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nebuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to paſs into it; being all one large and firm Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, I have already obſerved, the Sons of every Father ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Aſia* the leſs; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Iſlands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the ſons and grandchildren of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeat) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguate unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude, in a word, the *Hebrews* had never acquaintance or fellowſhip, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian Black-Moors*, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

||. V.

A place, Eſay 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking* Chuſh *for* Æthiopia.

ANd as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia*, or *Chuſh*, which puts the Story (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what ſence hath this part of Scripture, *Iſai.* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum ala-*

rum quæ eſt trans flumina Æthiopiæ; or, according to the *Septuagint*, in theſe words: *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Æ*thiopiæ; *Wo to the Land ſhadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of* Æthiopia, *ſending Embaſſadors by Sea, even the Veſſels of Reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbroſæ oræ; Wo to the Land of the ſhady coaſt*, ſaith *Junius*, The former Tranſlators underſtand it in this ſence; That the waters are ſhadowed with the ſails, which are ſignificatively called the wings of the ſhips; the other, that the coaſt of the Sea was ſhadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this Meſſage to the *Iſraelites*, which *Iſaiah* repeateth, and by the former Tranſlation, every man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported unto the other ſide of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* ſet next unto *Judæa*; when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is ſeated under the *Equinoctial* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material queſtion (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now, if *Æthiopia* it ſelf be under the *Equinoctial* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dream that they had knowledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we ſhall impiouſly think that the Prophet ſpake he knew not what, or uſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe Nations, which were not diſcovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona eſperanza*.

||. VI.

That upon the like miſtaking, both Terrhaca *in the Story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the Story of* Aſa, *are unadviſedly made* Æthiopians.

And by this Tranſlation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Joſeph. l. 10. c. 1.* *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the Intepreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to withdraw himſelf: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he ſent threatning Meſſengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perſwading him to ſubmit himſelf: the Tenor whereof is ſet down in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of* Aſhur? *Where is the god of* Hamah, *&c.* By which proud Embaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jeruſalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jeruſalem*, commanded by *Rabſekeh*, with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Judæa* and *Benjamin*, with a third Army (which himſelf commanded) 2 Kin. 19. being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Joſephus* calls Ant. l. 1 *Tharſices*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Hieruſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and ſet down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as ſome have ſuppoſed. But while he had ill 2 Kin. 19. ſucceſs at *Peluſium*, and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himſelf, whom he leaſt feared, ſtrook his Army before *Hieruſalem* by the Angel of his power, ſo as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Joſephus* himſelf makes it plain. For he confeſſeth in the tenth Book, the firſt Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Army which was afoot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Deſart*: Now, the *Deſart* which lay indifferent Lib. 1 between *Hieruſalem* and *Peluſium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part; the *Deſart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to ſuccour either *Peluſium* or *Hieruſalem*. But that there is any *Deſart* between *Peluſium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or deſcribed by any *Coſmographer* or *Hiſtorian*. So then this deſcription of the ſecond of *Kings*, Verſ. 9. hath the ſame miſtaking as the reſt. For here the word (*Chuſh*) is alſo tranſlated *Æthiopia*; and in this ſence have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expreſſed the beginning of the ninth Verſe: *He heard alſo men ſay of* Thirrhakeh *King of* Æthiopia, *&c.* whereas it ſhould have been thus converted with *Junius*: *Audiens autem de* Thirrakeh *Rege Chuſhi*; *He heard alſo of* Thirrhakeh *King of the* Chuſhites. For they were the *Chuſhites* and *Arabians*, whoſe

whoſe Houſes and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoak of *Juda* flaming was blown, being their neareſt *Plin. l. 5. c. 91.* Neighbours: and ſo were not the *Æthiopian Black-Moors* under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which diſcovereth all Regions) ever found out, ſaith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *2 Chron. cap. 14.* *Zerah* was, who invaded *Aſa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thouſand Chariots. Indeed, how ſuch an Army, and thoſe Chariots ſhould paſs through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeated, and how far diſtant, judge. For Princes do not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever ſuch ſtrength of *Black-Moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Æthiopians* ſuch Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* alſo called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for *Æthiopia*, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the ſeats of Kingdoms, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

||. VII.

A farther Expoſition of the place, Eſai. 18. 1.

Concerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Navium alarum*, *Winged Ships* (ſo the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſails whiſtling in the winds*, or *terræ umbroſæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a ſhadowed coaſt*, or *the Land ſhadowing with wings*, as our *Engliſh Geneva* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierom*, have one ſence in effect. For the ſails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our Ships ſails ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings (that is) when her ſails are either worn, or too narrow: and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the wind whiſtling in the ſails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* imployed ſo many of thoſe ſmall ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to give a ſhadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Iſaiah*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline ſound: ſo as the meaning of this place (ſaith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O* Egypt, *which doſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, under the ſhadow of thy wings*: which (indeed) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Iſaiah*: and this phraſe is often elſe-where uſed, as in the 16. *Pſalm*: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me; Defend me under the ſhadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed ſpoken of are of two kinds; either of baſket-Willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built up on both ſides with Canes. Of the one ſort I have ſeen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

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§. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

||. I.

That Mizraim *the chief Planter of* Egypt: *and the reſt of the Sons of* Ham, *were ſeated in order one by another.*

The ſecond Son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-eaſt ſide of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Palæſtina*: and theſe four brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) ſtretcheth it ſelf toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians*, or *Black-Moors*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* Weſtward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the ſame manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the reſt of *Noahs* children, ſort themſelves.

||. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be known: and of the* Egyptians *Lunary years, which made their Antiquites ſeem more fabulous.*

This flouriſhing Kingdom poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name;

and became *Egypt*, at ſuch time as *Ægyptus* (otherwiſe *Rameſſes*, as ſome think) the ſon of *Belus*, chaſed thence his elder brother *Danaus*, ſhifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Floud, in the time of *Joſua*, as Saint *Auguſtine* conjectureth out of *Euſebius*. But in *Homers Odyſſes* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were ſo called at the time of the *Trojane* Warr. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Oſiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Joſephus* citeth in his firſt Book againſt *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moſes* departure, who conſumed 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name, 330. years after *Joſua*, and about 1000. years after the Floud. But where *Joſephus* in the ſame Book taketh *Iſrael* to be thoſe *Hycſos*, which he alſo calleth *Paſtores*, or Shepherds, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: whom alſo he calleth his Anceſtors (meaning the Anceſtors of the *Jews*) in this I am ſure he was groſly deceived, or that he vainly boaſted: for the *Iſraelites* had no ſuch Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* ſo long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (ſaith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amaſis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their courſe, and the Sun twice ſet in the Eaſt. Theſe Riddles are alſo rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid:*

Ante Jovem *genitum terras habuiſſe feruntur*
Arcades: & Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did ſhine, or *Jove* was
bred.

But for thoſe 13000. years, it may well be true; ſeeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. years, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the firſt kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwiſe 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of thoſe five diverſities of their Lunary years.

‖. III.

Of certain vain aſſertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator*, in his *Chronologie*, reaſoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the ſixteenth *Dynaſty* (where *Euſebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Floud: and that therefore the firſt of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or ſoon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this anſwer; That therein *Mercator* was firſt deceiv'd, becauſe he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſty* was at once with the general Floud: which *Euſebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the ſhepherds *Dynaſtia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their firſt King, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Euſebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16. *Dynaſtia* was begun but in the 292. year after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynaſtia* to endure 115. years, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſs than 100. years: for the 28. had but ſix years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all theſe 15. *Dynaſties* laſted but 162. years: and that the firſt of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Floud: ſo as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falſhood cannot be hidden, though diſguiſed. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Aſſertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confuſion of Speech there was no diſperſion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he haſtily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrods* reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadviſed. For he makes *Egypt* poſſeſt, and a Goverment eſtabliſhed in the very firſt year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farr off, or near, in queſtion: for, *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord ſcatter them upon all the earth.*

‖. IV.

Againſt Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that* Egypt *was peopled within* 200. *years after the Creation; at leaſt, that both it, and the moſt parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BUt whereas *Pererius* ſeeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynaſties* (which *Euſebius* doth not altogether deſtroy, but leſſen) I do not find any great ſtrength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impoſſible that *Egypt* ſhould be peopled within 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the firſt Age. And whereas he ſuppoſeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Floud, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are theſe: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad* Ægyptum *uſque habitandum & complendum propagata ſit*, &c. *For how could the children of* Adam *be ſo multiplied in the firſt two hundred, or in the firſt hundred years of the World, and ſo propagated as to inhabit and fill* Egypt? for allowing this (ſaith *Pererius*) we muſt alſo confeſs, that there were then both the *Aſſyrians* and other Nations.

Now, ſeeing that the Scriptures are ſilent herein, and that it is no point of our ſaving-belief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like queſtions by the beſt reaſon, circumſtance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the reſt, I proteſt that I do not gainſay any mans opinion out of any croſſing or cavelling humours: for I think it the part of every *Chriſtian*, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poſſibility of union, than out of froward ſubtilty, and prejudicate reſolvedneſs, to maintain factions needleſs, and dangerous contentions.

Firſt therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted ſo ſoon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I ſay, that there is no reaſon why we ſhould give a leſs increaſe to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded thoſe which came after the Floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their ſtrength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they obſerved no degrees of kindred, nor conſanguinity. And that there was a ſpeedy increaſe of people, and in great numbers, it may in ſome ſort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearfull that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himſelf from the reſt, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own iſſues, built a City (called *Enoch*) after the name of his firſt-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with ſo many multitudes as ſufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increaſe there was given but 130. years by *Beroſus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly underſtood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one year: I ſee no cauſe to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the firſt Age, when the bodies of men were moſt perfect, even within 130. years the ſame (if not a greater) number might be increaſed; and ſo within 70. years after (that is, by ſuch time as the World had ſtood 200. years) as well *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be poſſeſt before the Floud, as they were within the ſame or leſs time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumſtance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire, that all thoſe people, which we increaſed in the firſt 100. or 130. years after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For, that ever *Noah* himſelf came out of the Eaſt, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, ſo all probable conjecture and reaſon it ſelf denies it. Again, thoſe multitudes and powerfull numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, conſidered with her own Army of three millions (and ſhe left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had ſuch plenty of people in ſo few years after the Floud, it might alſo be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* but 292. years after the Floud of *Noah*. And theſe Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all thoſe Eaſtern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterrane* Sea; when there had now paſt from the Floud to the time of this her invaſion ſomewhat leſs or more than 360. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confeſs, that in reſpect of the ſtrange greatneſs of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as ſhort a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is ſaid, That her Army conſiſted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horſe-men, it muſt needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greateſt part of *Aſia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea, *Arabia* it ſelf (much part whereof is barren) muſt long before this time of *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himſelf Maſter of all Nations, entred (notwitſtanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or ſought his aſſiſtance. And if *Arabia* were then ſo well repleniſhed, I ſee no cauſe but *Egypt* might alſo be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Juſtine*) *Egypt* was a moſt flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For theſe be his own words, ſpeaking of *Ninus*: *Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex* Ægypti, *&c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *King of the* Scythians: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conqueſts of *Ninus* witneſs, who ſubdued with no ſmal force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Aſia* on this ſide *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cteſias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaſter*, at 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horſ-men: and the Stories generally ſhew, that though *Zoroaſters* Army was far ſhort of this, yet it was greater than any that thoſe parts of the World ever ſince beheld. But to what end ſhould I ſeek for foraign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an eſtabliſhed Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And ſure, to prepare and cultive a deſolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be eſteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it muſt be inhabited in a leſs time than 200. years after the Floud; and in the ſame time (if not in a ſhorter) before the Floud. For if ſo many millions of men were found within 300. years after the general Floud; ſo as not onely *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Paleſtina*, yea, the far-off *Lybia* on the one ſide, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what ſmall corners could then all thoſe Nations be compreſt, which 1656. years brought forth before the Floud? even neceſſity, which cannot be reſiſted, caſt the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; eſpecially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

‖. V.

Of ſome other Reaſons againſt the Opinion of Pererius.

FOr what a ſtrange increaſe did the long lives of the firſt Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reaſon to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not ſpread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude ſuch, as if by Wars, or Peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the Earth, with all the induſtry of man, could not give them food. What ſtrange heaps then of Souls had the firſt Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have been born in *Brittain* ſince three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſaving ſuch as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increaſed. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the firſt Age obſerved no Law of Matrimony.) it is to be thought, that thoſe Lovers of the World and of Pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger which they could fly from, or eſchew. For what humane argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſs of life, and fearleſs of death, than the little time which keeps them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many pains and diſeaſes, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alledged for ſufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himſelf in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was ſeated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I ſee no cauſe why *Palæſtina* (wich is alſo a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times between his death and the Floud, which were by eſtimation 700. or 800. years. And ſure, though this fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his

Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore S. *Hierome*, for ſuch Authours gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us chooſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainly, in the very beginning of the firſt Book, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the general Floud: and in that firſt Part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the univerſal Word: and though that phraſe (*Of all the World*) be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at* Hieruſalem Jews, *men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain, that his words and ſence were the ſame: for he addeth, from the Suns riſing to the Suns ſetting; which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travel over before the Floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime, which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. years after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leſs cumberſome to walk over, in the firſt Age, than after the general overflowing.

‖. VI.

Of the words of Moſes, Gen. 10. Verſ. *ult. whereupon* Pererius *grounded his Opinion.*

LAſtly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*; *And out of theſe were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium; By which it appeareth* (ſaith *Pererius*) *that there was no ſuch diviſion before the Floud*; which he alſo ſeeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Geneſis*, because the diviſion of Tongues was the cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, *quo ſignificatur*, &c. ſeemeth to me very weak: The Text it ſelf rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of theſe* (ſaith *Moſes*) *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of theſe onely. But whatſoever ſence may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Floud, or to any plantation or diviſion in that Age: for if there were none elſe among whom the Earth could be divided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sons, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion; it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as *Beroſus* ſays well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat, They were driven by neceſſity to ſeek new Habitations*, For we find (as it is before ſaid) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies ſuch multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers, with their increaſe, for any long time; all *Aſia*, the Greater and the Leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæſtina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Iſlands thereof; *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Beroſus*, then not onely thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Floud) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief ſtrength of mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly, ſeeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 5.

‖. VII.

A Concluſion, reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Egyptian *Antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut *(another Son of* Ham) *which peopled* Lybia.

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the *Egptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptians* Antiquities: ſo I do not think the report of their Antiquites ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that

Egypt being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. years more or leſs after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* ſome Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the Liſt and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in ſucceding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by ſome corruption in their Prieſts) ſomething beyond the truth might be inſerted. And that the memory of antiquity was in ſuch ſort preſerved, *Beroſus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and ſo doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the uſe of Letters, and the Art of Aſtronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conqueſt: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds deſtruction, both by Water and Fire; as alſo of *Chriſt* his coming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witneſſed. But leaving theſe Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reaſon, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforeſaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterrane* Sea, was called the Inferiour *Egypt*; ſurnamed alſo *Delta*: becauſe the ſeveral branches of *Nilus* breaking aſunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta* which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-eaſt, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed: The other branch, which yielded it ſelf to the Salt-water towards the North-eaſt, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks*, *Dioſpolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Joſ. l. 1. Ant. c. 7. Hero. Euterpe.* *Joſephus* calls *Egypt*, *Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei* (ſaith *Joſephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: *L. 5. c. 1.* which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be diſtant the ſpace of two hundred miles. It alſo appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh*, and *Lud* were *contermini*, and aſſociates with the *Egyptians*.

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§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

||. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sons.*

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) poſſeſt all that Region, called by the *Romans* *Palæſtina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are preciſely ſet down by *Moſes*, *Geneſis* the tenth, *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon *as thou goeſt to* Gerar *until* Azzah, *and as thou goeſt unto* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and* Adma, *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Laſha. Now, howſoever theſe words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goeſt*) be converted, *Moſes* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the Eaſt, and the other Cities named, ſtood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermoſt Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which poſſeſt this Countrey, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth*, or *Chethus.*
3. *Jebuſi*, or *Jebuſæus.*
4. *Emori*, or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeſhi*, or *Girgiſeus.*
6. *Hevi*, or *Chiveus.*
7. *Arki*, or *Harkeus.*
8. *Seni*, or *Sinæus.*
9. *Arvadi*, or *Arvadæus.*
10. *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus.*
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamatheus.*

Of which the moſt renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergeſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebuſites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were deſcended of *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or from ſome of his.

||. II.

||. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

Zidon the firſt-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſſer*: for *Aſſer*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could never obtain *Zidon* it ſelf.

The ſecond Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of thoſe ſeven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergeſites*, *Gen. 10. 19* the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebuſites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Gen. 23.* *Beſor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moſes* maketh the uttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, having the Deſart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Berſabe* (otherwiſe *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Poſterity, as far to the North-eaſt as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite*, did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarahs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her ſelf to *Gen. 27. 46.* *Iſaac*, ſaying, *That ſhe was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of theſe *Hittites*, a ſtrong and fierce Nation, whoſe entertainment by the Kings of *Iſrael* againſt them the *Syrians* greatly feared: *King. 7. 6.* as in the ſeventh of the *Kings*; *Iſrael hath hired againſt us the Kings of the* Hittites.

||. III.

Of the Jebuſites *and* Amorites.

Jebuſæus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebuſites*, and whoſe principal ſeat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hieruſalem*) were alſo a valiant and ſtubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till ſuch time as *David* by Gods aſſiſtance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebuſites* extinguiſhed, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the Eaſt of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the Eaſt, and *Jordan* on the Weſt: of whom *Og* (King of *Baſan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moſes*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had alſo many other habitations diſperſed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Cæloſyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had alſo their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa*, near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Deut. 1. Numb. 13.* *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were ſometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedneſs of the* Amorites *is not yet full.* And that this was alſo a powerfull Nation, we find in the *Amos 2.* Prophet *Amos*: *Yet deſtroyed I the* Amorite, *before them, whoſe heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was ſtrong as the Oak.*

||. IV.

Of the Gergeſites, Hevites *and* Harkites.

The fift Son of *Canaan* was *Gergeſius*, or *Gergeſion* (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the Eaſt-ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* ſets the City *Geraſa*, which *Joſephus* calls *Geſera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Chriſt diſpoſſeſſed the poſſeſſed with devils; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts, becauſe their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themſelves in the Sea of *Galilee*: *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Beritus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the ſixth Son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. Theſe *Hevites*, howſoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of *Joſua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleaſed utterly to root out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerved (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove* Iſrael *by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The ſeventh Son was *Araceus*, or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterrane* Sea (over againſt *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

||. V.

Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

Sineus the eighth Son, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judæa*, not farr from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which Saint *Hierome* calls *Sim*: *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*: *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Symirus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Deſarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all theſe places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another Nation of *Cini*, written with the letter *C.* (otherwiſe *Kenæi*) who deſcended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their conduction through the wilderneſs of *Pharan*. But the *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beſide their inhabitations with Judg. 4. Joſ. 19. 33 the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinæi*, *Balaam* propheſied, that they ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus*, or *Arvadeus*, Gul. Tyr. Vit. who in the Iſle of *Aradus*, built the City *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which Iſland, on the Main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came Saint *Peter* (ſaith *Clement*) and in this Iſle preached the Goſpel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no ſuch work of his in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. Both theſe two were very famous, and places of ſkilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his Prophecies againſt the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and* Cap. 27. v. 8. *Arvad were thy Mariners.*

‖. VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœloſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is alſo *Samarajim* (of the ſame Orthography) upon the Mountain of *Ephraim* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) men- Beroald. in Chron. l. 4. tioned in the ſecond of *Chron.* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* converteth amiſs (ſaith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt.* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the Parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiſſeni*, in *Cœloſyria*; and it may be that it was their firſt habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited thoſe other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthography, 1 Kings 16. 28. and this place in the firſt of *Kings* (ſpeaking of *Omri*) diſproveth: *And he bought the Mountain* Samaria, *or* Shemeron, *of one* Shemar, *for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of* Shemar, *Lord of the Mountain*, Samaria. But of all theſe places I ſhall ſpeak more at large in the Conqueſt of the *Holy Land*, by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoever the *Samaritans* were deſcended, ſure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Jews* ſtood up, they always called themſelves *Jews*: when it ſuffered, or ſank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their firſt captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Aſſyrians*, and partly of the Naturals.

‖. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THe laſt of *Canaans* Sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (ſaith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was preſent. *Joſephus*, and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountain *Caſſius*, and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Biſhop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born; but *Antioch*, ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth between *Apamea* and *Emeſa* in *Caſſiotis*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than ever any of thoſe Nations ſtraggled. And whereas S. *Hierom* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifeſt, that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emeſa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it ſelf were not ſhared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Laodicea*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*: and therefore *Emath* ſo taken, could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joſua* is directly proved. For *Joſua* counting the Lands that remained unpoſſeſt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-riſing, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon (among others) is uſed, that *Emath* was not

in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *David* accepted 1 Sam. 8. 9. the preſents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered, as it is written in Cap. 11. v. 24. *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſua*: for *Emath* is indeed ſituated on the other ſide of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*; and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſua* 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* converſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierom* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (underſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which City S. *Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Joſephus*, *Hamah*; others, *Ematkin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of Cap. 18. & 19. *Kings*. *Where is the God of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod, *of whom hereafter.*)

The Sons of *Chuſh* were,	*Sheba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod.*	And the Sons of *Raama* were,	*Sheba*, and *Dedan*,

‖. I.

That moſt of the Sons of Chuſh *were ſeated in* Arabia the Happy: *and of the* Sabæans *that robbed* Job: *and of the Queen that came to* Solomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſon of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an (*S*) aſperat, which is the *Hebrew*, *Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt Son of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma*, poſſeſs'd both the ſhores of *Arabia fœlix*. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi*, *Arabum populi*, *propter thura clariſſimi*, *ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans, people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas* (to wit) *the Perſian, and the Arabian or Red-Sea.* This Country was afterwards called *Arabia*, *à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who ſetteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red-Sea*, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*; with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Job*'s Cattel, ſhould run through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis*, between *Palæſtina* and *Cœloſyria*, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red-Sea*, nor thoſe towards the *Perſian* Sea, could by any means execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neareſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Deſart*, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe-men*, which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wiſe-men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which City, when my ſelf was there, was (as I judged it) called Semiſcaſac.* And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the *Red Sea*) are ſo diſ-joyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibility for ſtrangers to paſs them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattel, both in reſpect of the Mountains, of the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, nor birds, no, not ſo much as trees, or any paſture or graſs, but onely ſharp, and high, ſtony, and craggie mountains.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi*, on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia fœlix*; but the contrary ſeemes more probable, and that ſhe was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian*, or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*; and this Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediouſneſs, it is manifeſt that *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the *Happy*, and the Deſart: onely *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now, for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sbbatha*, or *Sabota* *Plin. l. 12. c. 14.* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* *Ptol. tab. 6. Aſiæ.* and *Ptolemy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there was ſometimes found ſixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joineth *Ezech. 17. v. 22.* the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they were the Eaſtern *Arabians*, their Merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthy any farther Anſwer then hath already been given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Cities, preſerving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the Family of *Chuſh*, with little alterations, are preſerved. In *Arabia* the Deſart, is found the City of *Sabæ*, or *Save* (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himſelf called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the *Happy*, is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha*, or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chief City in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof again toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephews which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſs by Boat, even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neer the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

‖. II.

Joſephus *his Opinion of* Dedan, *one of the Iſſue of* Chuſh, *to have been ſeated in the Weſt* Æthiopia, *diſproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

AND whereas *Joſephus* (whom in this Saint *Hierom* followeth, as not curious herein) ſent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the Weſt *Æthiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezechiel* ſhould couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verſe, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in 22. Verſe, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in Weſt *Æthiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above four thouſand miles. Beſides which, the Merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and theſe Weſtern *Æthiopians* never ſaw cloth, till the *Portugals*, ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the Merchandiſe of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants Teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in thoſe days, the Weſt part of *Africa*, within the body of the Land, was known onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the *Negroes* of the Weſt *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſs by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottom of the *Mediterrane* Sea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now, to put it out of diſpute, that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: *Fly, ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the deſtruction of* Eſau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was

was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his Grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is alſo confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will ſtretch out my* *Ezech. 15. v. 15.* *hand upon* Edom, *and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and will make it deſolate from* Teman: *and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the ſword.*

§. XIII.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Verſe 7.*

The termination im *in the Hebrew, is commonly a ſign of the plural number, as* aim, *of the dual.*

AFter *Chuſh*, it followeth to ſpeak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whoſe names (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) were plural, to ſignifie the Nations which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the reſt of his Brothers diſperſed themſelves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is alſo *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son, of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the *Chap. 46. v. 9.* Prophet *Hieremie*, who joined them in this ſort together: *Come up ye Horſes, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the* Black-moores, *and the* Lybians *which bear the ſhield*: for thoſe Nations aſſiſted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent deſcended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezechiel*, *c. 30. v. 3. and* Phut *and* Lud, *and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword*: which is as much to ſay, as the Sons of *Chuſh* (which were the *Chuſites*) the Sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (deſcended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* finds alſo in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lidyans*. And I believe it: becauſe *Hieremie* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) though *2 Chron. 12. 3.* they ſeem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubæi*, a name ſomewhat neer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a City (ſaith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike, if the City of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda*, with a double *d*, and is the ſame City which was afterward *Dioſpolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the Palſey) ſtandeth neer the Torrent *Gaas*, not farr from *Joppe* the Port of *Hieruſalem*. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and farr aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia* and *Antiochia*: ſo of divers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either Opinion may be true.

The reſt of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures, ſaving *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleſet*.

Theſe *Caſiuhim* inhabited *Caſſiotis*, a Region lying in the enterance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Caſſius* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated near *Caſluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palæſtina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (ſaith *Iſidore*) do not uſe the letter (*p*) but inſteed of it (*ph.*) Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gaſæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*: *Iſidore* affirms, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim*; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where *Iſidore* had it, I know not.

The firſt known King of the *Philiſtims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written, that he was alſo King of the *Philiſtims*, in

Baſil upon the 33. Pſalm. Hierom upon the 29. of Ezechiel.

theſe words: *Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech King of the Philiſtims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or ſome antienter *Abimelech* governed the Common-wealth greatly to his glory, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelves by the ſame name. The *Philiſtims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Caſtle of *Pilgrims* (otherwiſe *Cæſarea Palæſtina*, or *Stratons* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or ſtrong Gyants were of theſe *Philiſtims*: and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above named. They had ſometimes five Kings, ſaith *Lyranus*. They maſtered the *Iſraelites* at ſeveral times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampſon* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themſelves.

It is Objected, that becauſe theſe Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſs the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing thoſe places.

To this ſaith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæſtines* or *Philiſtims* held it in the time of *Joſua*, yet at the time of the Promiſe it was poſſeſſed by the *Canaanites*; as in the ſecond of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philiſtims* were of *Caphtor*, and ſo of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, beſides *Moſes*, the

Hier. c 47. 4.

Prophet *Jeremy* witneſſeth: *The Lord will deſtroy the Philiſtims: the remnant of the iſſue of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the

Amos c 9. v. 7.

ninth of *Amos*, the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*: *Have not I brought up* Iſrael *out of the Land of Egypt, and the* Philiſtims *from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir*? ſo I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palæſtinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this converſion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly Weſt from *Egypt*, between *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Aſia* under the *Aſſyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and ſo hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar tranſlation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæſtina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Aſia the Leſs*. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæſtina*, it is not certainly known. And ſure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, aſwell as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa* but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalaſſer* King of the *Aſſyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* into *Kir*: and ſo *Joſephus* ſeems to underſtand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media ſuperior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Aſſyrians* to tranſplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Iſraelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: becauſe the *Syrians* by the *Aſſyrians* were therein captived.

Of which ſee in the ſecond Book, Chap. 7. Sect. 3. ||. 5.

Cap. 16 v. 9.

§. XV.

Of the iſſue of Sem.

||. I.

Of Elam, Aſſur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth laſtly to ſpeak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are theſe:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Aſhur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe poſterity of *Sem*, *Moſes* recounteth after the reſt: becauſe from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the *Hebrews*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* deſcended.)

Of theſe five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*; the reſt are barely ſpoken of by reherſal of their names, ſaving that it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* (who was ſuppoſed to found *Ninive*) was alſo ſaid to be the Father of the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe iſſues, and the iſſues of *Cham*, inſtantly contended for the Empire of the Eaſt: which ſometimes the *Aſſyrians*, ſometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which alſo teacheth us that all the Eaſt parts of the World were peopled by *Aſſur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (ſaving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himſelf firſt inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired: *Hi filii* Sem *ab* Euphrate *fluvio partem* Aſiæ *uſque ad Oceanum* Indicum *tenuerunt*; *Theſe Sons of* Sem (ſaith

(St. *Hierom*) *held all thoſe Regions from* Euphrates *to the* Indian *Ocean.*

Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 7.

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* 2. *v.* 9. and the Princes of *Perſia*; which name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Babylonia*: the Eaſt Monarchy being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the Scriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the Kings ſeat of *Perſia* (witneſs *Daniel*) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a Viſion, and when I ſaw it, I was in the palace of* Suſan, *which is in the Province of* Elam. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and ſeated in the border of *Suſiana*.

Cap. 8. v. 2.

Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5. Dan. 8. 2.

Aſhur (as moſt Hiſtorians believe) the ſecond Son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeak much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion towards the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him towards the Weſt, notwithſtanding

Verſ. 11.

theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at* Telaſſar? *Where is the King of* Hamath, *and the King of* Arphad, *and the King of the City* Sepharuaim, Hena *and* Ivah? All theſe were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries, as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, under *Libanus*: the Iſle of *Eden*: *Sephar*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was moſt powerful before the conqueſt of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæſtina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe Plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, ſaith Saint *Hierom* and *Joſephus*; but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: For the Sons of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews*: For *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

||. II.

Of Aram, *and his Sons.*

ARam the firſt and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was born; the ſame which others call the Son of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to ſay, as, *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compaſſed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply.

Eſay 7. 8.

Euſeb. p. 10. c.

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy Mothers Father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the antient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſs: *Quos nos* Syros *vocamus, ipſi* Syri Aramenios & Arameos *vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) *themſelves call* Aramenians *and* Arameans.

Gen. 28. 2. ſee Gen. 25. 10 alſo Deut. 23. 4. Judg. 3. Paral. 1. 19. Pſal 59. Strab. l. 1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of thoſe in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read, *Geneſ.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſterity could be famous) we find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition, ſometimes with *Naharajim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*,which (as it ſeems) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen*. 25. 20. that *Padan-Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the River *Chaboras*, which,dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous uſe of *Padan Aram*,and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation queſtionleſs comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeem to refute this Opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoak of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: becauſe the two Rivers (as it were) yoaked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities,in *Ptolemy*,called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sons of *Aram* were,
Vz, or *Hus*.
Hul.
Gether, and
Meſch, or *Mes*.

Vz, or *Hus*, inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that City, ſaith *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*,who alſo followeth *Joſephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham*'s Steward, *Eliezer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*,the eldeſt Son of *Aram*, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the ſame, adjoining to *Arabia* the Deſart, and to *Batanea*, or *Traconitis*; whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad, O daughter of* Edom, *that dwelleſt in the Land of* Hus. *Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Jordan*, in the Eaſt Region of *Traconitis*,adjoining to *Baſan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the Eaſt, *Edrai* to the South, *Damaſcus* North, and *Jordan* Weſt: having in it many Cities and People, as may alſo be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all ſorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*,deſcended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (ſaith S. *Hierom*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, ſaith *Philo*.

Hierom. in trad. Hebraic.

Hierom. Lam. chap. 4. v. 21.

Chap. 25. v. 20.

Hul, the ſecond Son of *Aram*, S. *Hierom* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether*,the third ſon,Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which Opinion (becauſe I find not where to ſet him) I do not diſprove, though I ſee no reaſon why *Gether* ſhould leave the fellowſhip of his own Brethren,and dwell among ſtrangers in *Aſia* the leſs. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Deſart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (ſaith *Joſephus*)founded the *Bactrians*: but *Joſephus* gave all *Noah*'s children feathers, to carry them far away in all haſt. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* ſeated himſelf neer his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Caſſiotis*,and *Seleucis*,where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius alſo giveth to *Mes*, or *Meſch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, neer the Mountain *Maſius*. The certainty of thoſe Plantations can no otherwiſe be known than by this probability,that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name)planted his Sons in the ſame Land about him: for he wanted no ſcope of Territory for himſelf and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reaſon to caſt them in the Deſart parts of the World, ſo far aſunder. And as neceſſity and policy held them together for a while; ſo ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, ſet them aſunder. For although theſe Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the reſt of *Noah*'s children, kept themſelves within the bounds of ſome one large Kingdom; yet therein every one alſo ſought a Province apart, and to themſelves; giving to the Cities,therein built,their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Poſterity: the uſe of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this ſort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* caſt them into ſo many Provinces: every one emulating and diſdaining the greatneſs of other, as they are thereby to this day ſubject to invaſion, expulſion, and deſtruction: ſo as (*Nova Hiſpania* and *Peru* excepted, becauſe thoſe Countreys are unacceſſible to ſtrangers) an eaſie force wil caſt them out of all the reſt.

Mes,the fourth Son,is made the Parent of the *Mæonians*: of whom ſomthing hath been ſpoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth divided.

Chap. 8. Sect. 1.

‖. III. of

‖. III.

Of the diviſion of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the Sons of* Heber, *of the iſſue of* Sem.

THe many People which at the diviſion (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then living,and the through Plantation of all the Eaſt part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (ſaith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*,one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition hapned at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it ſo many years after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* ſevered themſelves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in ſo few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) ſo many people could be increaſed, *Pererius* gives this Anſwer, That if 70.perſons of the Family of *Jacob* increaſed to 600000. fighting men in 215. years (beſides women, children and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoon after the Floud the children of *Noah* might, in a ſhorter time, bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the Earth?* What ſtrength this Anſwer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70. and had 215.years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101.yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the diviſion, in memory thereof: as *Joſephus* and S. *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diviſion were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was,by more likely,computation 12.years before his birth) then was the diviſion 38. years after *Ninus*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whoſe Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Aſſyrians*, 80. years before this diviſion (as this diviſion is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Hierom* and *Chriſoſtom*) then was the Earth ſo peopled in all the Eaſt and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time ſince. For *Ninus*,aſſociating to himſelf *Ariæus* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præſtabant*, *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, ſubdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and ſeven Children; vanquiſhed all thoſe Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the number which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter* and others: and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide,who made reſiſtance with 400000 prove it ſufficiently, that if the diviſion had not hapned before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diviſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their portions, as they ſought to be maſters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Joseph l. 1. Antiquit. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen lib. 15 c. 10.

But for that conceit, that if the diviſion had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very inſtant, but by times and degrees. And ſurely,whatſoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the diviſion of Tongues and of Men muſt go neer together with the ceaſing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterpriſe of *Babel* was left off inſtantly upon the confuſion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diviſion; and ſo neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Floud, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, ſaith *Beroſus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whoſe name ſignifieth Diviſion)muſt have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confuſion and partition: to this Objection, it may anſwered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the Angel; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this diviſion, had his firſt name upon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrews*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Chryſoſtom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the diviſion which followed: to this I ſay, I do not find that *Heber* deſerved any ſuch honour, if he had thereupon ſo called his Son: for diviſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſity; and this Prophecy (if any ſuch had been) might alſo have reference to the diviſion, which afterwards fell amongſt the *Hebrews* themſelves.

But if we give a reaſonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reaſon and by demonſtrative proof) might be increaſed: and that upon the fall thereof the confuſion and diviſion followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monſtrous.

‖. IV.

Of the ſons of Joctan, *the other Son of* Heber.

The Sons of *Joctan* were,

1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Aſamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

All thoſe Sons of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierom*) dwelled in the Eaſt parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of thoſe thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moſes* being general: Gen. 10. 30. *And their dwelling was from* Meſha *as thou goeſt unto* Separ *a Mount in the Eaſt*. Of all theſe thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whoſe names, to avoid confuſion, it is to be obſerved, that among the Sons of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had alſo a third *Saba*, or *Sheba*, his Grand-child by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia fœlix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chuſh* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as ſome have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Perſia*: of which Nations *Dionyſius de Orbis ſitu* maketh mention; *Primum* Sabæi; *poſt hos ſunt* Paſſagardæ; *prope verò hos ſunt* Taſci: *The firſt are* Sabæans; *after theſe be* Paſſægarde; *and near theſe the* Taſci. And whereas it is written: Gen. 25. 6. *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gave gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his Son* (*while he yet lived*) *Eaſtward to the Eaſt-Country*: Hereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furthermoſt Eaſt-Country in reſpect of *Judæa*; which alſo *Ovid* ſetteth under the Sun-riſing. Metam. 1. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abraham*'s Sons ſeated themſelves on the borders of *Judæa*: I rather chooſe to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth a City of that name.

But *Saba*, the Son of *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it ſelf. For *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis* (or deſcription of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. Taxilis *hos inter medios habitatque* Sabæus; *In the middeſt of theſe dwell the* Sabæi, *and the* Taxili, ſaith *Dionyſius*. [illegible]

‖. V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *Sons, and of* Peru, *and of that voyage of* Solomon.

Ophir alſo was an inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as St. *Hierom* underſtands it) in one of the Iſlands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Joſephus* underſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iſland, as St. *Hierom* doth, but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

Arias Montanus, out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words, in the ſecond of the *Chronicles*, are theſe: *And he over-layed the houſe with precious ſtones for beauty*; *and the gold was gold of Parvaim*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: Gen. 2. 11. & 12. *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Town in *Characene*, a Province of *Suſiana*, Plin. l. 6. c. 28. called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *David* preſerved for the inriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſſis*, who alſo took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this Queſtion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Joctan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* aſk'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you*, or *What ſay you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in aſking the name of the Iſland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the Sea encompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places, newly diſcovered, been entituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomons* Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſs: and *Solomon*'s Ships went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon*'s Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the Eaſt *India* Iſlands, farr above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to ſail every year to the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Iſlands: wherein they built a City called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſtical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whoſe mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountains *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words: *Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant*, Griphes *tenent univerſa, alites ferociſſimæ*, Arimaſpi *cum his dimicant*, &c. *For whereas theſe Countreys abound in Gold and rich Stones, the* Griffins *defend the one and the other: a kind of Fowl, the fierceſt of all other*; *with which* Griffins *a Nation of people, called* Arimaſpi, *make Warr*. Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclops* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclops*, *Herodotus*, and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius*

Flaccus lib. 6. Diodorus Siculus lib. 16.

Flaccus: and *D. Siculus*, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it that this name ſignifying *one-eyed*, was firſt given them, by reaſon that they uſed to wear a vizzard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Pliny*, who ſpeaks of ſuch a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the Cave of the North-eaſt wind. For the reſt, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon ſome true Stories, or other things done: ſo might theſe tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if thoſe men, which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect ſenſes, and were not deprived of half their eye-ſight (at leaſt of the eye of right reaſon and underſtanding) they would content themſelves with a quiet and moderate eſtate; and not ſuject themſelves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable diſeaſes. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if ſuch a tale were told of ſome other places of the World, where wilde Beaſts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with *Tygers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beaſts: unto which, if any man aſcend (except his ſtrength be very great) he ſhall be ſure to find the ſame warr which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of the Gold, or ſeek to defend that metal, but being diſquieted, or made afraid of themſelves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like ſort it may be ſaid, that the *Alegartos* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend thoſe Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find ſavour in the fleſh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

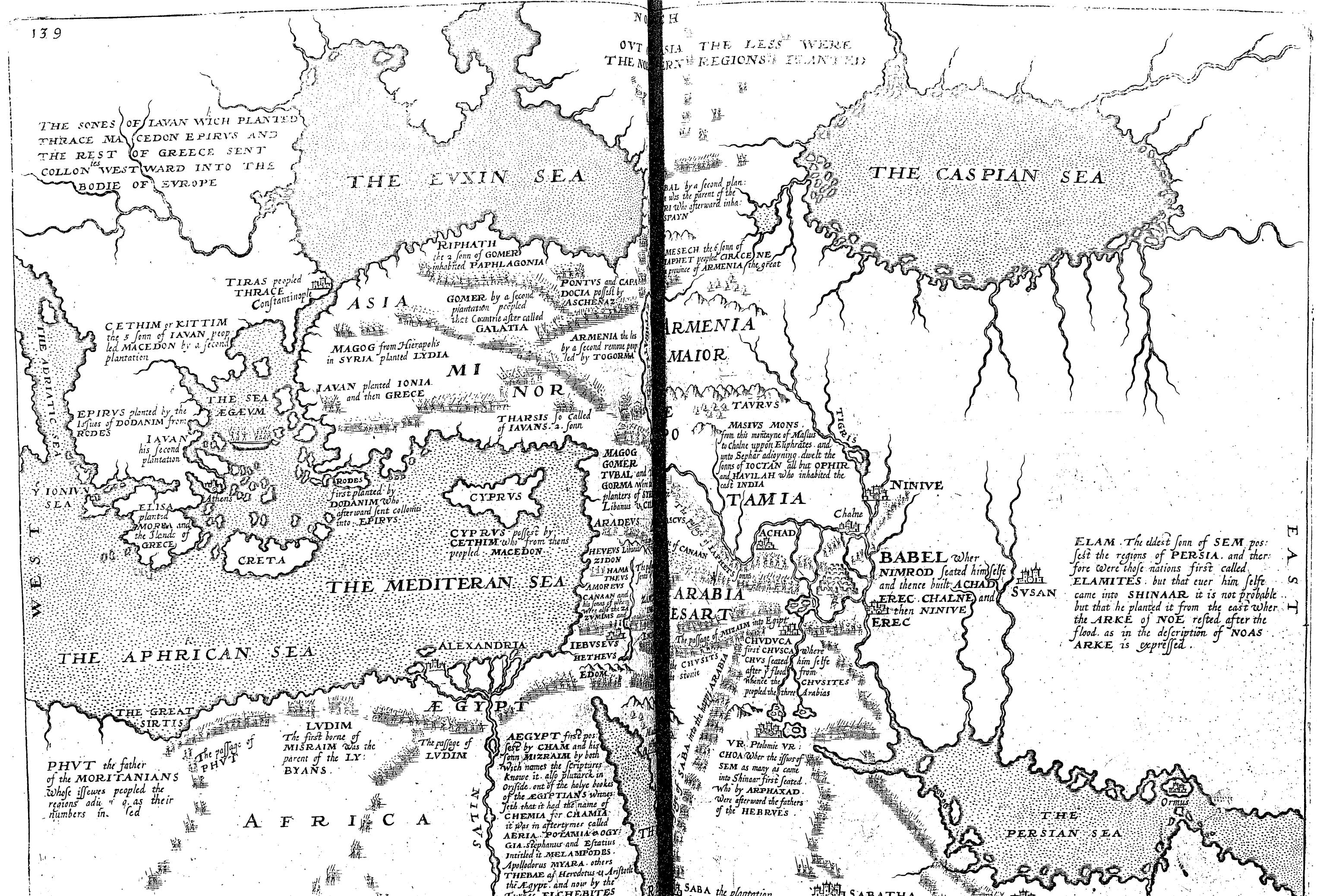
||. VI.

Of Havilah *the Son of* Joctan, *who alſo paſſed into the Eaſt-Indies: and of* Meſha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the families of* Joctan: *with a Concluſion of this Diſcourſe touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the general Opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the *Eaſt-India*, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* paſt into the Iſlands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *Eaſt-India*, which took name of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*: but *Havilah* which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul ſmote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *as thou comeſt to* Shur, *which is before* Egypt. 1 Sa v. 7. But, that *Saul* ever made warr in the *Eaſt-India*, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joctan*, theſe three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the firſt ſeated by their Brethren about the Hill *Maſius*, or *Meſh*, *Gen.* 10.30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet, at length, either themſelves, or their iſſues removed into the *Eaſt-India*, leaving the other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countreys of their firſt plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Meſh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the *Eaſt-India*, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the ſame (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are farr beyond my underſtanding. For, the word (*Eaſt*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the Mountain of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* ſpringeth, which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemy*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountain *Maſius*; from whence, *Joctan* having many Sons, ſome of them might paſs into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſs of time.

The other faſhion of Planting I underſtand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibility. And that this Mountain in the Eaſt was no farther off than in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is uſed: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of* Moab Verſ. 7. *hath brought me from* Aram, *out of the Montain of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia* (witneſs this place of *Deuteronomy*:) *Becauſe they hired* Balaam *the Son of* Beor, *of* Pethor *in* Aram Naharajim, Cap. 2 verſ. 4. *to curſe thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid.

This plantation of the World after the Floud


NORTH
OVT ASIA THE LESS WERE
THE NORTHERN REGIONS PLANTED
THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED
THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND
THE REST OF GREECE SENT
COLLONIES WESTWARD INTO THE
BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
THE CASPIAN SEA
TIRAS peopled THRACE
Conſtantinople
RIPHATH the 2 ſonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA
PONTVS and CAPADOCIA poſſeſt by ASCHENAZ
GOMER by a ſecond plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA
ASIA
MI
NOR
CETHIM or KITTIM the 5 ſonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a ſecond plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the les by a ſecond remoue peopled by TOGORMA
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE
THARSIS ſo called of IAVANS 2 ſonn
THE ADRIATIC SEA
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
EPIRVS planted by the Iſſues of DODANIM from RODES
IAVAN his ſecond plantation
YIONIVM SEA
Athens
ELISA planted MOREA and the Ilands of GRECE
CRETA
RODES first planted by DODANIM Who afterward ſent collonies into EPIRVS
CYPRVS
CYPRVS poſſeſt by CETHIM Who from thens peopled MACEDON
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL and TOGORMA Were planters of SYRIA Libanus & CIL
ARADEVS
HEVEVS Libanus
ZIDON
HAMATHEVS
AMOREVS
CANAAN and his ſonns of Whom Were alſo the ZAZVMIMS and
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
EDOM
THE MEDITERAN SEA
WEST
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
ÆGYPT
THE GREAT SIRTIS
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM Was the parent of the LYBYANS
The paſſage of PHVT
The paſſage of LVDIM
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS Whoſe iſſewes peopled the regions adu q as their numbers in ſed
AFRICA
NILVS
AEGYPT firſt poſſeſt by CHAM and his ſonn MIZRAIM by both Wich names the ſcriptures Knowe it. alſo plutarck in Oriſide. ont of the holye bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS Witnes: ſeth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it Was in aftertymes called AERIA. POTAMIA & OGYGIA. ſtephanus and Eſtatius Intitled it MELAMPODES. Apollodorus MYARA. others THEBAE as Herodotus & Ariſtotle the Ægypt. and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES
LIBYA INTERIOR
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLÆD IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES
AETHIOPIA
BAL by a ſecond plan: was the parent of the RI Who afterward inha: SPAYN
MESECH the 6 ſonn of IAPHET peopled CIRACENE a province of ARMENIA the great
ARMENIA MAIOR
TAVRVS
EVPHRATES
MASIVS MONS. from this mountayne of Maſius to Chalne uppon Euphrates. and unto Sephar adioyning. dwelt the ſonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR and HAVILAH who inhabited the east INDIA
TIGRIS
MESOPOTAMIA
NINIVE
Chalne
ACHAD
The paſſage of IAPHETS ſonns
of CANAAN
ARABIA DESART
BABEL Wher NIMROD ſeated him ſelfe and thence built ACHAD EREC. CHALNE and then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
The paſſage of MIZAIM into Egipt
CHVDVCA first CHVSCA Where CHVS ſeated him ſelfe after y flood from Whence the CHVSITES peopled the three Arabias
the CHVSITS the stonie
The paſſage of SABA into the happi ARABIA
VR. Ptolomie VR: CHOA Wher the iſſws of SEM as many as came into Shinaar first ſeated Who by ARPHAXAD. Were afterward the fathers of the HEBRVES
ELAM. The eldest ſonn of SEM poſſeſt the regions of PERSIA. and therfore Were thoſe nations first called ELAMITES. but that euer him ſelfe came into SHINAAR it is not probable but that he planted it from the east Wher the ARKE of NOE reſted after the flood. as in the deſcription of NOAS ARKE is expreſſed.
EAST
Ormus
THE PERSIAN SEA
SABA the plantation of SABA or SEBA the Eldest ſonn of CHVS
SABATHA the plantation of Sabta the 3 ſonn of CHVS
RHABNA
RHEGMA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN
SOVTH

Floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of reaſon and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the diſcovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelf hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left *Honour* without a Monument, and *Virtue* without Memory: and (in ſtead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſs ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diſſolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds firſt Planters after the Floud (I mean the greateſt number, and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been ſpoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldeſt Son of *Canaan* gave name; ſo hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernian*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſs ſome ſigns of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

Chap. IX.

Of the Beginning and Eſtabliſhment of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the eldeſt of the Families to be Regal, and from Regal abſolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

It followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcity of people) under-went no other Dominon than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was always uſed, both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and Gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governours over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſence which the *Latine* word *Senes*, or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna*, *Then the Aſſembly believed them as thoſe that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Judges and Witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud* Lacedæmonios *qui ampliſſimum Magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur, Senes*; *Among the* Lacedæmonians, *the chief Magiſtrates, as they were, ſo they are called, Eldermen:* And again, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Majores noſtri appellâſſent Senatum*; *If reaſon and adviſement were not in old men, our Anceſtours had never called the higheſt Councel by the name of Senate.*

But, though theſe reaſons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours, or Counſellours of State, there is a ſign that the firſt Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldeſt Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard*, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordſhip and Dominion: ſignifying (according to *Loyſeau*) puiſſance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Poteſtas aut imperium, Power or command:* the other, *Proprietas aut dominum*; *Propriety or maſterſhip:* The correlative of the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. *Ad Cæſarem* (ſaith he) *poteſtas omnium pertinet; ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Cæſar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own:* And again, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Cæſar holdeth all in his power, and* *every man poſſeſſeth his own.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-ſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of Paternal perſwaſions (after man-kind began to neglect and forget the Original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the World, while Wiſdom was ſevered from power, and ſtrength from charity: Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general floud of confuſion would a ſecond time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that the licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no leſs perillous than unindurable bondage.

Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas.

Theſe Arguments, by Neceſſity propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſity which invented, and the ſame Reaſon which approved, Sovereign power, bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in ſupream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen; meaſuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Ballance, both good and evil.

For as wiſedom in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe men's Virtues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe men's Vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of Royal power) Laws were eſtabliſhed: and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Ballance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one, God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal authority, Princes as they were choſen for their virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti; Princes becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* De aure ſæcul, part 1.

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Reaſon and Neceſſity; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himſelf by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. *The moſt High beareth rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth.* Dan. 5.21 *By me* (ſaith *Wiſedom*, ſpoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign; By me Princes rule.* Prov. 8. 15. *And it is God* (ſaith *Daniel*) *that ſetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* Dan. 2.21 And that this power is given from God, *Chriſt* himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate; Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* John 19. 11.

It was therefore by a threefold Juſtice that the World hath been governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Juſtice natural; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety: Againe, by a Juſtice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience: And laſtly, by a Juſtice civil, begotten by both

the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by theſe three, thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is moſt evident: for *Adam*, being Lord over his own Children, inſtructed them in the ſervice of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable ſorts of Government, with their oppoſites: and of the degrees of humane ſociety.

WHat other Policy was exerciſed, or State founded, after ſuch time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly known, though it ſeem by probable conjecture, that the ſame was not without Kings in that firſt Age: it being poſſible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud; and very likely, that the cruel Oppreſſions in that Age proceeded from ſome Tyranny in Government, or from ſome rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Beroſ. l. 1. *Beroſus* aſcribeth the rule of the World in thoſe days to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who maſtered (ſaith he) all Nations from the Sun-riſing to the Sun-ſet. But in the ſecond Age of the World, and after ſuch times as the rule of Elderſhip failed, three ſeveral ſorts of Government were in ſeveral times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt general, and moſt approved, was the Government of one, ruling by juſt Laws, called *Monarchy:* to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute Rule, exerciſed according to the will of the Commander, without reſpect or obſervation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magiſtrate (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magiſtrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: u. 16. *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And theſe ſhall judg the people with righteous judgment.*

The ſecond Government, is of divers principal Perſons eſtabliſhed by Order, and ruling by Laws, called *Ariſtocracy*, or *Optimatum poteſtas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and uſurpation of a few great-ones) is oppoſed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. Theſe three kinds of Government are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus*; *unius, paucorum, & multorum; Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy ſince the ſecond increaſe of mankind, the ſame grew in this ſort: Firſt of all, every Father, or eldeſt of the Family, gave Laws to his own iſſues, and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe, as they were multiplied into many houſholds (man by nature loving ſociety) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which ſignifies a *Houſe*; or of the word (*Via*) becauſe it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a ſociety of divers Villages) ſo called of the *Greeks* πηγη which ſignifieth a *Fountain:* becauſe many people (having their habitations not far aſunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water. To this word the *Engliſh* Hundreds, or (as ſome think) Shires, anſwereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increaſed: ſo both to defend themſelves from out-rage, and to preſerve ſuch goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and ſet together divers of their Villages, invironing them firſt with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, being ſo compaſſed, were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo ſe hoſtibus, Becauſe walls were oppoſed againſt Enemies*; or *ab opibus, becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſafety and defence:* as alſo they were called *Urbes, ab orbe*; becauſe when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was antiently in this, that *Urbs* ſignified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coivit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within theſe walls are not properly Citizens, but only ſuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the

City, may by turns become Officers and Magiſtrates thereof: the reſt go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the ſame general name of Subjects are alſo known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps alſo ſome Citizen (as the chief Magiſtrate, if he be to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not ſtand to inquire. The word (Magiſtrate) is taken *à Magiſtro, from a Maſter*, and the word (Magiſter) from the Adverb *Magis* (as alſo *Magiſteria, Precepts of Art*) or elſe from the *Greek* word (*Megiſtos*) and ſo the *Greeks* call them *Megiſtanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magiſtratus*.

The Office and Duty of every Magiſtrate, *Ethio. 5.* *Ariſtotle* hath written in few words. *A Magiſtrate or Prince* (ſaith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the ſame is beſt taught by Saint *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordained, together *Rom 13.4.* with their Duties and Office. *A Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the ſword for nought. For he is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He alſo *Ver. 1, 2.* teacheth in the ſame place; *That every ſoule ought to be ſubject to the higher powers, becauſe they are by God ordained*, and that *whoſoever reſiſteth that power, reſiſteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and ſhall not only be therefore ſubject to the judgment and con- *Ibid. v. 5.* demnation of Man, but of God: *For ye muſt be ſubject* (ſaith he) *not becauſe of wrath only, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

The examples are not to be numbered of Gods puniſhments, upon thoſe that have reſiſted Authority, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neither ought any Subject therefore to reſiſt the power of Kings, becauſe they may be taxed with injuſtice or cruelty: for it pleaſeth God ſometimes to puniſh his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without diſtinction. The *Prophets* and *Chriſt* himſelf ſubjected themſelves to the power of Magiſtracy. *Chriſt* commanded that all due to *Cæſar* ſhould be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himſelf and *Peter*. *Hiere-* *Hierem. 29.7.* *my* commanded the *Iſraelites* (even thoſe that were Captives under Heathen Kings) *Gen. 20. 17. & 27. 10.* to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* bleſſed the King of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour* (ſaith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates. And ſo much did Saint *Chryſoſtom*, in his Homily to the people, prefer *Monarchical* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum*; *Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth: *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his Hiſtory) *ſub malo principe eſſe, quàm nullo*; *It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no liberty more ſafe, than to ſerve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla eſt* (ſaith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino ſervire bono*; *No liberty* (ſaith he) *more ſafe for us than to be ſervants to the virtuous.* And certainly, howſoever it may be diſputed, yet it is ſafer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wiſe man that is cruel, than under the fooliſh and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that deſired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would diſdain in his own houſe, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Laſtly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as (for the reaſon before remembred) many Houſholds joyned themſelves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: ſo when theſe Cities and Citizens joyned together, and eſtabliſhed Laws by conſent, aſſociating themſelves under one Governour, and Government; they, ſo joyned, were called a Common-Wealth: the ſame being ſometimes governed by Kings; ſometimes by Magiſtrates; ſometimes by the People themſelves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the firſt Kings.

NOw this firſt Age after the Floud, and after ſuch time as the people were increaſed, and Families became ſtrong, and they diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the world, was by antient Hiſtorians called Golden: Ambition and Covetouſneſs being as then but green, and newly grown up, the ſeeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then ſought for no larger Territory than themſelves could compaſs and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than ſufficient to defend them from cold and tempeſt: tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curioſity of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And ſure if we underſtand by that Age (which was called Golden) the antient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of Empiry (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; ſo may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſervings have commonly the leaſt impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and ſhrink the openeſt and moſt *Jovial* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn eſtates before their eyes, and (withal) perſwadeth them to compaſſionate themſelves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whoſe means are anſwerable unto other mens deſires: yet ſuch as value all things by their own reſpects, do no ſooner find their appetites unanſwered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, ſo doth it in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our ſelves, and the pains and diſeaſes which never part from us but at the grave, make the times ſeem ſo differing and diſpleaſing: eſpecially the quality of man's nature being alſo ſuch, as it adoreth and extolleth the paſſages of the former, and condemneth the preſent ſtate how juſt ſoever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut ſemper vetera in laude, præſentia in faſtidio ſint*; *Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.* *It comes to paſs* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extol the time paſt, and hold the preſent faſtidious*: For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: *Quod ſint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praiſers of fore-paſſed times*, forgetting this advice of *Solomon*: *Say not then, Why is it that the former* *Eccleſ. 7.* *daies were better then theſe? For thou doeſt not inquire wiſely of this thing*: to which purpoſe *Seneca*; *Majores noſtri queſti ſunt, & nos querimur, poſteri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefaslabi*: *Our anceſtors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedneſs doth reign, and all things grow worſe and worſe, and fall into all evil.* Theſe are uſually the Diſcourſes of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius*? *Arnob. lib. 2.* *Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus; quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina. Whatſoever is new, in time ſhall be made old: and the antienteſt things when they took beginning were alſo new and ſodain.* Wherefore not to ſtand in much admiration of theſe firſt times, which the diſcontentment of preſent times have made Golden, this we may ſet down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the firſt Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: ſo the love of their people thereby purchaſed, held the ſame Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: ſo (relatively) he gave the care and juſtice of Kings to the Subjects; having reſpect, not only to the Kings themſelves, but even to the meaneſt of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono ſervit omne* *Wiſd. 6. 7.* *bonum*; *The infinite goodneſs of God doth not attend any one only*: for he that made the ſmall and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*: *All humane power is rooted in the will or diſpoſitions of men.*

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

ANd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began alſo other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the ſame Rule, by which themſelves were choſen; unto whom they gave place, truſt, and power. From which imployments and Offices ſprung *Verus Nobilis non naſcitur ſed fit.* thoſe Titles, and thoſe degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to theſe daies. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succeſſion of Bloud, but to Succeſſion of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was ſufficient for thoſe whoſe Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of ſuch Fathers: and ſo there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility neceſſarily deſcended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That ſuch as excelled others in virtue, were ſo called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quaſi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after ſuch time as the deſerved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Poſterity, Saint *Jerom* judged of the Succeſſion in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, niſi quod Nobiles quadam neceſſitate conſtringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I ſee no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of neceſſity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Anceſtors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*; *Virtue and antient riches*, then to exceed in all thoſe things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwiſe define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reaſonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witneſs of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are thoſe in whom Virtue is extinguiſhed, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worſhip in ſtead of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of antient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of ſoile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praiſe-worthy in thoſe waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the reſt of their courſe they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenoſa, ex terra ſterili pretioſum Aurum; Out of fruitful ground ariſeth ſometimes poyſoning Henbane, and out of barren ſoyle precious Gold.* For as all things conſiſt of matter and form, ſo doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a ſingular profeſſion of publike Virtue, ſerving his Prince and Country, and being deſcended of Parents and Anceſtors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the ſame Authour calleth perſonal (the ſame which our ſelves acquire by our Virtue and well deſervings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Deſcent, and alſo Perſonal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the perſonal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: For (ſaith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Deſcent, may light upon ſuch a one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is alſo a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and theſe be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, wiſh they knew well how to wipe off again. But ſurely, if we had as much ſenſe of our degenerating in worthineſs, as we have of vanity in deriving our ſelves of ſuch and ſuch Parents, we ſhould rather know ſuch Nobility (without Virtue) to be ſhame and diſhonour, than Nobleneſs and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (ſaith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in ſin, of a Potſhare body and barren mind?* For (according to the ſame Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malè coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayeſt conſider thy ſelf nakedly: for thou cameſt naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Cameſt thou thence with thy Mytre, or gliſtering with Jewels, or garniſhed with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or ſtuffed with Gold? If thou ſcatter and blow away all theſe by thy conſideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will ſoon paſs over, thou ſhalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miſerable man, and bluſhing, becauſe he is naked, and weeping, becauſe he is born, and repining, becauſe he is born to labour, and not to honour.*

Pint. in Ezech.

Bern. l. 1. de Conſider. ad Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and duſt: *which if thou doſt not believe* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Anceſtors, and they ſhall eaſily perſwade thee by their own example, that thou art duſt and dirt: ſo that if man ſeem more noble and beautiful than duſt, this proceedeth not from the diverſity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chryſ. hom. [illegible] de incompoſita Dei natura [illegible] 5.

For true Nobility ſtandeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleſhly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

Phil.

And howſoever the cuſtom of the World have made it good, that Honours be caſt by birth upon unworthy Iſſues: yet *Solomon* (as wiſe as any King) reprehendeth the ſame in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil* (ſaith he) *that I have ſeen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is ſet in great excellency.*

Eccleſ. 1

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CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the firſt after the Floud that reigned like a Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to have been of juſt authority.*

THe firſt of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Floud, was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to S. *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminency, and becauſe he was the firſt of fame, and took on him to command others: or elſe, in that he was begotten by *Chuſh*, after is other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſs words, calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no reſpect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical: the ſame beginning in *Babel* (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Melancthon* conceived not amiſs hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Authour of that Work, called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter, or ſevere Governour*, becauſe his form of Rule ſeemed, at firſt, farr more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *A mighty Hunter:* becauſe he took and deſtroyed both beaſts and thieves. But S. *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be underſtood, a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoever this word (*A mighty Hunter*) be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar:* ſo, this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelf, or any of the Sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon:* no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod, Suphne*, and *Joctan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelf ſo farr as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Son's Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the generall opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa*, about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua; In the family of* Heber *this language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*) and this Language *Abraham* uſed; yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud, the general ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cæleſtinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret, Rabbi Moſes, Ægyptius, Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolve, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely, but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by juſt authority, than violence of uſurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three diſtinct Perſons.*

B*Enzo*, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*; *Euſebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and ſo doth Saint *Hierom* upon *Oſe*; and theſe words of Saint *Auguſtine* ſeem to make him of the ſame Opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat poſt mortem patris ſui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *reign after the death of his father* Belus, *who governed in* Babylon *ſixty five years.* But it could not be unknown to Saint *Auguſtine*, that *Nimrod* was the Eſtabliſher of that Empire: *Moſes* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdom* (ſaith he) *was* Babel, Erec, Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar; wherefore *Nimrod* was the firſt King of *Babel.* And certainly, it beſt agreeth with reaſon, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) ſuppoſed: for in *Ninus* his time, the World was marvellouſly repleniſhed. And if S. *Auguſtine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for thoſe words of S. *Auguſtine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the firſt that reigned there*) ſuppoſed to be meant by *Belus*: thoſe words do not diſprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæſar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Common-wealth, making himſelf perpetual *Dictator*; yet *Auguſtus* was the firſt eſtabliſhed Emperour, and the firſt that reigned abſolutely by ſoveraign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be ſaid of *Nimrod*, that he firſt brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of ſoveraign rule, as *Cæſar* did; and yet *Belus* was the firſt, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exerciſed ſuch a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the ſame, becauſe many things are ſaid of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but ſuch agreement of times proves it not. For, ſo *Edward* the third, and his Grand-child, *Richard* the ſecond, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the ſame year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farr more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the ſame. For, it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining: but the firſt, and moſt famous work of *Ninus*, was the City of *Ninive*.

Now, whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and ſuppreſt the *Babylonians*, the ſame rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Perſon. For *Ninus* eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Aſſyria*, whence the *Babilonians* might (perchance) in diſdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by ſtrong hand; which was eaſie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

—Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxiſſe Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City
did incloſe.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod mighty*; ſo *Juſtine* hath the ſame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s Arguments; it may be anſwered, that ſuch an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe *Juſtine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moſes* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confuſion of Languages, to have invaded and maſtered thoſe Cities ſo farr removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erech*, *Accad*, and and *Chalne*: which work he therefore aſcribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greateſt undertaking; and conſequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we ſuppoſe he flouriſhed; and both thoſe names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one Perſon, to wit, to *Ninus*: to theſe things to make ſome anſwer. Firſt, I do not find that ſuppoſition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of theſe Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the firſt after the Floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into thoſe parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Beſides, whereas theſe Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to ſtand farr away from *Babylon*, I find no reaſon to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*; and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*: for the Region thereabout, the Coſmographers (ſaith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene.* Others underſtand *Niſibis* and *Ninive*, to be one City: ſo do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all miſtaken. For *Niſibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran*, are diſtinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Meſopotamia*, the ſame which *Arias Montanus*, out of S. *Hierom*, calls *Achad*: and ſo do the *Hebrews* alſo call *Niſibis*, which ſeemeth to be the cauſe of this miſtaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Auguſtine*, *Oreg*; and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Junius* underſtands for *Aracca* in *Suſiana*: but there is alſo a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*; and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the aſſiſtance of other circumſtances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalne*) ſome take it for *Caliniſis*: of which *Am. Mercellinus.* Lib. 23. S. *Hierom* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieroſolymitanus*, for *Cteſiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, deſtroyed and razed by the *Perſians.* But let *Moſes* be the Moderator and Judge of this Diſpute, who teacheth us directly, that theſe Cities are not ſeated in ſo diverſe and diſtant Regions; for theſe be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom* (ſpeaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar*: ſo as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we muſt find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with *Viterbienſis*, that theſe four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farr removed, aud in ſeveral Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* preciſely Cap.6.v.2. diſtinguiſh *Chalne* from *Babylon.* *Go you* (ſaith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philiſtims.* The *Geneva* Tranſlation, favouring the former Opinion, to ſet theſe Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expreſſing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all theſe cities were therein ſeated, but to diſtinguiſh *Babylon* of *Chaldæ*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I find little ſubſtance in that conceit. For ſure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire, there was no ſuch *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farr from the place where ſtood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not ſo ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphratos.* Now, that *Chalne* is ſituate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradiſe.* So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote ſituation of theſe three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were diſtinct and ſucceſſive Kings.

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§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Aſſur, *built* Ninive; *and that it is probable, out of* Eſay 23. 13. *that* Aſſur *built* Ur *of the* Chaldees.

NOw, as of *Nimrod*; ſo are the Opinions of Writers different touching *Aſſur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*: a controverſie weariſomly diſputed without any direct proof, concluſion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are ſilent, the voice of reaſon hath the beſt hearing) the Interpretation of *Junius* is moſt agreeable; who, beſides all neceſſary conſequence, doth not dif-join the ſence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuſe the underſtanding thereof. For in this ſort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus* Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalne, *in terra* Shinaaris: *e terra hac proceſſit in* Aſſyriam, *ubi ædificavit* Niniven (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar: *and he went forth of this Land into* Aſſyria, *and built* Ninive. So as *Junius* takes *Aſſur* in this place, not for any Perſon, but for the Region of *Aſſyria*; the Land being ſo called in *Moſes* time, and before it. For certainly, the other conſtruction (where the word *Aſſur* is taken for *Aſſur* the Son of *Shem*) doth not anſwer the order which *Moſes* obſerveth through all the Books of *Geneſis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he ſetteth down the Sons of *Noah*, in theſe words: *Now theſe are the generations of the Sons of* Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom Sons were born after the Floud*: then it followeth immediately; *The Sons of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* ſo as *Japheth* is laſt named among *Noah*'s Sons, be he eldeſt or youngeſt, becauſe he was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (having laſt named him) he proceeds and ſets down his Iſſue, and then the Iſſue of his Sons: firſt, the Iſſue of *Gomer*, *Japheth*'s eldeſt Son; and then ſpeaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the reſt of that Family he is ſilent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Chuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the Sons of *Chuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not disjoin the Story of the *Hebrews.* But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Son of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been againſt order; neither would *Moſes* have paſt over ſo ſleightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the Story of *Shem*'s Sons which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the Sons of *Chuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to ſpeak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive *P. Comeſtor, in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in ſome other ſence, he uſeth theſe words: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* Aſſur, *filio* Sem, *&c. ſed* Aſſur (*id eſt, Regnum* Aſſyriorum) *inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum eſt*; (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be underſtood of* Aſſur *the Son of* Sem, *&c. but* Aſſur (*that is, the Kingdom of the* Aſſyrians) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from* Babylon) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erector of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the inlargement of the Empire.* To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Cyrillus*; and now laſtly, *Torniellus*: who (ſaith he) took upon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſal.* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe.* 5. &c. But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the year of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and Learned Writer, underſtands this place with *Comeſtor*, or *Comeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that Tranſlation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giveth this ſence: *De hac terra* Aſſyriorum *pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filii*, Ninum *condiderunt, urbem magnam*, &c. *Out of this Land grew the Empire of the* Aſſyrians, *who built* Ninus *the great City, ſo named of* Ninus *the Son of* Belus. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Eſay: Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this was no People*, Aſſur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſs*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diverſity in the Tranſlation and Underſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to inferr, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the State of the *Chaldæans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur*, rather than *Nimrod*, eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Nineve*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hierom's* Tranſlation) it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot truſt or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldæa*, and that Eſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldæa*, being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoon after be overturned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words after *Hierom*: *Ecce terra* Chaldæorum, *talis populus non fuit*, Aſſur *fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam* (which is) *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *ſuch a People there were not* (or, *this was no People*, after the *Geneva*) Aſſur (*or the* Aſſyrians) *founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captive, they undermined their Houſes, and ruined their City.* The *Septuagint* expreſs it but in a part of another Verſe, in theſe words: *Et in terra* Chaldæorum, *& hæc deſolata eſt ab* Aſſyriis, *quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the ſence perfect by the preceding verſe, which altogether may be thus underſtood: *If thou go over to* Chittim (which is *Macedon*, or *Greece*) *yet*

Torniel. Annal. ſacr. in Gen. 10.

23. 13.

yet thou ſhalt not reſt (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for this is made deſolate by the* Aſſyrians, *becauſe their walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra* Chaſdiim, *iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* Aſſur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this People was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof; and again brake down the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Junius*, in the place of Ships, ſets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneva, by the Barbarians.* But this is undoubted, that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſence of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe trade the ſtate and greatneſs of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, *the Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appears in our Diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chief merchandize came in by the City *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chief ſtream of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian* Gulf: though now it be ſtopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the Eaſt banks of the *Perſian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur*, or *Urchoa*: and and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*; as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Town, and one of thoſe Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through wch, that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger*.) And *Pliny*: *Locus ubi* Euphratis *oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum; Time hath worn away the channel of* Euphrates: *the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecatæus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, *the City of Chaldæa*: which the Sons of *Shem*, until *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Tranſlations, it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be underſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-ſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (*by Ships*) do bear that ſence, the ſame may be the better approved, becauſe it was a Port Town: and the River ſo farr up as this City of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the* Barbarians) or (*by the* Barbarians) be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſs manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth Deſart Lands, becauſe it joineth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the moſt Salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros.*

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakneth the former Tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diverſly taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeem to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the City of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the Poſterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatry of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelves) hath nothing in it to prove the ſame *Aſſur* built *Nineve*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious ſacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Aſſur* muſt be of that

Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he muſt be, if he founded *Ninive*, then all thoſe which ſeek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thouſand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Beſides, if this ſuppoſed *Aſſur*, whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and ſo the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the ſame with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obſcure, and not like to be the Founder of ſuch an Empire, and ſuch a City, if no man have vouchſafed to leave to Poſterity his expulſion thence, and how he loſt that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whoſe acts and conqueſts are ſo largely written, and (according to my apprehenſion) farr differing from truth. It will therefore be found beſt agreeing to Scripture and to Reaſon, and beſt agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the firſt works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moſes*; and that theſe works being finiſhed within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and ſet in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying neer unto the ſame ſtream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finiſhed, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to paſs, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundreſs of the City which ſhe onely finiſhed: ſo alſo *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidam* Babylonem *potuit inſtaurare*; *She might repair or renew* Babylon, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*. For ſo did *Nebuchodonoſor* vaunt himſelf to be the Founder of *Babylon* alſo, becauſe he built up again ſome part of the wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his ſtood till *Alexander*'s time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

Dan 4. 27.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farr as now they are known.*

BUt to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moſes*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *tranſfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* ſurnamed *Saturne*) was the eſtabliſher of the the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning conſiſted of thoſe four Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Aſſyria*, and in *Aſſyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Reſen*. And ſeeing that he ſpent much time in building *Babel* it ſelf, and thoſe adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (ſuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Aſſyria* which he builded (conſidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Suceſſours in many years after: to whoſe undertakings time had given ſo great an increaſe of People; and the examples and patterns of his beginning, ſo great advancement and encouragement: in whoſe time (ſaith *Glycas*) all theſe Nations were called *Meropes*, *à ſermonis linguarum terræque diviſione*; *By reaſon that the earth and the ſpeech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, ſucceeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. years; of whoſe acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he ſpent much of his time in diſburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all thoſe great Fens and overflown Mariſhes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Warrs or Conqueſts there is no report, other than of his begun enterpriſe againſt *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and thoſe parts of *Scythia*, which *Beroſus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whoſe Son and Succeſſour *Barzanes* became ſubject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the Warr to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how ſo many Kingdoms could be erected about theſe times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

THat ſo many Kingdoms were erected in all thoſe Eaſtern parts of the World ſo ſoon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifeſt) the cauſes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Neceſſity. For Opportunity, being a Princeſs liberal and powerfull, beſtoweth on her firſt Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wiſdom ought; by whoſe preſence alone the underſtanding minds of men receive all thoſe helps and ſupplies, which they either want or wiſh for: ſo as every Leader of a troop (after the diviſion of Tongues, and diſperſion of People) finding theſe fair offers made unto them, held the power which they poſſeſt, and governed by diſcretion all thoſe People, whom they conducted to their deſtined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was firſt divided, mankind ſtraggled abroad like Beaſts in a Deſart; but that by agreement they diſpoſed themſelves; and undertook to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by diſtinct Families and Nations: otherwiſe, thoſe remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were Peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been poſſeſt in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did thoſe that were ſent, and travelled farr off (order being the true Parent of proſperous ſucceſs) undertake ſo difficult enterpriſes without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the example of *Nimrod*, with whom it ſucceeded well, ſtrengthened every humour that aſpired. Thirdly, Neceſſity reſolved all men by the arguments of common miſeries, that without a Commander and Magiſtrate, neither could thoſe that were laborious, and of honeſt diſpoſitions, enjoy the harveſt of their own Travels; nor thoſe which were of little ſtrength, ſecure themſelves againſt forcible violence; nor thoſe which ſought after any proportion of greatneſs, either poſſeſs the ſame in quiet, or rule and order their own Miniſters and Attendants.

That theſe cauſes had wrought theſe effects, the undertakings and Conqueſts of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way ſoever his Ambition led him in the Warrs.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he firſt took on him Soveraignty and ſole commandment of all thoſe the Children of *Noah*, which came from the Eaſt into *Babylonia*: though in his life-time others alſo raiſed themſelves to the ſame eſtate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Succeſſour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, ſufficiently powerfull to reſiſt his attempts; which *Sabatius* I take to be the ſame, which *Juſtine* calls *Tanais*; and ſhould conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently ſuſpect ſome errour (as *Juſtine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumſtances ſeems to me, righty accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Seſoſtris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the ſecond King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. years, according to the common account.

more
this, l. 2.
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§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affines unto it.*

WHence this ſecond King and Succeſſor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, queſtion hath been made; for it ſeemeth rather a name impoſed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than aſſumed by *Belus* himſelf.

Cyrillus againſt *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the firſt of all men that cauſed himſelf to be called a god: which were it ſo, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have obſerved, ſignifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worſhipped as a god. And as this Title was aſſumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: ſo was it uſed (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as ſome Hiſtorians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) thoſe voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belſebub*, and *Beelſephon*. Thoſe that that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chief in the Warr*; though *Daniel* was ſo called (ſaith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honor of his expounding ſecrets.* Saint *Hierom* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the ſame ſignification: and ſaith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was ſo called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father ſet up to be worſhipped: to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (ſaith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the firſt uſe of Images into the World. *Iſidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old, or ancient; adding, that as among the *Aſſyrians* it is taken for *Saturn*, and the *Sun*: ſo, in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language, it ſignifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Aſſyrian* name properly; and *Joſephus* a *Tyrian*. He alſo affirmeth, that the Idol which the *Moabites* worſhipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the ſame which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which alſo was the Opinion of Saint *Hierom*. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to ſay, as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* ſoundeth (God) and *Sebub*

(Flies

Hier. in Oſe. c. 2.

Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11.

Iſid. l. 8. c. 11.

Hieron. in Oſe. c. 4. & 9.

(Flies or Hornets)by which name (notwithſtanding) the *Jews* expreſs the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Oſe* teacheth us the prophet ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelf; *And at that day (ſaith the Lord) thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouths.* For, although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sun, was not, becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sun there was worſhipped as God: as a alſo the Fire was; *tanquam Solis particula.* As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*; *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*; *Dominus ſpeculæ, vel cuſtodiæ: The Lord of the Watch-tower, or of the Guard:* the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor:* and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joined, expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn:* for it was uſed among the Ancients, to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Aucto. de æquit. l. 1.* *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum* Joves *&* Junones; Hercules *vero nepotes eorum fortiſſimi. The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturns; *their firſt-born,* Jupiters *and* Junoes; *their valiant Nephews,* Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his Warlike Son, *Ninus*, who cauſed his Father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (tranſported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. *Diod. l 3.* For *Neptune* (ſay they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They add, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Egyptian* manner. But, were there any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis* (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeak, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* ſo much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worſhipping of Images, begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonians Belus*, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Aſtronomy*, if *Pliny* ſay true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Strab. lib. 13. c. 3. Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Srabo* writeth thus: *Over the River,* ſaith he, *there are Gardens, where they ſay the ruines of* Belus *his Tomb, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every ſide it had a furlong in breadth.* *L. 1. cont. Julian.* It appears by *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained divine worſhip yet living: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*.) *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis Deitatis nomen accepiſſe: Perſeverârunt igitur* Aſſyrii, *& finitimæ illis gentes ſacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all men that was ever honoured by their ſubjects with title of Deity*; (or with the name of God) *the Aſſyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have perſevered, ſacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who ſucceeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of ſharp and fierce diſpoſition, who bidding battel to *Caucaſus*, of the ſtock of *Japheth*, ſlew him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or ſoon after: though I deny not, but that the moſt of their Images and *Statuæ* were firſt erected without divine worſhip, onely in memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and ſo afterward the Devil crept into thoſe wooden and brazen carcaſſes, when Poſterity had loſt the memory of their firſt invention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner: *Quos autem* Pagani *Deos aſſerunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuſcujuſque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cœperunt: ſed (Dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos exiſtimârunt: ad iſta vero magis excolenda acceſſerunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men* (ſaith he) *whom the* Pagans *affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length (the Devils perſwading) they accounted them leſſer gods, whoſe memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more ſuperſtitious.*

And, that the worſhipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Greg. Neo-cæſar.* *Gregory: Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inventrix & caput eſt Imaginum; Gentiliſm is the inventreſs and ground of Images:* and *Ambr. in Pſal. 108.* *Ambroſe*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The* Gentiles *adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Euſeb. l. 7. cap. 18.* *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhipping of images, a cuſtom borrowed of the *Heathen*. *Aug. c. 13.* The like ſaith S. *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus*. *Lact. lib. 2. cap. 2.* *Et verentur* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *ne Religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent; They fear their Religion would be vain, ſhould they not ſee what they worſhip.*

And (out of doubt) the Scholemen ſhift this fearfull cuſtom very ſtrangely. For, ſeeing the very workmanſhip is forbidden, how can the heart of a wiſe *Chriſtian* ſatisfy it ſelf with the diſtinction of *Doulia*, and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe Images after they are made? And it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned men ſhould ſtrain their wits to defend the uſe of thoſe things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither expreſs the Commandment of God himſelf, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatning of *Moſes* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perſwaſions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or plainer inſtruction than theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelves (for ye ſaw no Image in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midſt of the fire) that ye corrupt not your ſelves, and make you a graven Image, or repreſentation of any Figure, whether it be the likeneſs of Male or Female.*

And, beſides the expreſs Commandment, *Thou ſhalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; ſo it is written in the Book of *Wiſdom*, That, *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Scholemen affirm, that the Prophets ſpake againſt the Worſhipping of the *Heathen* Idols, it is manifeſt, that *Moſes* ſpake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal*, and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no Image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb. Surely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua: Do not imagine any form to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy mind too.* Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption unlawfull to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how farr do thoſe men preſume, that put him under the greaſie Pencil of a Painter, or the ruſty Axe or other Inſtrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God, began in *Babel:* ſo did the Devil tranſport and ſpread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans*, for a while, reſiſted the erection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170. years; obſerving the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to reſemble things moſt beautifull, by things moſt baſe. But, *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun moſt deluded by Satan) ſet up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: *Aug. de Civit. l. 4. c. 31.* and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant; & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto, with bended knees thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftſmen that made them:* which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at:

> *Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro*
> *Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumque*
> *Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere, verentur!*
> *Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia*
> *ludit?*
> *Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque*
> *Draconem,*
> *Semi-hominemque-canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumb Idols in their heart,
Who their own Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And fear the work of their own hands & art!

What fury? what great madneſs doth
  beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes
  adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid im-
  plore.

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth, in his Sixth Book, *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brackmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the antient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt*, *All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen, at firſt, made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred.* And though of the more antient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* ſay they, (and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are in ſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God:* in which underſtanding, perhaps, they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bel*, ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idol of the world, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium, ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores, dii medii: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobility, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention, in his Book, *de Civitate Dei.* But Lib. 14. (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſouls, and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul:* who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devil had ſo many years led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in general, or that every Nation had ſome one which took particular and ſingular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every City, and almoſt every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* Cap. 17. v. 18. made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? Cap. 44. *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from underſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a *Chriſtian*, to believe the Commandments of God, ſo direct againſt Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*, who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flie from Idolatry; I ſpeak as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

§. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: *and laſtly, of his Warr againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatry, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that, without ſhame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For, although that piece of *Beroſus*, ſet out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſeus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Joſephus:* and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Pliny*. Athen. lib. 14. Joſeph. cont. Appian. l. 1. & 7. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Joſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certain Papers; or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings, is not without his errours.

Cteſias, or *Cnidus* (a City joining to *Halicarnaſſeus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtory out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis:* and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his Works, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertain, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgment, I will paſs over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſs them. S. *Auguſtine* affirms, that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wan it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtreight league of amity, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr againſt *Zoroaſter:* for from *Armenia*, he bent himſelf that way toward the Eaſt; but, that ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warr was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeven Children, though others affirm, that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria:* and, that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horſe, and 100000 ſix hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with four hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra*, Aug. de Civit. Dei. or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together Steph. de Urb. with her perſon aud external beauty, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he took her from her Huſband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out, if he refuſed to conſent. He thererefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and hiſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the Water, and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaſter, *ſuppoſed to have been the chief Authour of Magick Arts : and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

§. I.

That Zoroaſter *was not* Cham, *nor the firſt inventer of Aſtrologie, or of Magick : and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

Zoroaſter, King of the *Bactrians, Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be *Cham* the Son of *Noah :* a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternal Anceſtour of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, deviſed by ſome wicked Knave, and ſo entituled ; of which *Sixtus Senenſis* hath made the due mention.

Caſſian in Oct. Col. cap. 21.

It is reported by *Caſſianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham* the Son of *Noah :* ſo did *Comeſtor* in his Scholaſtical Hiſtory ; which Art (ſaith he) with the ſeven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars : ſeven of which were made of Braſs, to reſiſt the defacing by the Waters of the Floud ; and ſeven of Brick, againſt the injury of fire. There was alſo another deviſed Diſcourſe, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham. Caſſianus* out of *Serenus* hath ſomewhat like this of *Comeſtor*. Theſe be *Caſſianus* words : Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui ſuperſtitionibus iſtis & ſacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe ſuper his memorialem librũ in Arcam prorſus inferre, in qua erat cum patre juſto*, &c. Cham *the* (*the Son of* Noah) *who was infected with theſe ſuperſtitions and ſacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, cauſed the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.*

Saint *Auguſtine* noteth that *Zoroaſter* was ſaid to have laught at his birth, when all other children weep ; which preſaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto ; being taken for the Inventer of natural *Magick* and other Arts ; for the Corrupter, ſaith *Pliny* and *Juſtine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaſter* invented the doctrine of the *Horoſcopes*, or *Nativities :* or firſt found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings ; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is alſo made the Inventer. I rather think that theſe knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaſter* (as *Joſephus* reporteth) was no leſs learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living : differing from the wiſdom of after-times in this, that he knew, and acknowledged, the true cauſe, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things ; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, diſperſed, and univerſal power) admired the Inſtruments, and did attribute proper ſtrength to the things themſelves (from which the effects were ſenſible) which belonged to that wiſdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it ſelf, can do all things, and reneweth all.*

Wiſd.

Now, whether this *Zoroaſter* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the ſame which was ſo excellent a Naturaliſt, it is doubted. For *Zoroaſter* the *Magician*, *Cteſias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaſter* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midſt of his Diſciples) as ſome Authours report, then *Zoroaſter*, ſlain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician :* which is alſo the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Scalig. Euſeb. Joſeph. Antiq.

Again, *Joſephus*, and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* firſt found out the Planets, or wandring Stars, and other motions of the Heavens : for if this Art had been invented by *Zoroaſter*, he could not have attained to any ſuch excellency therein, in his own life-time ; but being a man (as it ſeemeth) of ſingular judgment, he might add ſomewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Poſterity.

But of this *Zoroaſter*, there is much diſpute : and no leſs jangling about the word and Art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth four, to whom the name of *Zoroaſter*, or *Zorcaſtres* was given : which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* ſeemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and

and was as much to ſay, as *Aſtrorum cultor.* The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* overthrew : the ſecond, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Aſtronomer* of *Ninus :* the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar : the fourth, *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece :* between whom and *Cyrus*, there paſt threeſcore and eighteen years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perſomedus ſapiens :* and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the Son of *Oromaſdes* ; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now, of what Nation the firſt and chief *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian*. *Gemiſtheus*, or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by thoſe Books of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of Nations. *Forphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers ; *Picus*, the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profeſſion, it appeareth by his Books, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* Tongue ; and the Comment in the ſame Language. Now, that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of thoſe Books of *Zoroaſter*, which in an Epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he ſaith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris & Melchior *magorum oracula.*

§. II.

Of the name of Magia ; *and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.*

Pic. Mir. fol. 81.

Now, for Magick it ſelf ; which Art (ſaith *Mirandula*) *Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt ; Few underſtand, and many reprehend ; Et ſicut Canes ignotos ſemper allatrant ; As Dogs bark at thoſe they know not :* ſo they condemn and hate the things they underſtand not : I think it not amiſs (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof.

Plin. l. 30. Hiſt. Nat. Porphyr. & Apul.

It is true, that many men abhorr the very name and word (*Magos*) becauſe of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *goes* (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, uſurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are farr differing Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, ſcoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (ſaith *Pliny*) who had the moſt excellent Magicians of the Eaſt, ſent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the Art, after long ſtudy and labour, altogether ridiculous.

Plato in Alcil.

Magus is a *Perſian* word primitively, whereby is expreſt ſuch a one as is altogether converſant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epiſtles expounding the word (μάγος) ſaith, that the *Perſians* called their gods μάγους : whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς, or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name ſometimes of him that is a God by nature ; ſometimes of him that is in the ſervice of God : in which latter ſence it is taken, *Mat.* 2. *v.* 1. And this is the firſt and higheſt kind : which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magick : and theſe did the *Latines* newly entitle *Sapientes*, or *Wiſemen : For, the fear and worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe Wiſemen the *Greeks* call Philoſophers : the *Indians*, *Branchmans* ; which name they ſomewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Prieſts *Bramines* ; among the *Egyptians* they were tearmed Prieſts ; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabaliſts, Prophets, Scribes*, and *Phariſees :* amongſt the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans :* and among the *Perſians*, Magicians : of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) uſeth theſe words : *Et verum Deum merita majeſtate proſequitur, & Angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri ejus venerationi novit aſſiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos ; Soſtenes* (for ſo *M. Felix* called him, not *Hoſtanes*) *aſcribeth the due Majeſty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the Worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath delivered that there are Devils earthly, and wandering, and enemies to man-kind.*

Piccol. de Defin.

Prov. 1. 7.

John Hug. Linſchot.

In octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio p. 360.

His Majeſty alſo, in his firſt Book of *Demonologie, ch.* 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Perſian* Tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenly ſcience ; but unjuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is alſo right which *His Majeſty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick*, all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majeſty* diſtinguiſh it from Necromancy, Witchcraft, and the reſt : of all which he hath written largely, and moſt learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majeſty* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his ſecond Chap. nameth four kinds of thoſe *Wiſemen : Arioli, Magi, Maleſici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* Tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas : Vatablus* and *Pagninus, Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or

Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 1.

Philoſophers, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturaliſts: Nempe ſunt Magi apud Babaros, quod Philoſophi apud Græcos (ſcilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum ſcientiam profitentes*; *For the Magi are the ſame with the* Barbarians, *as the Philoſophers are with the* Grecians (that is) *men that profeſs the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The *Greek* and the *Engliſh* call them *Inchanters*; Junius, *Magicians*; Caſtalion, *Conjecturers*: in the *Syrian*, they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wiſemen of Babel.*

The ſecond ſort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh*, call Aſtrologers; *Hierom* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici* or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches, or Poiſoners: in *Junius*, *Præſtigiatores*, or Sorcerers, as in *Engliſh*.

That Witches are alſo rightly ſo called *Venefici*, or *Poiſoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any Art of Magick or Necromancie, uſe the help of the Devil to do miſchief, *His Majeſty* confirmeth in the firſt Chapter of his ſecond Book: ſpeaking alſo in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, or otherwiſe (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect thoſe things which the Devil by other means bringeth to paſs.

The fourth, all Tranſlators call *Chaldæans*: who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well natural as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars, by them obſerved, and underſtood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are, the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly ſought (as is the manner of all Impoſtures) to counterfeit the higheſt and moſt noble part of it, yet ſo as they have alſo crept into the inferiour degrees.

A ſecond kind of *Magick*, was that part of *Aſtrologie*, which had reſpect to ſowing and planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Huſbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starrs into thoſe lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick*, or *Aſtrologie*, together with the motions of the Starrs, and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (ſaith *Jo. Damaſcen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Joſephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he inſtructed the* Egyptians *in Arithmetick and Aſtronomie, who before* Abraham's *coming unto them knew none of theſe Sciences.*

De vit. ſanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180.

And ſo doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* againſt *Garſias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt, quòd* Abraham *ſanctitate & ſapientiâ omnium præſtantiſſimus*, Chaldæos *primùm, deinde* Phœnices, *demum* Ægyptios *Sacerdotes Aſtrologiam & divina docuerit*; Alexander (ſaith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhiſtor) *and* Eupolemon *affirm, that* Abraham, *the holieſt and wiſeſt of men, did firſt teach the* Chaldæans, *then the* Phenicians; *laſtly, the* Egyptian *Prieſts, Aſtrologie, and divine Knowledge.*

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philoſophy of Nature; not the brablings of the *Ariſtotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmoſt virtues, and draweth them out of Nature's hidden boſome to humane uſe: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Virtues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymiſts*. Of this ſort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before theſe, in elder-times, and who better underſtood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that work to things that ſuffer, were *Zoroaſter* before ſpoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus*, remembred by S. *Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in ſome mens Opinion, *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Theſpian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is ſuppoſed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponenſis*. The *Magick* which theſe men profeſt, is thus defined: *Magia eſt connexio à viro ſapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, ſibi congruenter reſpondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non ſine eorum ſine admiratione qui cauſam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, anſwerable each to other, wrought by a wiſe man, to the bringing forth of ſuch effects as are wonderfull to thoſe that know not their cauſes.* In all theſe three kinds, which other men divide into four, it ſeemeth that *Zoroaſter* was exceedingly learned; eſpecially in the firſt and higheſt. For in his Oracles he confeſſeth God to be the Creator of the Univerſal: he believeth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not inveſtigate by any natural knowledge: he ſpeaketh of Angels, and of *Paradiſe*: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, diſcourſing of the Abſtinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Pſellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others, have gathered and tranſlated.

See upon his Comment. in Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.

* *Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas eſt princeps Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & menti tradidit ſecundæ.* Pſel. & Ficin. de præp. Evang. l. 1. cap. 7.

Of

Of this *Zoroaſter*, *Euſeb.* in the *Theologie* of the *Phænicians*, uſing *Zoroaſter*'s own words: *Hæc ad verbum ſcribit* (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, ſempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, ſibi-ipſi ſimillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentiſſimus, pater juris, ſine doctrina juſtitiam perdoctus, naturâ perfectus, ſapiens, ſacræ naturæ unicus inventor*, &c. *Thus writeth* Zoroaſter, *word for word. God, the firſt incorruptible, everlaſting, unbegotten, without parts, moſt like himſelf, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the beſt, the wiſeſt, the father of right, having learned juſtice without teaching, perfect, wiſe by nature, the onely inventer thereof.*

Sixtus Senenſis, ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the *Chaldæans*, doth diſtinguiſh thoſe wiſe men into five orders (to wit) *Chaſcedim*, or *Chaldæans*: *Aſaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim* (which he tranſlates *Ariolie*, or *Sophiſts*) *Mechaſphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Wiches*, or *Poiſoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruſpices*, or *Diviners*.

Lib. 2. fol. 16.

Chaſcedim were thoſe which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Aſtronomers*: *Hi cœlorum motus diligentiſſimè ſpectârunt*; *Theſe did moſt diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens*: whom *Philo*, in the life of *Abraham* deſcribeth.

Aſaphim were in the old *Latine* tranſlation called *Philoſophers*: of the *Septuagint*, and of *Hierom*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quàm humanarum rerum cauſis Philoſophati ſunt*; *Who diſcourſed of the cauſes of all things, as well divine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be the firſt: but *Laertius* aſcribeth the invention of this Art to *Zoroaſtres* the *Perſian*.

Laert. l. 1.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Diſciples (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *Pliny*, and *Juſtine*) of another *Zoroaſtres*: who corrupted the admirable wiſdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Anceſters.

Mechaſphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are thoſe which we have ſpoken already out of *His Majeſties* Book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruſpices* (after S. *Hierom*) which divine from the intrails of Beaſts ſlain for ſacrifices: or by *Gazarim*, others underſtand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, ſinging, or feeding of Birds.

By this diſtinction, we may perceive the difference between thoſe wiſe men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profeſſion of the *Magi* among the antient *Perſians* was moſt honeſt. For as *Peucer* truly obſerveth, *Præerant religioni Perſicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, ſtudiiſque veræ Philoſophiæ diditi erant: nec quiſquam Rex Perſarum poterat eſſe, qui non antea Magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamque percepiſſet*; *The Magi* (ſaith he) *were the chief Miniſters of the* Perſian *Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the ſtudies of true Philoſophy: neither could any be King of the* Perſians, *who had not firſt been exerciſed in the myſteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Sixtus Senenſis*, in the defence of *Origen* againſt *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are theſe: *Et ne quem moveant præmiſſa* Polychronii & Theophili *teſtimonia, ſciendum eſt duplicem eſſe Magiam*; *alteram ubique ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita, aut verè, aut apparenter, operatur*; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis Philoſophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the teſtimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*ſaith he*) *may not move any man, it is to be underſtood that Magick is of two ſorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truly or ſeemingly) by covenants made with devils*; *the other commended by* Origen, *which appertaineth to the practick part of natural Philoſophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and ſuffering reciprocally.*

Peucer de Divinitat. in c. de Mag. fol. 135, 136.

Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.

This Partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the firſt of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, where conſidering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between theſe four kinds of wiſe Men formerly remembred, he uſeth this diſtinction: *Quos nos hariolos*; *cæteri* ἐπαοιδὰς (*id eſt*) *incantatores interpetati ſunt, videntur mihi eſſe qui verbis rem peragunt*; *Magi, qui de ſingulis philoſophantur*; *Malefici, qui ſanguine utuntur, & victimis, & ſæpe contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in* Chaldæis *Genethliacos ſignificari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem ſuam, eo quòd ſint Philoſophi* Chaldæorum: *& ad artis hujus ſcientiam, Reges quoq; & Principes ejuſdem gentis omnia faciunt*; *unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipſi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes ſanctam* Bethlehem, *adoraverunt puerum, ſtella deſuper oſtendente*; *They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, ſeem to me, ſuch as perform things by words*; *Magicians, ſuch as handle every thing philoſophically*; *Witches, that uſe bloud and ſacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the* Chaldæans, *I take them to be ſignified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common cuſtom takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwiſe reputed in their own Nation: for* *they are the Philoſophers of the* Chaldæans: *yea, King and princes of that Nation do all that they do, according to the knowledge of this Art: whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they firſt of all underſtood his birth, and coming unto holy* Bethlehem, *did worſhip the Child: the Starr from above ſhewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuſe of the word. For though ſome Writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque; That he is called a Magician now-a-days who having entred league with the Devil, uſeth his help to any matter:* yet (as our Saviour ſaid of *Divorce*) it was not ſo from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wiſdom of Nature; other Arts which undergo that title, were invented by the falſhood, ſubtilty, and envie of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other doctrine, than the uſe of certain ceremonies, *Per malam fidem; By an evil faith:* in the former, no other ill, than the inveſtigation of thoſe virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that ſuffer. And though by the *Jews* thoſe excellent *Magicians*, *Philoſophers*, and *Divines*, which came to worſhip our Saviour *Chriſt*, were tearmed *Mechaſchephim*, or *Mecaſphim*; yet had they no other reaſon than common cuſtom therein. Hierom. in Daniel. Pet. Mart. Lec. *Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficiis accipit; Common cuſtom* (ſaith S. *Hierom*) *underſtandeth Witches, under the name of Magicians: And antiquity* (ſaith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *underſtood good and wiſe men. Quid igitur expaveſcis Magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen Evangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fearfull one* (ſaith *Ficinus*) Mar. Ficin. par. prim. fol. 573. *why doubteſt thou to uſe the name of* Magus, *a name gratious in the Goſpel, which doth not ſignifie a Witch, or a Conjurer, but a wiſe man, and a Prieſt?* For what brought this ſlander to that Study and Profeſſion, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of cauſleſs admiration? *Cauſa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia ſunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonorum, naturas ipſas vel conjungentium, vel commiſcentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta ſunt, opera dæmonũ credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujuſmodi eſt Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant. The marvellouſneſs of ſome works, which (indeed) are natural, hath been the cauſe of this ſlander: but becauſe theſe* Gul. Pariſien. de Lege, cap. 14. *works have been done by procurement of devils, joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howſoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among theſe works is natural Magick, which men call very improperly,* Ne*cromancy.*

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: Fol 80. *For by underſtanding* (ſaith he) *the uttermoſt activity of natural agents we are aſſiſted to know the Divinity of Chriſt:* for otherwiſe (to uſe his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium, ſtat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Chriſtus, poſſe fieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not underſtood, we muſt needs doubt, whether thoſe very works which Chriſt did, may not be done by natural means:* after which he goeth on in this ſort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non ſuperſtitioſè dixi, ſed veriſſimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoſcenda divinitate Chriſti: Therefore I ſaid not heretically, not ſuperſtitiouſly, but moſt truly and Catholickly, that by ſuch Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Chriſt.* And ſeeing the *Jews* and others, the enemies of *Chriſtian Religion*, do impudently and impiouſly object, that thoſe Miracles which *Chriſt* wrought, were not above nature, but by the exquiſite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reaſon avow, that the uttermoſt of Nature's works being known, the works which *Chriſt* did, and which (as himſelf witneſſeth) no man could do, do manifeſtly teſtifie of themſelves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supreme and Divine; and thereby thoſe that were faithleſs, were either converted, or put to ſilence.

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§. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath ſought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confeſſed by all of underſtanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Perſian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum Cultor, & Interpres: A ſtudious Obſerver and Expounder of Divine things:* and the Art of it ſelf (I mean the Art of Natural *Magick*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philoſophiæ abſoluta conſummatio; than the abſolute perfection of natural Philoſophy:* Certainly then, it proceeds from ignorance, and no way ſorteth

with wiſe and learned men, *promiſcuè*, and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawfull and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to uſe S. *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath ſhuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſs men. For, if we condemn natural *Magick*, or the wiſdom of Nature, becauſe the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poiſoners the harmfull parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the ſame rule, condemn the *Phyſician*, and the Art of Healing. For the Devil alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for ſuch and ſuch Diſeaſes. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelf into the ſame employment among the Miniſters and Servants of God, changing himſelf for that purpoſe into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to eſteem them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerveth) Bunt. in Chro. it is true, that judicial *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art, conſidering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience ſheweth) have, and exerciſe their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun and the Starr of *Mars* do drie; the Moon doth moiſten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have ſeveral and proper names, ſo have they ſeveral and proper virtues: the Stars do alſo differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.* Pſal. 147. But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtial influences, the Devil ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret virtues of Nature hath he faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the ſtrength of Words and Letters (which, without Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of God's creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerve when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores, and flie into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, foreſhew Rain: for they feel the air moiſtned in their quils. And it is written in *Hieremy* the Prophet, Cap. 8. v. 7. *Even the Stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon theſe as upon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the *Heathen*, by teaching them to obſerve the flying of Fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill ſucceſs in the Warr: and (withall) to look into their entrails for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of unſearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beaſts. Again, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but *Heathen* Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to *Abraham*; Gen. 12. v. 17. becauſe he admoniſhed *Joſeph*, and by a Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in *Job*: *In Dreams and Viſions of the night, when ſleep falleth upon men,* &c. *then God openeth the ears, that he might cauſe man to return from his enterpriſe;* Job 33. 17. therefore, I ſay, doth the Devil alſo practiſe his Divinations by dreams, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mock-divinity.* G. Pariſien. de leg. 24. cap. This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines*. Yea, the *Romans*, finding the inconvenience hereof, becauſe all Dreams (without diſtinction of caſes) were drawn to Divination, forbad the ſame by a Law, Codex. de malefic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta. as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appear. Likewiſe by the Law of God, in *Deuteronomy*, *Chap.* 13. ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemie's* poiſoned wound; nor that which Saint *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda. whoſe Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: not that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter; and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, for as much as the cauſe is not in our ſelves, this place denieth diſpute.

§. IV.

That Daniel's *miſliking* Nebuchodonoſor's *condemning of the Magicians, doth not juſtifie all their practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if ſuch Divinations as the *Heathens* commonly uſed, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and ſtrange Revelations; how came it to paſs, that *Daniel* both condemned the haſty ſentence of *Nebuchodonoſor* againſt the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a ſort forbad it? eſpecially conſidering that ſuch kind of people God himſelf commanded to be ſlain. To this, divers anſwers may be given. Firſt, it ſeemeth that *Daniel* had reſpect to thoſe *Chaldæans*, becauſe they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himſelf had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (ſaid the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whoſe dwelling is not with fleſh:* and herein they confeſſed the power of the Ever-living God.

Deut. 13. and 18. Levit. 20.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reaſon) that among ſo many learned men, ſome of them did not exerciſe themſelves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but were meerly *Magicians* and *Naturaliſts:* and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perſwaded the contrary, and called it a haſty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that ſome of thoſe mens ſtudies and profeſſions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniel's* inſtruction: for himſelf had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters: of which ſome were tearmed *Soothſayers*, others *Aſtrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi*, or *Wiſe-men:* and therefore of diſtinct profeſſions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* miſliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, becauſe it was unjuſt. For howſoever thoſe men might deſerve puniſhment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltleſs. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himſelf could not know. So then, in *Daniel's* diſlike, and hindring of the execution of ſentence of death pronounced againſt the *Magicians*, there is no abſolute juſtifying of their practice and profeſſion.

§. V.

The abuſe of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right uſe of them.

NOtwithſtanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falſhood with truth, of corruption with cleanneſs and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worſhipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, becauſe the Devil, in the Image of *Baal, Aſtaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the like, was ſo adored.

Neither did the abuſe of *Aſtrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may believe the moſt ancient and religious Hiſtorians) from obſerving the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wiſe and learned men in theſe days from attributing thoſe virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starrs and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to thoſe his glorious creatures.

Euſt. ex Antiqu. & Polyh.

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmoſt virtues, ſometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Miniſters to harmfull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honeſt and learned *Phyſician* or *Magician* from the uſing of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illuſions, whereby the Devil betrayeth ſuch men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the obſervations of Dreams; ſo farr as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make uſe of them.

Laſtly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as ſigns of good or evil ſucceſs) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows againſt Rain, or to any obſervation not ſuperſtitious, and whereof a reaſon or cauſe may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuſe of them, we ſhall not onely condemn all honeſt Trades and enterchange amongſt men (for there are that deceive in all Profeſſions) but we ſhall in a ſhort time bury in forgetfulneſs all excellent knowledg and all learning, or obſcure and cover it over with a moſt ſcornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we ſhould ſhew our ſelves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull towards thoſe, who with pains and care have diſcovered unto us light in this light.*

Deut. 18. 10.

Indeed, not only theſe natural knowledges are condemned by thoſe that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* alſo, and Profeſſors thereof: though thoſe that are excellently learned, judge of it in this ſort: *In ſpeculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni ſcibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota ſimilitudine, ſed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glaſs of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth ſhine, which is ſought in every kind of knowledg; not in an obſcuring, but in a neer and manifeſt repreſentation.*

Cuſa Com. Theol. c. 1.

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§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

IT is true, that there are many Arts, if we may ſo call them, which are covered with the name *Magick:* and eſteemed abuſively to be as branches of that Tree, on whoſe root they never grew. The firſt of theſe hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetia:* and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himſelf gives anſwer in ſtead of thoſe that ſeem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal ſouls of men do not inhabit the duſt and dead bodies, but they give motion and underſtanding to the living: death being nothing elſe but a ſeparation of the body and ſoul: and therefore the ſoul is not to be found in the Graves.

A ſecond practice of thoſe men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raiſing up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they liſt. Theſe men are ſo diſtract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouſe) they therein (as they ſuppoſe) inſconce themſelves againſt that great Monſter. Doubtleſs, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodneſs, no, not by the fearfull Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to ſit in Gods ſeat, that he made no ſcruple to tempt our Saviour *Chriſt*, whom himſelf called the Son of God. So, forgetting theſe proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet reſolve himſelf, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie with a Phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils ſeem to uſe, is but thereby to poſſeſs themſelves of the bodies and ſouls of thoſe which raiſe them up; as *His Majeſty* in his Book aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Divels obedience is onely, ſecundum quid, ſcilicet ex pacto; reſpectivè*, that is, *upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon thoſe ſimple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but ſure I am, the reſt are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their ſervants and vaſſals, do no way need any ſuch inforcement.

Or, it may be that theſe Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardans* mortal Devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that theſe kind of Divels lived not above a thouſand years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan*. For, were it true, that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear thoſe words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maſtered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, caſt him headlong out of his claws, when he was ſure he ſhould periſh with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by S. *Peter's* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the ſame pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodotus*; who tranſported (as *Simon Magus* was ſuppoſed to have been) had the ſame mortall fall that he had. The like ſucceſs had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichæan* Hereſie, as *Socrates* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory witneſſeth: and for a manfeſt proof hereof, we ſee it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himſelf a *Pegaſus*, to convey them in haſte to places far diſtant, or at leaſt makes them ſo think: *For thoſe that received not the truth* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong illuſions:* Of theſe their ſuppoſed tranſportations (yet agreeing with their confeſſions) *His Majeſty* in the 2d Book, & the 4th Chap. of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanſwerable reaſons, that they are meerly illuſive. Another ſort there are, who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glaſſes & Cryſtals; of whom *Cuſanus: Fatui ſunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt ſpiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are fooliſh Inchanters, which will ſhut up their ſpirits within their nails, or in Glaſs: for a ſpirit cannot be incloſed by a body.*

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

2 Theſſ. 2.

Exercit. lib. 2.

There is alſo another art beſides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the adminiſtring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; ſo, ſeeing they are moſt free Spirits, there is no man ſo abſurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his underſtanding) that they can be conſtrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the Profeſſours thereof cover themſelves how they pleaſe by a profeſſed purity of life, by the miniſtery of Infants, by faſting and abſtinence in general; yet all thoſe that tamper with immaterial ſubſtances, and abſtract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be conſtrained; and the reſt are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other ſorts there are of wicked Divinations; as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the air, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The laſt, and (indeed) the worſt of all other, is *Faſcination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practicers whereof are no leſs envious and cruel, revengeful and bloudy, than the Devil himſelf. And theſe accurſed creatures, having ſold their ſouls to the Devil, work two ways; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poiſoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majeſty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a ſort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beaſts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accuſed, becauſe an Eagle lighted on his ſhoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the ſame exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had uſed to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s ſhoulder, and thruſt his Bill therein to find his breakfaſt: *Mahomet* perſwading the rude and ſimple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghoſt that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have ſhamed all the *Inchanters* of the World: for whoſoever was moſt famous among them, could never maſter or inſtruct any Beaſt as he did his Horſe.

Ælian. l. 6 Nat. Hiſt.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marſians*, a people of *Italy*, practiſed: *Colubros diſrumpit Marſia cantu: inchanting* Marſia *makes the Snakes to burſt.*) That it hath been uſed, it appears, *Pſal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impoſtures may be in this kind, and even by natural cauſes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or deſtroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouſe with a piece of toſted Cheeſe.

Lucil. in Satyr.

§. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil ſeemeth to work his wonders.

BUt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not ſpeak of his ability, when he is the Miniſter of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was deſtroyed by evil Angels) he otherwiſe worketh but three ways. The firſt is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The ſecond, by the exquiſite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illuſion, and falſe ſemblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Pariſienſis* giveth three cauſes: the firſt, a natural impotency: the ſecond, their own reaſon diſſwading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cauſe) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (ſaith the ſame Author) *velut immaniſſimas belluas.* S. *Auguſtine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharaoh*'s Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their ſenſes that looked on) made them appear to be ſuch. For, as *Varius* obſerveth, thoſe Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as thoſe of *Moſes* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*: *Nec ſanè Dæmones naturas creant, ſed quæ à Deo creatæ ſunt commutant, ut videantur eſſe quod non ſunt: The Devils create not any creatures, but ſo change thoſe that are created by God, as they ſeem to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. Queſtion he giveth the reaſon. *Dæmon quibuſdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis ſolet* (that is) *The Devil fills with certain clouds all paſſages of the underſtanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reaſon.*

Siml paris. de univerſo p. 1. cap. 70.

Maxima vis eſt phantaſiæ ad errorem.

And, as *Tertullian* in his Book *de Anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can poſſeſs himſelf of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel thoſe of the body. For (out of doubt) by the ſame way that God paſſeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantaſie, by which he doth more eaſily betray the other faculties of the ſoul: for the fantaſie is moſt apt to be abuſed by vain apprehenſions.

Aquinas, on the contrary, held, that thoſe Frogs were not imaginary, but ſuch indeed as they ſeemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moſes* could not be deceived by that ſleight of falſe ſemblance; and S. *Auguſtine* in another caſe like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum paſſivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perſwaded that S. *Auguſtine* doth believe that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Pariſienſis*, a man very learned alſo, confirmeth. For, ſpeaking of natural *Magick*, he uſeth theſe words: *De hujuſmodi autem operibus, & ſubita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus ſola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, ipſa ſemina naturæ confortant, & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc neſciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere conſuevit) ſed potentia Dæmonum*, &c. to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti ſunt, talia non mirantur, ſed ſolem Creatorem in his glorificant: In ſuch works* (ſaith he) *the ſudden generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and ſome other creatures is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means ſtrengthening the ſeeds of Nature, and quickning them; in ſuch wiſe, that they ſo haſten the work of generation, that it ſeemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which uſually worketh more leiſurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in theſe Arts, marvel not at ſuch working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now, by theſe two ways the Devils do moſt frequently work (to wit) by knowing the uttermoſt of nature, and by illuſion: for there is no incomprehenſible or unſearchable power, but of God onely.

For, ſhall we ſay, he cauſeth ſometimes thunders, lightnings, & tempeſts; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compreſs it; who knows not that theſe things are alſo natural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illuſion. It is true, that he ſometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he ſtole his knowledge out of the Predictions of the Prophets: and foretold the death of *Saul*, at ſuch time as he was in his own poſſeſſion and power to diſpoſe of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and obſerved the ſucceſs of every counſel: he that by reaſon of his ſwift motions can inform himſelf of all places, and preparations: he that is of counſel with all thoſe that ſtudy and practiſe ſubverſion and deſtruction: he that is Prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than thoſe that inhabite the earth: if he ſhould not ſometimes, yea, if he ſhould not very oftentimes gheſs rightly of things to come (where God pleaſeth not to give impediment) it were very ſtrange. For we ſee, that wiſe and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like cauſes, conceive rightly of like effects before they happen: and yet, where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore anſwereth by Riddles: as

ph. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Diabolus magnum habet rerum uſum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, cap. 26, 27, &c.

> Crœſus *Halym penetrans magnam ſubvertit opum vim:*
>
> If *Crœſus* over Halys go,
> Great Kingdoms he ſhall overthrow.

Which anſwer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwiſe belong to God only, as it is in *Eſay*: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; ſhew us at all times, and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ eſt, occulta noſſe & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods underſtanding and wiſdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

Gui. Pariſienſis de legib. c. 24.

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§. VIII.

That none was ever raiſed from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raiſed from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel*, raiſed by the Witch of *Endor*; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that ſome of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, falſe ſemblance, and other illuſions. *Juſtin Martyr* was ſometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and ſo was *Ambroſe*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenſis*; from which Authorities thoſe men borrow ſtrength which ſo believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and ſo did S. *Auguſtine*, who at firſt ſeemed to be indifferent: For, in his Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, he accounteth it deteſtable to think it was *Samuel* which appeared: and theſe be his words elſewhere to the ſame effect: *In requie ſunt animæ piorum à corpore ſeparatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec iſtarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ ſecunda dicitur, corpora reviviſcant; The ſouls of the godly ſeparated from their bodies, are at reſt, but thoſe of the wicked ſuffer puniſhment, till the bodies of the juſt riſe to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and ſecond death.*

Juſt. Mart. in colloq. cum Tryphone in reſp. ad Ortho. quæſt. 55. Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simp. l. 2. q. 3. De Civit. Dei. l. 13. cap. 8.

Aug. de ver. Apoſt. 18. Juſt. Mart. ad Orthod. q. 75. Hilar. Pſal. in fine. Tertul. de anima in fin. Athanaſ. q. 13. Chryſoſt. hom 9. in Evang. Matth.

And (beſides S. *Auguſtine*) *Juſtin Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the ſouls of men, being once ſeparate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (ſaith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus ſanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus chariſſimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari*; *We muſt believe, when the ſouls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodneſs, as into the hands of a moſt dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot ſtretch ſo high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla eſt redemptio*; *From Hell there is no redemption.* For, there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; *The one in eternal fire*; *the other in Gods eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe, that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Gloſs* upon the ſame Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia ſunt Phantaſmata* (ſaith the Gloſs) *They believe, and they believe amiſs, becauſe they be but Phantaſmes*, or *apparitions.* For, whereas any ſuch voice hath been heard, ſaying, I am the Soul of ſuch a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atque deceptione diabolica eſt*; *That ſpeech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil*, ſaith *Chryſoſtom.* Likewiſe of the ſame, ſaith *Tertullian*: *Abſit ut animam cujuſlibet ſancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam*; *God forbid that we ſhould think that the Soul of any holy man, much leſs of a Prophet, ſhould be drawn up again by a Devil.*

1615. Epiſcopi.

It is true, that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; ſo do they the wooden Images, *Cherubims*: and falſe brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas theſe of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Eccleſiaſticus* (a Book not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. *Auguſtine* himſelf in this Treatiſe, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confeſſeth) yet *Syracides*, following the literal ſence and phraſe of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly perſwade, that the ſouls (yea, even of juſt men) were in his power; yet ſo farr is it from the promiſes of the Scriptures, and from Gods juſt and mercifull nature, and ſo contrary to all divine reaſon, as S. *Auguſtine* (or whoſoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly tearm it a deteſtable opinion ſo to think. For, if God had ſo abſolutely forſaken *Saul*, that he refuſed to anſwer him, either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were ſottiſh to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch, to raiſe a Prophet from the dead in *Saul*'s reſpect; it being alſo contrary to his divine Law, to aſk counſel of the dead: as in *Deut.* 18. and elſewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead body, that gave anſwer and advice.

1 King. 17. 22. 2 King. 4. 34. Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de faſcin.

But becauſe *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raiſed ſome from the dead by the power of God; thoſe Devils which Saint *Auguſtine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium ſibi ſubjectorum*; *Mockers of their own vaſſals*, caſting before their eyes a ſemblance of humane bodies, and framing ſounds to their ears, like the voices of men, do alſo perſwade their graceleſs and accurſed attendants, that themſelves both poſſeſs, and have power over the ſouls of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum ſpectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, ſaith L. Vives; *The Devil beguileth the ſenſe both of the beholders, and of thoſe that ſo imagine.* Theſe then are the bounds of the Devil's power, whom, if we will not fear, we muſt fear to ſin. For, when he is not the inſtrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himſelf his voluntary vaſſal: *Poteſt ad malum invitare, non poteſt trahere*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*; *He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil.* Such as think otherwiſe, may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: ſic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive *by* Ninus: *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUt to come back to *Ninus*, the amplifier and finiſher of *Ninive*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*, it is uncertain. As for the City it ſelf, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and anſwerable magnificence. For it had in compaſs 440. *ſtadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had ſuch a breadth, as three Chariots might paſs on the Rampire in front: theſe walls were garniſhed with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the reſt, and ſtrength, no leſs admirable for the nature of thoſe times.

Juſtin. l. 2. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. 11. c. 1.

But this City (built in the Plains of *Aſſyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as antient Hiſtorians report, and more lately, *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at ſuch time as *Ninus* amplified the ſame, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

Herod. l. 1. Juſtin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. d. l. 3.

For theſe works of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Aſſyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finiſhed *Ninive*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein ſhe ſought to exceed her huſband by far. Indeed, in the firſt Age, when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages, for the uſe of themſelves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might diſcharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Buſhments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was ſtrong in youth: and purpoſing to follow the Conqueſt which her huſband had undertaken, gave that beauty and ſtrength to *Babylon* which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus; *and the beginning of* Semiramis *Reign.*

THis ſhe did after the death of her huſband *Ninus*; who, after he had maſtered *Bactria*, and ſubjected unto his Empire all thoſe Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Helleſpont* (*Aſia* the leſs excepted) and finiſhed the work of *Ninive*; he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 25. years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* deſired her huſband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the abſolute ſoveraign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus*, out of *Athenæus*, and others, ſpeaks of five days. In which time (moved either with deſire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her huſband *Menon*, who periſhed for her) ſhe cauſed *Ninus* her huſband to be ſlain. But this ſeemeth rather a ſcandal caſt on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Ælian. lib. 7. ex Dione.

Howſoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the ſole Rule of the *Aſſyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was ſaid to be the firſt *Monarch*, becauſe he changed his ſeat from *Babylon* in *Chaldæa*, to *Ninive* in *Aſſyria*. *Juſtine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to inveſt her ſelf, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her ſo great a charge) preſented her ſelf to the people in perſon of her Son *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any ſenſible difference.

This report I take alſo to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as ſhe ruled long, ſo ſhe performed all thoſe memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and ſubſcribed that Letter which ſhe ſent to the King of *India* (her laſt challenge and undertaken conqueſt) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had ſuch a ſtature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very perſonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that ſhe could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any ſuch ſubtilty (for ſo long ſhe reigned after the death of her huſband:) but it may be true, that *Ninias*, or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleaſures, as it is written of him) was well pleaſed with his mothers proſperous government and undertakings.

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§. III.

Of Semiramis *Parentage and Education, and Metamorphoſis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of baſe Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Beroſus* calls her after the name of her City wherein ſhe was born, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*, of *Aſcalon*, the antient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philiſtims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others ſay, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was ſometimes a Recluſe, and had profeſt a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, ſeated on the bank of a Lake adjoining to *Aſcalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, ſhe was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme puniſhment) ſhe conveyed away, and cauſed the ſame to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beaſts) the ſame was fed by certain Birds, which uſed to feed upon, or neer thoſe Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that foſtered *Romulus*. For ſome one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and foſteridge of this child, who being perchance but ſome baſe and obſcure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her diſhonour and breach of Vow; notwithſtanding which, ſhe was caſt from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fiſh, all but her face, which ſtill held the ſame beauty and humane ſhape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philiſtims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fiſhes body; into whoſe Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the ſecond fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For ſo S. *Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which ſignifieth a Fiſh, and ſo it onely appeared: the head thereof by the ſecond fall being ſundred from the body.

For my ſelf, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philiſtims*, was an Idol repreſenting *Triton*, one of thoſe imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all thoſe of the *Philiſtims* were, and ſo were the beſt of *Phœnicia*) uſed all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the reſt of the petty gods which attended him.

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§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, *and death after diſcomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Aſſyrian Heralds*; and for her vicious life, I aſcribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy & eaſe do more often accompany licentiouſneſs in men and women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princeſs more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works ſhe did at *Babylon*, and elſewhere, and for the Warrs ſhe made with glorious ſucceſs: all but her laſt enterpriſe of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that ſhe never returned: and that of all her moſt powerfull Army, there ſurvived but onely twenty perſons; the reſt, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or ſlain by the Sword of *Staurobates*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reaſon hath numbred; ſo were thoſe that returned, leſs than could have eſcaped of ſuch an Army, as conſiſted of four Millions and upwards. For theſe numbers, which ſhe levied by her Lieutenant *Dercetæus* (ſaith *Suidas*) did conſiſt of Suid. ſ.l 45. lit. S. Foot-men three Millions; of Horſe-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each ſide, one hundred thouſand; of thoſe which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thouſand; of raw Hides for all uſes, three hundred thouſand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thouſand, by which ſhe might tranſport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thouſand ſouldiers: which Gallies were furniſhed with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impoſſible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nouriſh (had every Man and Beaſt but fed on graſs) are taken from the Authority of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelf hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whoſe Army (though the ſame was farr inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reaſonable man. For all Authours conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece*, an army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſs the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeveral Provinces whence thoſe Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude ſoever the Army of *Semiramis* conſiſted, the ſame being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; *She ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Enſigns.

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§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis; *and of the* Pyramides *of* Egypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (beſides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried fourſquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each ſquare, certain brazen Gates curiouſly engraven. In the *Core* of the ſquare, ſhe raiſed a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Baſis* of a leſs circuit) ſhe ſet a ſecond Tower; and ſo eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldæan* Prieſts made the Obſervation of the Starrs; becauſe this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived; who ſuppoſe that they have ſeen a part of *Nimrod*'s Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thouſand talents of Frankincenſe every year (ſaith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nebuchodonoſor* adorn with the ſpoils of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the ſoil; which *Alexander* is ſaid to have repaired, by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans*. I deny not that it might have been in his deſire ſo to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any ſuch work. The *Egyptians* Procl in Timæo lib. 1. (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſervice and uſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ undique navigantibus*, ſaith *Pliny*. Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius*, a carefull obſerver of Rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui* Bellon. l. 2. *ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant une fleche in l'air, à peine pouroit l'envoyer hors de ſa baſe q'elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez*; *The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an arrow from thence into the air, as farr as he can, with great difficulty ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall upon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

Finis Libri primi.

THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of *Abraham*, to the Deſtruction of *Solomon*'s Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: *and the uſe of this Queſtion, for the ordering of the Story of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of ſome of the Succeſſours of Semiramis: *with a brief tranſition to the Queſtion, about the time of the Birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, ſucceeded her in the Empire, on whom *Beroſus Annianus* beſtows the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Juſtine*, *Oroſius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of Warr at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubjected to eaſe and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now, becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealouſie he every year changed his Provincial Governours, and built Colleges for the *Chaldæan* Prieſts, his Aſtronomers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſour, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, revolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſour of *Arius*; but that he added ſumptuoſity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and ſome Engines for the Warr: I will, for this preſent, paſs them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe ways are warrantable (till we meet theſe *Aſſyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whoſe iſſues, we ſhall beſt give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Balanius*. For, otherwiſe, if we ſeek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of thoſe times, which the Scriptures ſet us down without errour, by the reigns of the *Aſſyrian* Princes; we ſhall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the ſame confuſion, in which, to this day, it hath remained. For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis, Hiſtoriam non conſtare*; *No marvel if then in things very antient, Hiſtory want aſſurance.*

Plutarch in Theſ

The better therefore to find out, in what Age of the World, and how long, theſe *Aſſyrian* Kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abraham*'s Birth, and in what year the ſame happened after the Floud. Now, ſince all agree that the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Floud, the birth of *Abraham* happened, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the moſt part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between *Abraham*'s Birth and the Floud: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Anneus*) makes but 250. years from the Floud to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine*, it followeth, by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s Birth, was in the year after the Floud 293. or, as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, ſince I do here enter into that never reſolved Queſtion, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reaſon for my own Opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Envie caſteth at Novelty, than to go on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie ways of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity.

§. II.

A Propoſal of Reaſons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year* 292. *after the Floud, and not in year* 352.

THoſe who ſeek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth, ground themſelves; firſt, on theſe words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of *Joſephus*, Saint *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: Authorities (while they are ſlightly looked over) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture laſt remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather theſe arguments. Firſt, out of the words as they lie; That *Terah, at* 70. *years begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the Son of the Promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be counted the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily born in the ſeventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the ſcope of this Chapter, was to ſet down the Genealogie of *Chriſt*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more aſſuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moſes* having no where ſet down preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100. years.

§. III.

The Anſwer to the Objections propoſed, ſhewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Meſopotamia *into* Canaan; *and it, after his fathers death.*

TO anſwer all which Objections, it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine own, according to the ſmall talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the ſtate of the Queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, unleſs the time of *Abraham*'s journy into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend unto the particular examination of theſe Arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo far, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his travels, that ſerveth as a ground for this Opinion, and a bulwark againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the later after his fathers death, the former preſently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where it is written, Heb.11.8. *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he ſhould afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Suppoſition (if it be granted) ſerves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill ſtand without it. Let us therefore ſee whether we may give credit to the Suppoſition it ſelf.

Surely, that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran*, or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the ſame is proved, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of Saint Acts 7.4. *Stephen: And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Againſt which place, ſo direct and plain, what force hath any mans fancy or ſuppoſition, perſwading, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no ſuch thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability or reaſon to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſt into *Canaan*, and Heb.11.8. then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a ſecond time: then I think it reaſon, that he be believed in the reſt. But, that he performed the Commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* & *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themſelves are true. *For after his Father was dead* (ſaith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For, if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Jews*, his adverſaries, too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelf, and the Goſpel of *Chriſt*. Indeed, we ſhall find ſmall reaſon to make us think, that *Abraham* paſſed and re-paſſed thoſe ways, more often than he was enforced ſo to do, if we conſider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisom journey, than the ſtrength of his faith in Gods promiſes: In which, if any thing would have brought him to deſpair, he had more cauſe than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of ſtrong and ſtubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and reſolved Idolaters. He was beſieged with famine at his firſt arrival, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promiſe, And when God had given him *Iſaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himſelf for ſacrifice; all which diſcomforts he patiently and conſtantly underwent.

Secondly, let us conſider the ways themſelves, which *Abraham* had to paſs over; the length whereof was 300. *Engliſh* miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to tranſport himſelf over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous & barren Deſarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon*, or *Gilead*: and whether theſe were eaſie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforeſaid, 300. miles in length, let every reaſonable man judge. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to diſprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought of looking backward*) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority ſoever. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *took* Gen.11.31. Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers Son, and all their ſubſtance that they poſſeſt, and the ſouls that they had gotten in* Haran: *and they departed to go to the land of* Canaan, *and to the land of* Canaan *they came.* Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinſmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleaſure, in ſo warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unſettled, and preſt with extreme famine at his firſt arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more aſſured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer ſtranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cauſe might be of *Abraham*'s return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have ſent him back thither, about the time of his fathers death: ſo they, perhaps, if they were urged, could ſay little elſe, than that without ſuch a ſecond voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reaſon they ſhould do well to make plain, if it be not over-troubleſome. They ſay, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or ſome time after, being then, by their account, 135. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the buſineſs, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time, his greateſt, Gen. 24. or (as may ſeem) his onely care? Did not he bind with a very ſolemn oath, his principal ſervant, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, to travel into thoſe parts, and ſeek out a Wife for *Iſaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumſtances, that neither he nor his ſervant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſign any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in perſon ſo lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would have truſted his own judgment, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other deſirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, moſt of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children; rather than have left all at random to the conſideration of a ſervant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Countrey. But, let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his buſineſs when he was there, or that ſomewhat happened, which no man can deviſe; Gen. 24. 35,36,&c. What might be the reaſon, that *Abraham*'s man, in doing his Maſters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Maſters proſperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelf, a more certain Author, had ſo lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needleſs to ſtand long upon a thing ſo evident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would, perhaps, be a queſtion hardly anſwerable; conſidering how averſe he was from permitting his ſon to be carried thither, Gen. 24. 6.&8. even though a Wife of his own kinred could not have been obtained without his perſonal preſence. Gen. 28. *Jacob* indeed was ſent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own linage; not without Gods eſpecial approbation, by whoſe bleſſing he proſpered in that journey; yet he lived there as a ſervant; ſuffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himſelf from thence by flight. For although it be not a ſentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be obſerved, that God alloweth not in his ſervants any deſire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and tranſplanted them. That brief ſaying, *Remember* Lot's *Wife*, contains much matter. Let us conſider *Meſopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Iſraelites* were delivered: we ſhall find, that no bleſſing iſſued from either of them, to the Poſterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Hezechias* was viſited with an honourable Embaſſie from *Babel*, it ſeems 2 King. 20. that he conceived great pleaſure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his proſperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Eſay*, made him to know, that the counſel of God was not agreeable to ſuch thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* Pſal. 137. they ſat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* 1 King. 14. 25. and we read, that *Seſac* and *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, 2 King. 23. v. 29. brought calamity upon *Iſrael*: alſo that their confidence in the *Egyptian* ſuccours, was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found Deut. 17. v. 16. in *Deuteronomy*, that God had ſaid, *They ſhould no more return that way*; which is given, as the reaſon, why their King might not cauſe the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horſes. Whether the Lord had laid any ſuch injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meſopotamia*, I cannot ſay; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumſtances do (to my underſtanding) both ſtrongly and neceſſarily conclude.

But, becauſe this double paſſage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perſwade thoſe of judgment or underſtanding: I take it ſufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet down in the Scriptures: as firſt from *Ur*, or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flocks and heards of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time he removed to *Mamre*, neer *Hebron*: and thence, having purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after, neer unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Iſaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath feined, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithall be believed, that he would in thoſe his firſt travels have provided himſelf of ſome certain ſeat, or place of abiding: and not have come a ſecond time with his Wiſe, kinſmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to reſt himſelf. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, paſſed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, Gen.12.6. and the plain of *Moriah*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and ſo from Nation to Nation, to diſcover and find out ſome fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Geneſis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and always unſettled. By reaſon of which wandering to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.

Mont. in Cald. Further, to prove that he had not formerly beeen in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came into *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will I give this Land*, ſhewing it him, as unto a ſtranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himſelf, believed in the Word of the living God: neither ſending before, nor comming firſt to diſcover it; but being arrived, he received a ſecond Promiſe from God, that he would give thoſe Countreys unto him and his ſeed to inhabite and inherite.

Laſtly, what ſhould move any man to think, that *Moſes* would have omitted any ſuch double journey of *Abraham*'s, ſeeing he ſetteth down all his paſſages elſewhere, long and ſhort? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and ſeated between *Haie* and *Bethel*, the diſtance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and ſat down at *Gerar*, being leſs than ſix miles; No, *Moſes* paſt over all the times of the firſt Age with the greater brevity, to haſten him to the Story of *Abraham*: ſhutting up all between the Creation and the Floud in ſix Chapters; which Age laſted 1656. years: but he beſtoweth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions: or that he would ſet down thoſe ſmall removes of five miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a journey in going and coming would have miniſtred ſome variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inſerting and adding to *Abraham*'s Story.

§. IV.

The Anſwer to another of the Objections propoſed, ſhewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah *ſhould beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth year.*

NOw, touching the Objection, where it is ſaid, that it was very unlikey that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſ-caſt, and miſtaken: *Abraham* having reſpect onely to *Sarah* his Wife, when he ſpake of their many years. For, when the Angel ſaid unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*; *Loe*, Sarah *thy Wife ſhall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verſe, *Now*, Abraham *and* Sarah *were old, and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women: therefore* Sarah *laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is ſaid, *it ceaſed to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond wife *Keturah*, had many Sons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldeſt of theſe was born 37. years after *Iſaac*; and the youngeſt 40. years after. What ſtrangeneſs then, that *Terah*, being 130. years old, ſhould beget *Abraham*, will they ſay, may be gathered from this ſuppoſed deſpair of *Abraham* at 100. years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145. and *Iſaac* was born in the year 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. ſons 36. years after this ſuppoſed Aug. de Civit. Dei wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years l.16.c.31 old; it is not ſtrange, that his father *Terah* Cajet. & ſhould beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, Perer. in *Obed*, and *Jeſſe*, who lived ſo many years and Gen. Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100. years, or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the ſame age, and ſeven years after.

§. V.

The Anſwer to two more of the Objections: ſhewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldeſt Son; and that there was great cauſe, why in the Story of* Abraham *his two brethren ſhould be reſpected.*

IT follows now, to ſpeak ſomething to the Objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether

together in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all ſucceding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this Propoſition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham* his age, unleſs we make him the eldeſt Son, is falſe. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death; then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aſk, how I can judge of times, either preceding or ſucceeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwer, That S. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his father *Terah*; and *Terah* died at 205. ſo as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*; which known, there can be no errour in the account of times ſucceeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect unto *Nahor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God eſtabliſhed the Covenant, and of whom *Chriſt* deſcended according to the fleſh, &c. I anſwer, that *Moſes*, for many great and neceſſary cauſes had reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of Gods Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*; and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; and *Sarah* was mother to *Iſaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* alſo, the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great Grandmother; and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature ſhe could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themſelves, yet, becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child alſo of *Nahor*; is was not ſuperfluous in *Moſes* to give light of thoſe mens times and ages. And though ſometime they worſhipped ſtrange gods, as it is, *Joſ.* 24. 2. yet I ſee no cauſe to think, that they ſtill continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Countrey and City of *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons daughters to *Iſaac*, & *Jacob*, his own kinſmen: he himſelf having alſo married in his own Family; not thinking it pleaſing unto God, to mix themſelves with ſtrangers and Idolaters. And that theſe men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had ſeen the ſervant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the Well beſide *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers houſe in this maner, *Come in, thou bleſſed of* Jehovah, Gen. 24. 31. &c. And when this ſervant of *Abraham*'s demanded an anſwer as touching *Rebecca*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid, *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that Gen. 24. 50. it was the will of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewiſe in the following verſe, it is written; *Take, go, that ſhe may be thy Maſters Sons wife, even as* Jehovah *hath ſaid.* This their often uſing of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a ſign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe he retained certain Idols, or houſhold-gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* ſervant, bleſſed of *Jehovah*, as aforeſaid. So as, for my ſelf, I dare not avow, that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren*, Gen. 11. *v.* 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt; together with divers reaſons, proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt Son of* Terah.

TO the main Objection; which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s life; grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived ſeventy years,* Gen. 11. 26 *and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proof at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequent, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore eldeſt in bloud and birth; neither doth it appear, that it pleaſed God to make eſpecial choice of the firſt Sons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt-born of *Adam*; nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Iſaac*; nor *Juda* and *Joſeph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldeſt of *Jeſſe*; nor *Solomon* of *David*; as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah* was 500. *years old, and* Noah *begat* Shem, Ham, *and Japhet*: ſhewing, that at the 500. year of his age, he began to beget the firſt of thoſe three Sons. For, according to S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo nativitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit* Abraham: *The order of nativity is not here to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignity; in which* Abraham *was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*, ſo is it here; where it is ſaid, *That* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himſelf being begotten by his father *Nahor*, at 29. as other his Anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo hapned to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133. *Enoſh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Jared* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the firſt of his three Sons, as aforeſaid. And Saint *Auguſtine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that *Abraham* was the youngeſt of *Terah*'s Sons, than otherwiſe: though for his excellency he was worthily named firſt. His own words are theſe: *Fieri enim ut potuit poſterior ſit generatus* Abraham: *ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be*, ſaith he, *that* Abraham *was begotten later; but was firſt named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming firſt or laſt, proveth nothing who was firſt or laſt born; either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah*, or in theſe of *Terah*: Neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpiritual bleſſing; for *Moſes* nameth firſt the children of the promiſe, and the eldeſt and firſt in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipſa potius electio divina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietaten, & Dei timorē, primas partes dat* Semo *in liberis* Noa, *&* Abrahamo *in liberis* Thare: *Piety*, ſaith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to* Sem *among the children of* Noah, *and to* Abraham *among thoſe of* Thare.

Aug quæſt. ſuper Gen. 25.

For the reſt, it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. year of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Iſhmael*, Gen 12. 4. when *Abraham* had lived 86. years. It was at *Gerar* (the ſouth border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* Gen 16.11 bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he reſcued *Lot*, & overthrew *Amraphel*; and he had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifeſt, that he parted from *Haran* after his father Acts 7. 4. *Terah* was dead. But, if *Terah* begat *Abraham* Gen. 11. at 70. years old, then muſt *Abraham* have been 135. years when he firſt ſet his foot in *Canaan*, ſeeing *Terah* muſt be dead ere he parted, and ſo 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*; which is contrary to all thoſe places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he reſcued *Lot* at 83. he had *Iſmael* at 86. he had *Iſaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Iſaac* had been 35. years old, and *Iſhmael* 49. both which muſt then have been born in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: unleſs we ſhould either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who ſaith, that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his fathers death: or elſe believe the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Cronologia antoptica*, ſaith it was about his fathers death; becauſe the *Greek* word μετὰ may be tranſlated by the *Latine* *ſub*, as well as by *poſt*: which, though elſwhere it may be, yet cannot be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay, that thoſe things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore, ſuppoſing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70. year of *Terah*; we muſt give thoſe times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no Authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the World, 2083. and the year of *Iſhmael*'s birth was the Worlds year, 2094. which maketh ten years difference. And that *Iſaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Berſabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* firſt of all appear'd to *Abraham* in the vally of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of *Abrahams* Sons were born in *Meſopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in leſs than ten years after *Terah*'s death; and then conſequently was not *Abraham* the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. Gen. 11 then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo have been the full age of *Terah*; but *Terah* lived 205. years, and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70. year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah*, or *Iſcah*, wanted but ten years of *Abraham*'s age: *Iſaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran muſt* have begotten *Sarah* at nine years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten years as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſity muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And, that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iſcah* of *Jiſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to ſpeak of any thing ſuperfluous, it is not uſed in Gods Book: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpoſe remembred.

Now, if it had been true (as thoſe of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of *Chriſt*: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhe not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name, of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproveth the eldership of *Abraham*; for *Lot* was called an old man, when *Abraham* was but 83. years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s Daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within ten years as old as *Abraham*; it may appear to every reaſonable man (not obſtinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*; who alſo died firſt, and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt this opinion of *Abraham*'s eldership, upon the ſame place of *Geneſis*; drawing arguments from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten years younger than *Abraham* himſelf. *Lyra* his words are theſe: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit junior ipſo* Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram: *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quod* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus erat caput ſtirpis, & generationis ſequentis: & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, *&c. If therefore (ſaith* Lyra) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himſelf, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt born of the three Sons of* Thare, *nevertheleſs, he is named firſt for his dignity, both becauſe he was to be ordained head of the ſtock and generation following, and becauſe the Promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

§. VII.

A Concluſion of this Diſpute, noting the Authours on both ſides; with an Admonition, that they which ſhorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70. year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that Act. 7. 4. journey by *Abraham* performed, when he was 75. years old; theſe two numbers added, make 205. years, the full age of *Terah*: ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelf, I have no other Gen. 12. 4. end herein, than to manifeſt the Worlds ſtory. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and coud not determine this controverſie. For, whatſoever is borrowed out of his ſixteenth Book *de Civitate Dei*, cap. 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelf in his five and twentieth Queſtion upon *Geneſis*. But S. *Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus* and *Iſidor*; and *Beda* followed S. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt born: as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus*, together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah*; and ſaid, that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such Fables argue that *Joſephus* is not to be believed, but with diſcreet reſervations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. years from the Floud to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how ſhould we value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have apeared in ſetting down the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* Kings under whom they lived, whoſe Hiſtory was not ſo far remote in time, as theſe Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet groſly have they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldom find their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion, are alſo generally on the ſame ſide; it being a thing uſual among them, to maintain whatſoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwiſe, of the more antient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him; of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, Doct. *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130. year of his father *Terah*. From theſe (as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe, nevertheleſs, good Authours, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very averſe herein, eſpecially *Joſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calviſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in *Chronology*, and condemning this opinion of his as poiſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus*, a Prieſt of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whoſe *Annals* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my ſelf, I do neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it ſelf. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the beſt approved Hiſtorians, divine, and prophane, labour to inveſtigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the Stories, and fore-paſt actions of the World; and not the truth of Hiſtories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our ſelves, which of thoſe two accounts give the beſt reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Joſephus*, and thoſe which follow him; who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which make 352. years between the one and the other: the one making *Abraham* to be the firſt-born of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life; the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. years. And, if we look over all, and do not haſtily ſatisfie our underſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated do ſlothfully and drowſily ſit down; we ſhall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome Editions, make it above 1072. years between the Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth; than to take away any part of thoſe 352. years given. For, if we adviſedly conſider the ſtate and continuance of the World, ſuch as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we ſhall find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the Floud: becauſe in cutting them too neer the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the teſtimony of the Scriptures ſupreme, ſo as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of S. *Auguſtine*, That whereſoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is, by ignorance of interpretation, miſ-underſtood. For, in *Abraham*'s time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities; and ſo had *Palæſtina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World beſides, as far as *India*; and thoſe not built with ſticks, but of hewn ſtone, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than thoſe other men have ſuppoſed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt, and beſt agreeing with reaſon and nature, to what end ſhould we labour to beget doubts and ſcruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving alſo ſtrength thereby to common cavillers, and to thoſe mens apiſh brains, who onely bend their wits to find impoſſibilities, and monſters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Aſſyrians, *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of* Abraham.

An mundi 2008. dil. 352 natus Abraham, Euſ. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 17.

IN this ſort therefore, for the reaſons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were conſumed; and taking the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory with us, the ſame number of years were ſpent from the Floud to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43. year of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009.

Now, of this time of 352. years, we muſt give one part as well to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinaar*, as to thoſe that ſtayed in the Eaſt, to wit, 30. years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*; of which, though the Scriptures are ſilent, yet, becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt Sons, we may the more ſafely give the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now, after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth, *Gen.* 10. which S. *Auguſtine* approveth. *Aug. de Civit. Dei.* Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered, that 65. years were conſumed ere *Nimrod* himſelf was born; and that *Raama* had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and compariſon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Reu* in the ſame year of his life. *Gen.* 11. 18

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elſe we ſhall hardly find people to build *Babel*; for ſure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becauſe it diſpleaſed God. Theſe two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The reſt of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are ſix years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the Eaſt; becauſe they were peſtered with women, children and cattel: and, as ſome ancient Writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountain ſides, for fear of a ſecond floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number, *Beroſus* beſtoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which, S. *Auguſtine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from the Floud to *Abraham*'s birth; which number of 114. neceſſity beſtoweth on *Nimrod*.

An à ſalute humani generis ab aquis centeſſimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonium ſub noſtro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Beroſus.

And if it be objected, that this time given to *Nimrod* is over-long; ſure, if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the reſt of the ſame deſcent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over ſhort. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas *Sale*, who was the Son of *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Sem*, lived 403. years: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now, after *Abraham* was born,
Ninus reigned 9. years, which added to 43.
make 52.
Ninus dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Succeſſour.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. years, and died in the 52. year complete of *Abraham*'s life. Of the World, 2017. Of the Floud, 961.

Ninias, or *Zameis* ſucceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years; in the ſecond year of whoſe reign, *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*. 2059. *mundi.* 403. *à dil.*

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he reſcued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel*, King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. year of his age; ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeem to have been this *Ninias*, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. years, as aforeſaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have ſet down, according to the times noted by *Moſes* in the Story of *Abraham*, it is moſt certain; unleſs we will either derogate from the truth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole Hiſtory of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all antient Hiſtorians for Fablers. 2083. 427. 2093. 437.

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§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the Son of* Ninus.

AND now, touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33. year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Aſſyrians*, the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia: Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt, the anſwer which firſt offereth it ſelf as moſt probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*; who invaded *Traconitis*, or *Baſan*, and overthew thoſe five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the Valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*; and the times before accounted make him to be the ſucceſſor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, wherein he reſcu'd *Lot*, ſlew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the reſt. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greateſt *Monarch*; for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be firſt named by *Moſes* in the firſt Verſe of the fourteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vaſſals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*; as it is written, Gen.14.4. *Twelve years were they ſubject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came* Chedorlaomer, *and the Kings that were with him*; and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterpriſe, who was then King of *Elam* which is *Perſia*: Now, *Perſia* being ſeated over *Tygris*, and to the Eaſt of *Amraphel*'s Countrey; and the other two Kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being ſeated to the Weſt of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelf, ſeemeth at this time to have had no great ſcope or large Dominion. For, had *Amraphel* been ſo great a Prince as prophane Hiſtorians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, whom he ſucceeded, he ſhould not have needed the aſſiſtance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though *Chedolaomer* were the firſt and greateſt of thoſe four Kings (as it is manifeſt that he was: For theſe little Kings of *Sodome*, *Gomora*, &c. were his vaſſals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture leſs probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Aſſyria* had now (as we ſhall ſhew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this Warr: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea; to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of Arioch, *another of the four Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is ſaid to have been King, lies between* Cœloſyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw, the two other Kings joined with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellaſſar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellaſſar*, *Aquila*, and *Hierom*, write *Pontus*: ſo *Toſtatus* thinketh that it ſhould be *Helleſpont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the *Latine* tranſlation. For as *Pontus*, ſo is *Helleſpont* farr diſtant, and out of the way to ſend any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries theſe four Kings chiefly invaded: Beſides that, it is certain, that the *Aſſyrians* (when they were greateſt) had never any dominion in *Aſia* the leſs. For at ſuch time as the *Aſſyrians* feared the invaſion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, they ſent not into *Aſia* the leſs as Commanders; but uſed all the art they had, to invite *Crœſus* to their aſſiſtance; perſwading him, that nothing Xenoph. could be more dangerous for himſelf, and the other Kings of thoſe parts, than the ſucceſs of the *Medes* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. But examine the enterpriſe, what it was. Gen.14. *Theſe Kings* (ſaith the Text) *made warr with* Bera, *Kingdom of Sodom*, Birſha *King of Gomora*, Shinab *King of Admath*, *and* Shemebar *King of Zeboim*, *and the King of* Bela, *which is Zoar*. All which five Kings had not ſo much ground as *Middleſex*; being ſuch a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joſua* found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and ſmall Teritories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all ſlain or hanged by *Joſua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are ſaid alſo to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus*, or *Helleſpont*, had manifeſted a great impotence and weakneſs in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings farr off, came to aſſiſt *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*; yet theſe ſame examples, without like occaſions and circumſtances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cauſe to fear the greatneſs of theſe petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæſar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leſs doubtfull than fearfull: But the whole Countrey by theſe four Kings maſtered in their paſſage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*,

Manaſſe, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*; incloſed by the River of *Arnon* on the South ſide, and by *Lybanus* on the North, conſiſting of two ſmall Provinces of *Traconitis*, or *Baſan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*; a conqueſt farr unvaluable, and little anſwering to the power of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, if the ſame had remained in any comparable eſtate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who ſubjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the aſſiſtance of any of the Kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſs. But as the Vulgar, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellaſſar* by *Pontus*: So *Symmachus* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farr fetched to join with the *Aſſyrians* in this Warr, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellaſſar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did reſt; ſo do they in this place retain the word *Ellaſſar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himſelf remembreth other opinions farr more probable than this of *Pontus*, or *Helleſpont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, becauſe the *Latine* Tranſlation hath it otherwiſe. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Græcian Coſmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœloſyria*: and Saint *Hierom* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the ſame be ſeated by *Stephanus* in *Cœloſyria*, yet it ſtandeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his Conqueſts, being of the ſame Family, and deſcended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the Kings Mac.1.c.5. of *Arabia* holding that name even to the 9.2. time of S. *Paul*, who was ſought to be be- Cor.2.11. trayed by the *Lievetenant* of *Aretas*, commanding in *Damaſcus*. They were Princes, for the moſt part, confederate and depending upon the *Aſſyrian* Empire. It is true Dan.2. that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonoſor*, one *Arioch* was *General* of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here ſpoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*, Regions farr removed from the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name alſo of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nebuckodonoſor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the* Elymeans; who are a Nation of *Perſians*, bordering *Aſſyria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* ſets it between the Sea-coaſt and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings, or other of that Houſe (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the Government of that *Perſian* Province, called *Elymais* (as it ſeemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the ſame was in *Nebuchodonoſor*'s time. But this *Arioch* here ſpoken of, may with more reaſon be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, whoſe Sons held league, as their fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that ſide towards the Weſt unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own Houſe and Bloud; which *Diod. Siculus* alſo confirmeth. Diod. Sicul. l.2.c.1.

§. XI.

Of Tidal, *another of the four Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown, was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt People; *Calvin* of Runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by di- Strab.l.16. fol.523. vers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales ſunt qui* Galilæam *habitant*; *Such are the Inhabitants of* Galile, ſaith *Strabo*; and therefore was *Tidal* called King of theſe Nations, as they ſuppoſe. And ſo it may be; but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this Queſtion. For *Galilæa* was not Peopled at this time, as it was in Gen.12.6. the time of *Strabo*. For, when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howſoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia* and *Palæſtina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Caſſiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all theſe do alſo join themſelves to *Meſopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the Eaſt. And that theſe Nations gathered themſelves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probableſt conjecture.

§. XII.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer,*the chief of the four kings, was not of* Aſſyria, *but of* Perſia; *and that the* Aſſyrian *Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAſtly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Aſſyrian* Emperor,and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape*, *Viceroy*, or *Provincial* Governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named,were ſuch alſo, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moſes* was too well acquainted with the names of *Aſſur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Aſſyrian* a King of *Elam* : thoſe Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Aſſyria*; but never by *Elam* : and *Chedorlaomer*,or *Kedarlaomer* was ſo called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* ſignifieth *Regale* : for ſo *Q.Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Perſian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the *Aſſyrian*, or *Babylonian* Empire ſtood in any greatneſs at the time of this invaſion; and my reaſons are theſe: Firſt, example and experience teach us,that thoſe things which are ſet up haſtily, or forced violently,do not long laſt. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Aſia*, on this ſide of *Indus*, in a time of ſo ſhort a life, as it laſted not to over-look what it ſelf had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himſelf: all whoſe chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Aſia* and *India*, with a ſtorm-like,and terrible ſucceſs: but to prevalent fury,God hath adjoined a ſhort life; and whatſoever things Nature her ſelf worketh in haſte, ſhe taketh the leaſt care of their continuance. The fruit of his Victories periſhed with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the firſt whom the madneſs of boundleſs dominion tranſported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, inſolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour*; enlarged the *Babylonian* Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings un-exampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and and Condition with his Mother, proved no leſs feminine than ſhe was maſculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual ſmart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: ſo thoſe Kings adjoining (whoſe ſubjection and calamities incident,were but new,and therefore the more grievous)could not ſleep,when the advantage was offered by ſuch a ſucceſſour. For, *In regno* Babylonico *hic parùm reſplenduit;This king ſhined little*(ſaith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the* Babylonian *Kingdom.* And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yoak of forein dominion, nor having ever had experience of that moſt miſerable and deteſted condition of living in ſlavery; no long deſcent having as yet inveſted the *Aſſyrian* with a right; nor any other title being for him pretended, than a ſtrong hand; the fooliſh and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold ſo many great Princes and Nations his vaſſals, with a powerleſs maſtering, and a mind leſs induſtrious than his father and mother had uſed before him. And he that was ſo much given over to licentious idleneſs,as to ſuffer his mother to reign 42. years, and thereof the greateſt part after he came to mans eſtate: witneſſed thereby to the World, that he ſo much preferred eaſe before honour, and bodily pleaſures before greatneſs, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

Theſe conſiderations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moſes*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Perſia*, than either his ſuperiour, or equal; make it ſeem probable,that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken aſunder, and reſtrained again to *Babylonia*.

For concluſion, I will add theſe two arguments confirming the former: Firſt, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed God to impoſe that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*,and then to *Canaan*,a paſſage of 700.miles, or little leſs, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then ſettled, and in peace. For it was the 23.year of *Ninias*,when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former eſtates. For *Semiramis* Army of four millions,with her ſelf,utterly conſumed in *India*,and all her armies and engins of war,at the ſame time loſt,gave an occaſion and opportunity even to the pooreſt ſouls and weakeſt hearted of the World, to repurchaſe their former liberty.

Strab.l.15.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the beſt and antienteſt Hiſtorians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Caſpians*, and again ſubjected them:

which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, ſo did *Baleus*, or *Balaneus*,otherwiſe *Xerxes*,reduce the reſt revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is ſaid,that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id eſt*, *Victor & triumphator*, *A conqueror and triumpher*; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madneſs, had not thoſe Countries freed themſelves from the *Babylonian* ſubjection. Now,if we ſhall make any doubt thereof, that is,of the conqueſt of *Arius* and *Xerxes*; both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*,we may as well think the reſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feined; but if we grant this conqueſt, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Aſſyrian* Empire was torn aſunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Moſes*, as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elſewhere with their Colonies planted themſelves; and ſo retained the names of the Countries whence they came; which if ſo, we need not ſay, that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our ſelves with many other difficulties.*

THe conſent of all Writers,whoſe works have come to my peruſal, agreeing as they do, that theſe four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows,were Lords of thoſe Regions,whereunto they are, or ſeem intituled; doth almoſt inforce us to think,that the hiſtory muſt ſo be underſtood,as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elſewhere in the Scriptures,the names of Countries may be ſet for People of thoſe Lands, or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was ſaid to be of the Nations,that is,of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of ſundry Regions; then may we otherwiſe conceive of this Hiſtory: removing thereby ſome difficulties, which men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, becauſe they could not find how to reſolve them. For, as it had been a ſtrange conjecture, to think that *Arioch* was drawn to aſſiſt the *Perſian* againſt the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almoſt impoſſible,that the vale of *Siddim* ſhould have been once named: ſo in true eſtimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Perſia* alone,ſhould paſs through ſo great a part of the World,as the countries of *Aſſyria*,*Chaldæa*,*Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*,and *Canaan*,to ſubdue thoſe five Towns, whoſe very names how they ſhould come to his ear, being disjoined by ſo many great Naions of different Languages, a wiſe man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Perſia*, together with the *Babylonian* himſelf, yea,the Kingdom of *Ellaſar* and that of *Tidal*, ſo far off removed,were become his dependences; what reaſon can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*? and when he ſhould have ſought the eſtabliſhment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the Poſterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaſter* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and thoſe other Kings, againſt five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damaſco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unſubdued? Now, as theſe doubts, which may be alleged againſt the firſt conqueſt of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: ſo are the objections to be made againſt his conqueſt of theſe five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it ſelf. For firſt, what madneſs had it been in that ſmall Province, to rebel againſt ſo powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were ſo, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he ſhould come or ſend to reclaim them; was it not more than madneſs in them, when his terrible Army approached, ſtill to entertain hope of evaſion; yea, to make reſiſtance (being themſelves a diſſolute, and therefore unwarlike people) againſt the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea, between themſelves and the River *Indus*? Likewiſe, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we ſhould find no great wiſdom, if he, knowing the weakneſs of this People, had raiſed ſuch a world of men againſt them: whom by any Lieutenant, with ſmall forces, he might have ſubdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not ſufficient to countervail one Months charges of ſo huge an Army. How ſmall then muſt his valour have been, who with ſo mighty preparations effected no more than the waſting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities ſtanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few priſoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their Army in the field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invaſion (ſuppoſed ſo great) make any fearfull matter; but compoſe the two Armies as equally matcht, ſaying, they were four Kings againſt five; yea, if the place be literally Gen.14.17 expounded, we ſhall find that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe Kings; of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtory makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Ninias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he ſhould have died ſo ſoon; neither would Hiſtories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that theſe four Kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought; nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe Kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelf and them, as was the uſual manner of thoſe times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troup of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoever will conſider the beginning of the firſt Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of diſcoveries, conqueſts and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almoſt as many Kings as ſeveral Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoveries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*; may eaſily perceive, that it was neither unuſual for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make aliances together, and break them again, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeem the more likely, by the ſlothfull quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*; whoſe unmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well give occaſion to ſuch undertaking ſpirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accuſtomed in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilſt others, more unworthy than themſelves, were advanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelves to the former conjecture, *Amraphel* was *Ninias*; and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian Chedorlaomer:* or if this do not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an under-king, or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to have had his Imperial ſeat in his fathers City, *Ninive*; and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his mother, whom he hated as an uſurper of his right. But, if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre; then can I think that the opinion, that thoſe four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelves, is moſt conſonant, both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* ſeems rather called a *Perſian* King, than King of *Perſia:* And that *Arioch* (whoſe Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy mans Son, was very well pleaſed to give paſſage and aſſiſtance to theſe Captains or petty Kings. Theſe, and ſuch like things here to urge, were but with circumſtances to adorn a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is unworthy to have coſt beſtowed upon it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleaſure, to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he find any that ſhall ſeem better than theſe. But of what countries or people ſoever theſe four were Kings, this Expedition is the onely publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand upon things generally known to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeat what hath been elſe-where already ſpoken, nor to prevent our ſelves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſs them here in ſilence. And becauſe in the Story of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, there is much mention of *Egypt:* by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſettled and flouriſhing Kingdom; it will not be amiſs in the next place to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Antiquities and firſt Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, *from the firſt Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the* Iſraelites *from thence.*

§. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the firſt Kings of Egypt; *with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſolving of the truth in theſe points.*

SOon after the confuſion at *Babel* (as it ſeems) *Cham*, with many of his iſſue and followers (having doubtleſs known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this Kingdom, till ſuch time as *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, are ſhewn in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Oſiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* *Hercules.*
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Seſoſtris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Seſoſtris* the blind.
2438.	782.	*Buſiris*, or *Oſiris* the ſecond.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere*, or *Thermutis*, or *Meris*.
2488.	832.	*Rathoris*, or *Athoris*.
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the Red Sea.

The *Table*, and eſpecially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, becauſe in ſuch obſcurity, manifeſt and reſtleſs truth cannot be found. For Saint *Auguſtine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had ſought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are loſt, yet omitted the ſucceſſion of the *Egyptian* kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtleſs they were more glorious. One great occaſion of this obſcurity in the *Egyptian* Story, war the ambition of the Prieſts; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leaſings, and recounted unto ſtrangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for theſe reports of ſuppoſed Kings, it ſhall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, ſuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flouriſhed, witneſs that their Princes were of marvelous greatneſs, and that the reports of the Prieſts were not altogether falſe. A ſecond cauſe of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, was the too much credulity of ſome good Authours, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of ſundry *Egyptians*, and publiſhing in their own names ſuch as pleaſed them beſt, have confirmed them, and, as it were, inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cauſe of more than *Egyptian* darkneſs in all antient Hiſtories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the cenſures of ſundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that *Annius* having ſeen ſome fragments of thoſe Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Hiſtories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwiſe is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to paſs, that the account of Authours, either in the *Chronologie*, or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Chriſtian* Writers, ſuch as are antient, for the moſt part, follow *Euſebius:* Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius* his Authours; The profane Hiſtories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and ſuch others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian *Dynaſties, and otherwiſe, it appears that* Cham's *reign in* Egypt *began in the year after the Floud*, 191.

TO reconcile theſe, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is moſt controverſie, the beſt mean is by help of the *Dynaſties*; of whoſe continuance, there is little or no diſagreement. The account of the *Dynaſties* (beſides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the moſt part, if not altogether, with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrians*,*Trojans*,*Italians*,&c.and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dynaſtie*, is joined by general conſent,with 43.year of *Ninus*; in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve firſt *Dynaſties* laſted each of them ſeven years,under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: ſo that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. *Dynaſtie* endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. Theſe three laſt, are ſaid to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen firſt *Dynaſties* laſted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of theſe *Dynaſties*, was ſuch as hath been mentioned,becauſe *Annius* in ſuch wiſe limits out their time: ſo I cannot reject the account upon this onely reaſon, that *Annius* hath it ſo; conſidering, that both hitherto, it hath paſſed as currant,and is greatly ſtrengthened by many good reaſons. For, whereas *Euſebius* placeth the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie*, in the year of *Abraham*'s birth, as aforeſaid, the reckoning is eaſily caſt; by which the ſumm of 161. years, which, according to our account, were ſpent in the fifteen former, being ſubducted out of the ſumm of 352. years,which were between the Floud and *Abraham*'s birth, ſhew that the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*,which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As alſo by other probabilities the ſame may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into *Shinaar*,arrived at *Babel*,*Anno à Diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were conſumed 40.years,as *Glycas* recordeth; whoſe report I have elſwhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in paſſing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Subſtance through all *Syria* then deſolate, and full of Boggs, Foreſts, and Bryers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred ſeventy one years had brought upon it) no reaſonable man will doubt. To this his paſſage therefore, and the ſeating of himſelf in *Egypt*,we allow twenty years; and theſe ſumms being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, fourty years for their ſtay there, and twenty for *Cham*'s paſſage into *Egypt*, and ſettling there, make up the ſumm of 191. years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*. And to this ſumm of 191. years, if we add the 161. years of the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*, as they are numbred in common account, we ſhall fall right with the year of *Abraham*'s birth,which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reaſons, which might be brought to prove that theſe firſt *Dynaſties* muſt needs have been very ſhort, and not containing in the whole ſumm of their ſeveral times above 161. years; Let it ſuffice, that had they laſted longer, then either muſt *Egypt* have been peopled as ſoon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinks) muſt have been before the Floud. That the arival at *Babel*, was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Floud, enough hath been ſaid to prove; and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the Floud,the number of the long-lived generations between *Adam* and the Floud, which was leſs than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficiently witneſs. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; conſidering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countrie erect ſuch form of Policy, as had been uſed in the ſame ere the Deluge; but ſuch as the diſpoſition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That theſe Dynaſties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Succeſſions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THe ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeveral races of kings,as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more eaſie to deny than to affirm. But this may be ſaid, partly upon good circumſtance, partly upon the ſureſt proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of ſome truſty Counſellor, onely reſerving the Soveraignty to themſelves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Maſters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Viſier*. This is confirmed, firſt, by the number of the *Dynaſties*,whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Oſiris*,or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore have been ſucceſſions, not of Kings, but rather of Counſellours, and Regents. Secondly, by cuſtom of ſuch

Princes borderers to *Egypt*,as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim*,in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation,did nothing without *Phicol*,Captain of his Hoſt; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was ſaid: *Is not he the Son of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth*,the Son of *Saul*,feared *Abner* the Captain of the Hoſt. Yea, *David* himſelf hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſs,which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleneſs and pleaſure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealouſie, the companion of unworthineſs,to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Joſeph*; *Onely in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have ſet thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbiſhop of* Tyre, who flouriſhed about the year of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very ſame,form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there been in uſe (as he believed) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainly ſhews,that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, however they have been ſo deem'd;but that they acknowledg'd and humbly performed the duty of ſubjects unto the *Caliphe*; who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Meulene Edhadech*, with the form of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the Image of the antient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was,though far inferiour in Wiſdom.

Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 22.

To think that many names of ſuch *Regents*,or Lievtenants,as *Joſeph* was,have crept into the Liſt of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no ſtrange imagination. For *Joſeph*'s brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*; beſides,it is not unlikely, that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Prieſts would as eaſily report him a King to poſterity, as ignorant men & ſtrangers deem him ſuch, under whoſe hand all diſpatches of importance,and royal managing of the State had paſſed, whileſt that the King himſelf, intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How ſtangers have miſtaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joſeph's* brethren, doth ſufficiently witneſs. The reports of Prieſts do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*; each of whom, citing their relations, as good Authority,ſay; *Diodorus*,and *Seſoſtris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*,that he was the 332. after *Menas*; which could not have been,if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynaſties* were not ſo many Races of Kings, but ſucceſſions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of ſo many ſundry Linages or ſorts of men. Now, by whatſoever means a *Dynaſtie*, or *Regencie* continued; whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary Office; or in one order of men, as held by faction: ſure it is, that was the Kings gift and free choice, that gave the Office. But the Crown royal always paſſed by deſcent, and not by election; which (beſides conſent of Authours) the Scriptures alſo prove. For whereas *Joſeph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had paſſed by election, then ſhould *Pharaoh*'s children hereby, either have been inthralled amongſt the reſt of the people, to the next ſucceſſor: or enjoying their fathers Land, though not his Eſtate, have been more mighty than the King: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the King himſelf their Tenant. Likewiſe we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God ſmote the firſt-born of* Pharaoh, *that was to ſit on his Throne.* And in *Eſay*, it is ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the antient King.*

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

Eſa. 19.

§. IV.

Of Cham, *and his Son* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſheweth from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the Land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, becauſe the Poſterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himſelf did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I think it is no where found,that the Countries of *Chuſh*,*Put*,or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelf the eldeſt Son of *Cham*, ſaying, *Mihi pater* Saturnus *deorum omnium junior:* alſo,*Sum* Saturni *filius antiquior,germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*; which muſt needs be underſtood of *Cham*; for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*:

Pſa 78.51. 105.23. 27. 106.22.

Diod. Sic. l. 1.

as it is ſaid, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inſcription, wherin *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not farr from *Egypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hierom, in quæſtionibus Hebraicis*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did in his days, call their Countrey *Ham*; as in four ſeveral places in the *Pſalms* this Countrey is called the Land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (ſaith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*. *Ægyptum uſque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari*; *that* Egypt *unto this day in the tongue of the* Egyptians *is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time ſpent in the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*: Neither is it ſtrange, that the reign of *Cham* ſhould laſt ſo long as 161. years; conſidering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachſhad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But ſtrange it had been, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*. had in thoſe long-lived generations reigned there 19. years, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius in Hiſtor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris*, according to *Diodorus*; who, ſaith he, was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* ſaith, that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris*, are words of neer affinity and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius*, citing good authority in this caſe, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Mezre*. Neither do I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Oſiris*, reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where preciſely ſet down, we muſt be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly ſaid by *Annius* his *Beroſus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſtie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authority of *Euſebius*, who avoucheth as much; next, by *Diodorus*, who ſaith, that he inhabited *Thebes*; which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſtie*, I can well believe; aſſenting ſo farr to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynaſties* were named onely, according to the ſeveral ſeats of the Kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Oſiris *reign ended; and that* Jacob *came into* Egypt *in the time of* Orus *the Son of* Oſiris.

THe death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his fathers death on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* King of *Aſſyria*; before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Tygris*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, & *Spain*; and having ended his *Egyptian* Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus farr *Beroſus*, or Authours following *Beroſus*. That *Orus*, laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtiled) held the Kingdom of *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith; and *Plutarch* as much, to which all Hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferrs, that ſix years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in ſo many countries, after the *Egyptian* Wars were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himſelf had reigned 297. years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For ſurely, in thoſe days, when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all Navigation made by coaſting, a farr longer time would have been required, to the ſubduing of ſo many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was (doubtleſs) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* have come into *Egypt* but 7. years before the death of *Oſiris*; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*: A thing not eaſily believed. For it was the ſame King who advanced *Joſeph*, bad him ſend for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his fathers Funeral; as may eaſily be gathered out of the Book of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7. year of *Iſrael*'s coming into *Egypt*, we muſt needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, ſeven which he ſhould have lived after *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt*; nine, in which *Joſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers coming; and other ſeven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Joſeph*'s advancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iſid. & Oſirid.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which

Hercules made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured ten years: After which proportion, we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many Wars, in ſo many, and ſo farr diſtant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, conſidering that *Potiphar*, who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old Authour, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Potiphar*, for his faithfulneſs to *Orus* the Son of *Oſiris*, was by him, in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward; at which time, buying *Joſeph*, and finding him a juſt man, and one under whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Joſeph*'s hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſ-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleſom days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected againſt this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and ſay, That when the ſaying of *Joſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſervants; then *Potiphar*, Prieſt of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledg in *Joſeph* the antient graces of God, and his injurious impriſonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, reſigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Prieſts, when he bought the Lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to ſome a tale not unlike the Friarly book of *Aſenath*, *Potiphar*'s Daughter; but, unto ſuch as conſider that God works uſually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died; it would ſeem a matter more probable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he ſhould have ſpent 42. years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* Wars conſiered, and his former enterpriſes and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not make againſt us, but for us: or, if it were againſt us, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the indiſputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheleſs, I freely grant, that all theſe proofs are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authours, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

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§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſſively reigning after* Mizraim; *and of divers Errors about the former* Seſoſtres.

COncerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptory without proof, as if his own word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alleging no witneſs, but as it were, ſaying, *Teſte me ipſo*; yet herein we may think him to ſpeak probably, for as much as the leaned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other Warrs in the ſame quarrel, as hath been ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*; yet, ſeeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Beroſus*, hath it ſo, I will alſo believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, 7. years were ſpent, howſoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* ſeven years after the death of *Oſiris*; forgetting to ſet down his reaſons, which in a matter ſo probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth 90. years of the 18. *Dynaſtie* to *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*; it ſeems that the reign of *Orus* laſted 115. years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, there paſſed 122. years by our account; who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Floud to the

birth of *Abraham*		352
From that time to the	vocation of *Abraham*	75
	departure out of *Egypt*	430
	Summa	857

which ſumm divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforeſaid) onely 122. years from the death of *Orus*; we are now to conſider, how many of them are to be allowed uno *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſonchoſis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour,

querour, is by many Hiſtories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Aſia*; to have built a fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and ſo to have entred into *India*: likewiſe with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Juſtine*, erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*; For *Juſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus*; whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more antient then was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Aſia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy Hiſtory of the Bible) after which time, *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the Land of *Iſrael*, when he made his Expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac*, it is doubted by ſome, for as much as he came into *Judæa* with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſs it be ſufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scoliaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made, to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. Horſe, *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. Chariots, *Seſac* 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his Expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even againſt *Solomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*; becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three leſſer; himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of Dignity; though miſtaken by ſome, as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*, the *Hebrew* word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conqueror, Philoſopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſs and great undertakings, *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*: For he ſought victory not for gain, but honour onely; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſeves to his will and royal diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was, being by his own brother purpoſely fired; which nevertheleſs, he is ſaid to have eſcap'd, and to have reigned in all 30. years; after wch time, he choſe rather to die than to live; becauſe he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seſoſtris* left a Son, whoſe name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris*, but was nothing like to his father in glory; for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſs, *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javelin; which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying, that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expreſſed; yet, for as much as *Orus* the ſecond (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. years after that this *Seſoſtris* had been King, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. years at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not untill theſe 14. years at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely upon probabilities, which are theſe: After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſome while, he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely known her own husband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindneſs, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: ſo his works, which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his reign was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*; whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent over-ſight of that work, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples love; whom his father had very buſily employed in exceſſive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Buſiris, *the firſt oppreſſor of the* Iſraelites; *and of his ſucceſſour, Queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moſes *out of the Water.*

And herein (if I may preſume to conjecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelf was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the overſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunity to work his greatneſs with the King by induſtry; and afterward with the people, by incenſing them againſt their new King, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; unleſs he have either an equal ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreover he ſought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians* to the *Iſraelites*: he ſurely did that to his own people which was very plauſible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing ſlack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the ſecond, or *Buſiris*, was the King that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted ten Moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned Writers; who alſo think that hereupon grew the Fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Joſeph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Buſiris* was of a new Family, *Reineccius* doth ſhew; who alſo thinks him an Author of the bloudy *Edict*. Nevertheleſs, true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign five years after the birth of *Moſes*; before whoſe birth it is moſt manifeſt, that the Law was made, and much more, that the perſecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have laſted 87. yesrs, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore conſider, beſides the blindneſs of *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-roys* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, ſeeing *Joſeph* ruled with ſuch full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the ſame time, the beſt of the Land to his own father and brethen for nothing; ſeeing alſo that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* ſaid to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to* Joſeph, *what he ſaith to you, do ye*. If to a ſtranger born, lately fetcht out of priſon, a King well able to have governed himſelf, would give ſuch truſt, and ſoveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince ſhould do it to a man of eſpecial reputation. For God often proſpers, not onely the good (ſuch as *Joſeph* was) but wicked men alſo, as his inſtruments againſt the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) reſign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of *Seſoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did uſurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King reſigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Buſiris* were onely *Regent* whileſt the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himſelf; it might well be ſaid that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Moſes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Iſrael*; ſeeing he both at that time was King in effect, and ſhotty after, King in deed and title both. It were not abſurd for us to ſay, that the blind King *Seſoſtris* the ſecond oppreſſed *Iſrael*: But, for as much as it may ſeem that the wicked Tyrant ſhewed his evil nature, even when he firſt aroſe; I think it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, uſing at firſt the power of a King, and ſhortly after the ſtile. Thus of the 122. years which paſſed between the beginning of *Seſoſtris* his reign, and the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, 47. being ſpent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, and his children. *Buſiris* himſelf reigned 30. years, according to *Euſebius*; whom very many judicious Authours herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moſes* out of the Water, is ſaid, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Euſebius* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his Hiſtory, *Meris*: *Joſeph* calls her both *Acenchre*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, ſaith, that ſhe was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this laſt title queſtion might be made, and much ſpoken; for the Scriptures call her not

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed,is ſet next before *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, by *Euſebius* and others; but whether he were a King, or onely a *Regent*,I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*,and the antient Hiſtorians, name the Son of *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*; and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child,than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*,becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*,and the diſ-reputation of his Son. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris*,or *Orus* the ſecond,marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture ſtrengthened, and then was ſhe both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*; and ſurviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if ſhe were Daughter of *Orus* the ſecond, and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whoſe conjecture I will not oppoſe mine,then may it ſeem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; *and what King it was, under whom* Moſes *was born; and who it was that periſhed in the Red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren; the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Euſebius*; but his linage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris*, after his ſiſters death,reigned nine years; after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years,and then periſhed in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*; of which Hiſtory elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*,but all,or moſt do ſtile ϑεόμαχος, a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned 8. years; and then *Cherres* 15. This deſcent ſeems from Father to Son. In the 11. year of *Cherres*,it is ſaid by *Euſebius*,that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not unlikely; *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it,and the deſtruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea; elſe could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Poſterity, ſeems to have taken all from *Cherres*, the Grand-child of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to have reigned four years after *Cherres*; and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*: theſe two Kings are by *Euſebius* and others, accounted as one, and his reign ſaid to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*; and his Pedigree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *Hiſtor. Julia.*

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor,*Belus*,and *Buſiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the Country,having expell'd his brother *Danaus*,reigned,and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.	*Danaus* or *Armeus*,expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to paſs, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* ſhould have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay; conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelf is reported by *Euſebius*,to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But for as much as the Hiſtory of *Epaphus* his birth, is diverſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris*,or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the Grand-child of *Chencres*. And that the Poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the Hiſtory of theſe two brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather queſtionleſs, by divers women; yet ſurely they began to beget children in their firſt youth: Howſoever it were, the general conſent of Writers is, that *Armeus*, or *Danaus*,did ſucceed *Cherres*; and (according to *Euſebius*, and good Authours approving him) reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Rameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*, is that *Armeſeſmiamum*, or *Armeſeſmiamus*,under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moſes* was born; and the cruel *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reign ſeems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For, whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Go, return to* Egypt, *for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the ſame King under whom *Moſes* was born, and under whom he ſlew the *Egyptian* at the 40. year of his age; and fled into the wilderneſs, and there abode for fear: all which circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long; wherefore, deſirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the Liſt of *Egyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112. or 113. years, more antient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his Succeſſours from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* calls *Amaſis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reign,than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he finds *Moſes* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Iſrael* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthoſis* ſeems to him with little alteration to ſound like *Phararates*, of which name one was thought to have flouriſhed, either as a King, or a wiſe Man, about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Alisfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, or *Phararates*,the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent Learning and Induſtry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him by theſe Reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was King, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod.* 4. *All are dead*, &c. may better be underſtood of *Buſiris*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, S. *Cyril* in his firſt Book againſt *Julian* the *Apoſtate*,ſaith,that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. years old, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years; who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being alreay laid open, I think it moſt expedient to referr the Kings enſuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeak of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-paſs.

Chap. III.

Of the delivery of Iſrael *out of* Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moſes *Birth, and how long the* Iſraelites *were oppreſſed in* Egypt.

TRue it is, that the Hiſtory it ſelf is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Inſtrument of this, and other great Works of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very near as many,as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. *Auguſtine*,cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But, if he did mean the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for beſides that the ſame is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, ſhe commanded *Syria*, and all the parts the parts thereof abſolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, *in rerum natura.*

A ſecond Opinion he remembreth out of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy*, a Prieſt of *Mendes*, who ſaith, that *Moſes* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſies* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* Hiſtory, the firſt Book; that *Moſes* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who, though he cite ſome Authorities, that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* war,is himſelf of opinion, that *Moſes* was farr more antient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he ſetteth down the teſtimony of *Numinius* the Philoſopher, who took *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one; confirming the ſame out of *Artapanas*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*,or *Thermutis*,the Daughter of *Egypt*; the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*)

Thermothes. *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus*, in his firſt Book, *de Bono*, Moſes, *vir Deo conjunctiſſimus*, is called *Muſæus Judæorum.* *Euſebius*, in his Chronologie, finds Euſeb. de præp. Evan. l. 3. c. 3. that *Moſes* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt.* The antient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moſes* birth, *Thumoſis*, or *Thmoſis*: the ſame, perchance, which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amoſis*, and elſe-where *Amenophis*, the father of *Sethoſis*: to whom *Lyſimachus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Bocchoris.* To me it ſeems moſt probable, that while *Saphrus*, called alſo *Spherus*, or *Iphereus*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus* the *Argives*; that then (*Seſoſtris* the ſecond ruling in *Egypt*) *Moſes* was born. For, if we believe Saint *Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt.* *Eduxit* Moſes *ex Æ*- Aug l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei. *gypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium Regis*; Moſes (ſaith he) *led the people of God out of* Egypt, *about the end of* Cecrops *time*, *King of the* Athenians. In 2514. this ſort therefore is the time of *Moſes* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* beſt proved, Saint *Auguſtine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moſes* was born, *Saphrus* governing *Aſſyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his ſucceſſour *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him fourty years: in whoſe fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as *Moſes* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*, and *Criaſus Argos* (for theſe three Kings lived at once at his birth, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow, that the birth of *Moſes* was in the nineteenth year of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*; for take one yeare remaining of twenty (for ſo long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the fourty years of *Sparetus*, theſe make ſeventy one, with which there were waſted three years of *Cecrops* his fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus* ſucceſſor, thoſe nine years added to ſeventy one, make eighty, at which age *Moſes* left *Egypt*; and add theſe nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his fifty, and ſo it falleth right with S. *Auguſtine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt.*

Now, the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppreſſed in *Egypt*, ſeemeth to have had beginning ſome eight or nine years before the birth of *Moſes*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Joſeph*; between whoſe death, and the birth of *Moſes*, there were conſumed ſixty four years, ſome of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great ſervitude and miſery. For, as it is written in *Exodus*: Exod. 1. *They ſet task-maſters over them, to keep them under with burthens; and they built the Cities.* Pithom *and* Rameſes, &c. *And by cruelty, they cauſed the children of* Iſrael *to ſerve, and made them weary of their lives, by ſore labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a maſtering power, and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſdome of God appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Joſeph*, who left the World when when it had laſted 2370. to the eightieth 2370. year of *Moſes*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. to- 2514. wards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be underſtood, I think it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Diſcourſe.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, *mentioned in this Story, or elſe-where in the Scriptures.*

THis City, which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built ſeven years after *Hebron.* *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and ſo doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanais*; *Joſephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* Idolatry. Num. 13. Ezech. Hier. 2. 43. 44. Joſeph. c. 9. Tir de ſac. l. 19. c. 13.

Zoan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Moſes* time, the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not unlikely to be the ſame City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Aſtronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt.* *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and not the King; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the Vulgar Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4 Edition, for *Zoan*, write *Heliopolis.* *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolemie*, *Onium.* There are two Gen 11. 15 Eſa 19. 11. Cities of that name; the one on the fronier of the lower *Egypt*, toward the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Peluſium.* And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Aven.* Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the ſame which *Pomp. Mela* and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warr*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis.* Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe Daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adjoining, *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt.* In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolemy Philopater*, then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſly reporteth herein, to have fulfilled a Prophecie of *Eſay*, Chap. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ* Egypti; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be in the midſt of the Land of* Egypt. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt.* Laſtly, there it was that our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (ſaith *Brochard*) the Fountain is ſtill found, called *Jeſus Well*, whoſe ſtreams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Egypt.* And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his Deſcription of *Egypt.*

There is alſo in that City of *Noph*, remem- Eſay 19. 13. bred by *Eſay* and *Ezechiel*, the ſame which Ezech. 34. Hoſ. 9. 6. *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, ſo called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remem- Lib 2. breth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar.* The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim.*

G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. l. 2. c. 5. *Peluſium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh*, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the ſame with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis.* *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta eſt* Peluſium; Belbeis *that in times paſt was called* Peluſium.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioſ*- Ezech. 30. 15, 16. *polis.* Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt.* *Hierom* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

Bubaſtus (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do Ezech. 30. 17. write it) is the ſame which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeſeth.*

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Deſcription of the Land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſralites* inhabited; with thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth*, and the reſt; together with *Moſes* paſſage through the Deſarts of *Arabia the Stony.* For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure, ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and underſtanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing ſerve to retain, what we read, in our memories, ſo well as theſe Pictures and Deſcriptions do. In which reſpect I am driven to digreſs in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch Diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more antient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine Topographiæ cognitione Hiſtoriæ legantur, adeo confuſa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit*; *If narration* (ſaith he) *be made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſervation of the places wherein they were done; or if Hiſtories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby underſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites *young children in* Egypt; *and of* Moſes *his preſervation and Education.*

BUt to return to the Story it ſelf. It appeareth, that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlavery which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: in ſo much as *Pharaoh*, conſidering the danger of diſcontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Devil, reſolved to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as ſoon as they ſhould be born. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *Quæ præcrant* (ſaith *Comeſtor*) *multitudini obſtetricum, who had command given them over all Mid-wives*; by whom(as it ſeemeth)he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his *Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a ſtrange Parliament. Now, whether theſe two(before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*,it is diverſly diſputed. S. *Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrews*,becauſe it is written *Exodus* 1. *The King of* Egypt *commanded the Mid-wives of the* Hebrew *women*, &c. But *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis*,and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murther, to the end the World might witneſs both the wickedneſs of the *Egyptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

*Verſ.*16. *Joſeph.ant. l.* 2. *c.* 5. *Abul. & Perer. in Exod.*

Now, beſides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greateſt part of whom be might have aſſured, by affording them the juſtice which every King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have employed, or ſent away, at his pleaſure; *Joſephus* giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be born a child, who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he ſtretched out his bloudy and mercileſs hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpiritual Kingdom of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould have been temporal,he cauſed all the male children at that time born, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kind of foreknowledg of the future ſucceſs, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verſe of the fifth of *Exodus*: *Come, let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs, that if there be Warr, they join themſelves alſo unto our enemies,and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own moſt feeble, and altogether darkened, underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Miniſter of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a ſucking and powerleſs Infant. And this Princeſs having beheld the child his form and beauty,though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not onely preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the Water; or after *Joſephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expreſſing Water, and *Hiſes*, as much as to ſay, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed before he was put into the Ark of Reeds,and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred,by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaohs* Daughter,and by men of the moſt underſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfeſtis ei ſapientibus* Ægyptiorum *Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *unto whom ſhe gave Princely education, appointing over him wiſe Maſters of the* Egyptians *for his inſtructers*. Thereby (ſay *Joſephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; *And* Moſes *was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians. Which Wiſdom or Sapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes*, and the reign of *Joſua*.

Joſ. ant. l. 2. *c.* 5.

Exod. 5.10

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Moyſ.

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§. IV.

Of Moſes *his flying out of* Egypt;*and the opinions of certain antient Hiſtorians of his war in* Æthiopia; *and of his marriage there:* Philo *his judgment of his Paſtoral life; and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHen *Moſes* was grown to mans eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years Warr that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*; of the beſieging of *Seba*, afterward,by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered the City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comeſtor* a pretty tale of *Moſes*, how after the end of that Warr, *Tharbis* reſiſting his return into *Egypt*, *Moſes*, moſt ſkilful in *Aſtronomy*,cauſed two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increaſed memory; the other cauſed forgetfulneſs: Theſe he ſet in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*,reſerving the other of memory for himſelf; which Ring of forgetfulneſs, after ſhe had a while worn, ſhe began to neglect the love ſhe bare her Huſband: and ſo *Moſes*, without danger,returned into *Egypt*. But leaving theſe fancies to the Authours of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of *Moſes* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, moved by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdain againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence, he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrey to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly means) to make the watering of a few ſheep, and the aſſiſting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of thoſe, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Countrey neareſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to return from; neceſſary to be known, becauſe interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, ſitting at a mountains foot,a keeper and commander of thoſe poor Beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Madian*, he conſumed 40. years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moſes* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks,committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtoral knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart, he enjoyed himſelf: and being ſeparate from the preaſs of the world, and the troubleſome affairs thereof, he gave himſelf to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelf all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Authour alſo judging that his Paſtoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Plato*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia, & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ, ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the moſt gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wild beaſts thoſe things which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affording matter, wherein to train themſelves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattel, hath a kind of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore Kings are ſtiled Sheepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in the time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*,wrote the Book of *Geneſis*; although I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrews*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the Land of reſt, and plenty,promiſed.

*Perer in c.*3.*Exod.*

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that he was the meſſenger of the moſt High,the particulars are written in the firſt fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſs. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught of God, by what name he ſhould make him known,and by whom he was ſent;

Exod. c. 3. *v.*13,14, & 15.

he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his Anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt; and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame, in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Hier. ad Dam.* *Una eſt Dei, & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt; & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine Nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) *Cap. 40. v. 13.* all Nations are nothing, leſs than nothing, and meer vanity.

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changiug the Rivers into bloud; God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the *Revelation* may *Cap. 16. v. 5.* be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drink.*

The reſt of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſps; by the death of their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſs; after which, *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-born of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition; whereas before, he firſt yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtial; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelits* ſhould not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For, when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a Lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſover* (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the Angel of God in the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did, in after-times, *Epiph l cont. H reſ.* imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſover*; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning, and other harms.

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§. V.

Of Pharaoh's *purſuit of the* Iſraelites; *and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farr as* Succoth.

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſs, he conſulted with himſelf, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſs, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him

that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the Chariots of *E*- *Exod.14.7.* *gypt*, and ſix hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to ſet upon them in the plains of *Goſen*, which way ſoever they turned themſelves. For it was the antient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with broad and ſharp hooks on both ſides, in faſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* uſed againſt the *Romans*, while they made the Warr for the conqueſt of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Joſephus* affirmeth, that it conſiſted *Joſ. ant. l. 2. c. 6.* of 50000. Horſe, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to aſſail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to deſtroy them in *Goſen*; and refuſed them paſſage, till ſuch time as he had prepared an Army to ſet on them. For, as it is written in the firſt of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might join themſelves to his enemies within the Land; or, being ſo multiplied, as they were, might leave his ſervice, and get themſelves thence at their pleaſure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him, at this time, to give an aſſent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwiſe, and *Joſephus* partial in this affair, yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haſte. *Exod.14.7.* For *Moſes* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the laſt day, he went on 16. miles: which in ſo hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, peſtered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witneſſing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moſes* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his underſtanding in all his enterprizes; ſo he lay not ſtill in the ditch, crying for help, but uſing the underſtanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wiſe man, and a valiant and ſkilfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counſels, from this day to his death, well appeared.

When *Moſes* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged againſt him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his preſence: after that he had warned *Iſrael* of the *Paſſover*, he appointed a general Aſſembly, or *Rendez-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Rameſes*, in the Territory of *Goſen*; a City ſtanding indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey, the diſperſed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every Family ſhould bring with them ſuch ſtore as they had of Dough, and Paſte, not ſtaying to make it into Bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having conſidered the great ſtrength of *Pharaoh*'s Horſe-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moſes* was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the *Iſraelites* went up armed) he marched from *Rameſes* Eaſt-ward, towards the Deſarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*; which Moneth, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the firſt Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had been accuſtomed to begin their year in ſome other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now re-called by *Moſes* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by ſome ſolemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and ſtill continued in uſe. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middeſt, or ending of the year; that diſtinction of the Sacred and the Politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Moneth, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moſes* himſelf in fourty years ſpace, did ſufficiently inſtruct the Prieſts, to whoſe care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in truſt; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now, becauſe time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to ſhew here, at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.

The Territory of *Goſen* was afterward called *Rameſes*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.47. & Numb. 33. Exod.13.*

Exod.23. 16. & 34. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew *year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The Firſt Moneth, *Niſan*, or *Abib.*	1. *March.*
II. *Jar*, or *Tiar*. *Zio*, or *Zin.*	2. *April.*
III. *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban.*	3. *May.*
IV. *Tamuz.*	4. *June.*
V. *Ab.*	5. *July.*
VI. *Ehul.*	6. *Auguſt.*
VII. *Tiſri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim.*	7. *September.*
VIII. *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Joſephus*, *Morſonane.* Ant.1.c.4.	8. *October.*
IX. *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu.*	9. *November.*
X. *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth.*	10. *December.*
XI. *Sebeth*, or *Sabath.*	11. *January.*
XII. *Adar*, and *Ve Adar.*	12. *February.*

VE *Adar*, was an intercalary Moneth, added ſome years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (beſides the general inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, becauſe of the divine Precept. For God appointed eſpecial Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a
Deut.16. Moneth of the year, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as the Feaſt of the Firſt-fruits, the new Moons, and the like; which could not have ſo been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelf been found far diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the year.

Other Nations, the better to obſerve their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more days, as the errour committed in foregoing years required. The errour grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For though by the continual courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plain enough, even to the moſt ſavage of all people, when a year hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbered by a ſhorter tally, makes this long meaſure of whole years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obſerved the Monethly conſpicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the the year into twelve parts, ſubdividing the Moneth into 29. days and nights, and thoſe again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are ſenſibly and eaſily diſ- 30.c.11
cerned; ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing leſs time by 11. days, or thereabout, than the yearly courſe of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the ſpace of ſixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the year, making it to conſiſt of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule.

Here lay much Wiſdom, and deep Art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain thee hundred and ſixty days; wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That three hundred and ſixty days filled up the *Grecian* year (beſides many collateral proofs) it is manifeſt by that which *Pliny* di- Plin.l.34. cap.6.
rectly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in the honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many years in their own places; but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inſerted into the *Almanack* by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall, on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt Moneth of every year; thoſe games being held once in four years. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſomtimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bœdromion* (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year, one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Month of 29. days, another of 30. days. & ſo ſucceſſively through the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks, which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth years intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in 34. hours and 10. miuutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences, would in few Ages, have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who, not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth years intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. years, wherein the Moon, having 235. times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, & on the ſame day of the year; as in the 19. year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton*, was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of ſeven Months, in the 19. years, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one year could not be perceiv'd, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and ſome minutes, of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle*, containing four of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former Obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar, was that which *Julius Cæſar* made, who, by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365. days and 6. hours, which hours in four years, make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Dom.* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general conſent; it was indeed but as a Note added unto the Work of *Cæſar*; yet a Note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *An.Dom.*234. entred the *Æquinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1583. ten days ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* ſtrook out of the Kalendar ten days, following the 4. of *October*; ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feaſts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred; becauſe the Sun doth not in his yearly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365. days; but faileth ſo may minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 29. years, which the *Hebrews* uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of hours, minutes, and other leſſer fractions to help it; neither did in ſumming up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fel out ſo, that always the *Kalends*, or firſt day of the Moneth, was at the new Moon; and becauſe that day was Feſtival, they were very carefull, as well to obſerve the ſhort year of the Moon, paſſing through all the 12. Signs in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gave it to *Niſan*, their firſt Moneth, which is about our *March*, or *April*, 30. days; to *Jar*, their ſecond Moneth 29. days; and ſo ſucceſſively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to paſs, that every two Moneths of theirs contain'd ſomewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous, or *Epact* days; which made up ſeven Moneths in 19. years; to ſix of which ſeven were commonly given 30. days, to one of them 29. days, or otherwiſe, as was found requiſite. Their common year (as appeareth by the ſeveral days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, which fail of the year, wherein the Sun finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole days, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe days, and other broken pieces, howſoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. years, were ſo diſpoſed of by convenient intercalations, that ſtill at the end of the *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the ſame day of the year, Moneth, and week, yea, commonly on the ſame hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it, 19. years before.

Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Divers have diverſly ſet down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every ſecond year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finiſh her courſe in 22. or 23. days; and therefore to have added ſo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* ſaith, that every third year, or ſecond year, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all farr from evenneſs, untill the very laſt of the 19. years. For (to omit ſuch as erre groſly) ſome there are who ſay, that after three years, when beſides the days ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Moneth of 30. days; keeping three days, as it were, in pluſſage unto the next account. The like, ſay they, was done at the end of the ſixth year; at which time, beſides the intercalary Moneth, remained ſix days, namely, three ſurmounting that Month, and the *Epact* of three years, beſides the three formerly reſerved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which, with the *Epact* of the 19. year, make up a Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Geneb. Chron. l. 2.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet ſurely it muſt needs have bred a great confuſion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his own place by the diſtance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of a year and more; which inconvenience, by ſuch a reckoning, was unavoidable. Wherefore I preferr the common opinion, which prevents ſuch diſlocation of the Moneths, by ſetting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and ſixth years, added unto the 22. days, ariſing out of the *Epacts* of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly ſerve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is ſo farr from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helps to make the year enſuing vary the leſs from the proper ſeaſon of every Moneth. This may ſuffice to be ſpoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

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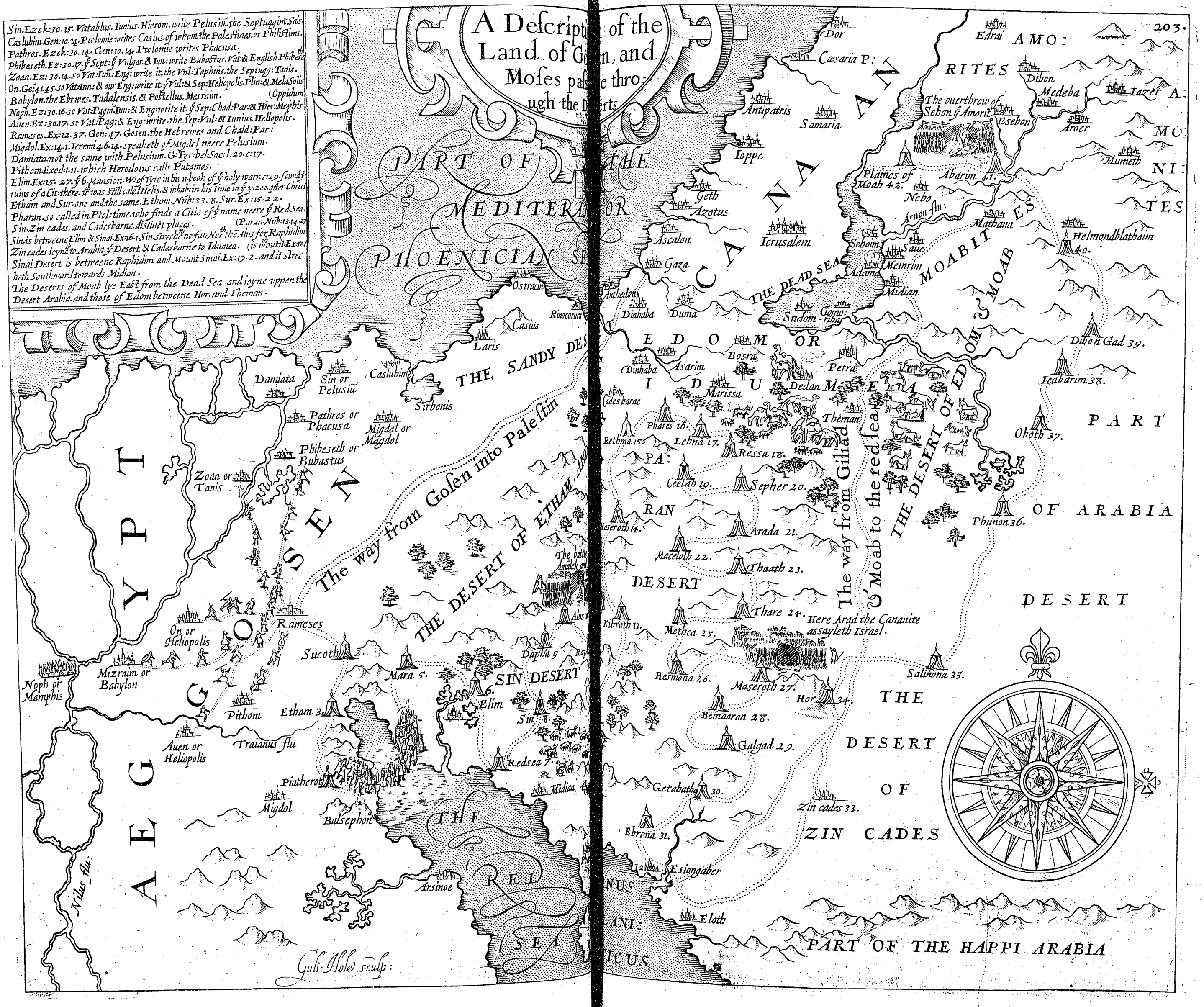
§. VII.

Of the paſſage of Iſrael *from* Succoth *towards the Red Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of* Egypt.

FRom *Succoth*, in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the Deſart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſs, though he intended nothing leſs than to go out of that way, of all other the neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſe-men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himſelf from being encompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia*, being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects: the firſt two, natural; the third, divine. For, *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſwaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſs over thoſe Deſart and high Mountains with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſs he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt number of them. For theſe his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſs hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes*, by turning another way, did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that

It is p bable all th Egypti and ot brough by the brave know of th God lowe ſet dep

way,


A Deſcript of the
Land of Go n, and
Moſes pa e thro:
ugh the D erts
PART OF THE
MEDITER OR
PHOENICIAN SE
AEGYPT
GOSEN
The way from Goſen into Paleſtin
THE SANDY DES
THE DESERT OF ETHAM
SIN DESERT
THE RED SEA
SINUS ELANITICUS
CANAAN
EDOM OR IDUMEA
PARAN DESERT
THE DEAD SEA
MOABITES
MOAB
AMORRITES
AMMONITES
The way from Gilead & Moab to the red ſea
THE DESERT OF EDOM
PART OF ARABIA
DESERT
THE DESERT OF ZIN CADES
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA
Nilus flu:
Noph or Memphis
Mizraim or Babylon
On or Heliopolis
Auen or Heliopolis
Pithom
Traianus flu
Rameses
Zoan or Tanis
Phibeſeth or Bubaſtus
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Damiata
Sin or Pelusiu
Casluhim
Sirbonis
Laris
Casius
Ostracin
Rhinocorura
Sucot
Etham 3
Mara 5
Elim 6
Sin 8
Dapha 9
Redsea 7
Piatheroth
Migdol
Balsephon
Arsinoe
Midian
Dor
Cæsaria P:
Antipatris
Samaria
Ioppe
Geth
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Anthedon
Ierusalem
Dinhaba
Duma
Asarim
Bosra
Marissa
Cadesbarne
Dedan
Petra
Theman
Sodom
Gomorrha
Adama
Seboim
Meinrim
Midian
Saue
Mathana
Nebo
Arnon flu:
Plaines of Moab 42
Abarim 41
The ouerthrow of Sehon yᵉ Amorit
Esebon
Edrai
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
Arver
Mumeth
Helmondblathaim 40
Dibon Gad 39
Ieabarim 38
Oboth 37
Phunon 36
Salmona 35
Rethma 15
Phares 16
Lebna 17
Ressa 18
Ceelah 19
Sepher 20
Maseroth 14
Arada 21
Macelath 22
Thaath 23
Thare 24
Methca 25
Kibroth 13
Hesmona 26
Maseroth 27
Hor 34
Bemaaran 28
Galgad 29
Getabatha 30
Ebrona 31
Esiongaber
Eloth
Zin cades 33
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
The battle of Amalek
Gyli: Hole sculp:

Sin.Ezek:30.15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusiū. the Septuagint Sais.
Casluhim.Gen:10.14. Ptolomie writes Casius. of whom the Paleſtines. or Philiſtims.
Pathros. Ezek:30.14. Gen:10.14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez:30.17. yᵉ Sept: yᵉ Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubaſtus. Vat:& English Phibeseᵗʰ
Zoan. Ez:30.14. so Vat:Iun:Eng: write it, the Vul: Taphnis. the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Ge:41.45. so Vat:Iun: & our Eng: write it yᵉ Vul:& Sep: Heliopolis. Plin:& Mela Solis
Babylon. the Ebrwes. Tudalensis. & Poſtellus. Mesraim. (Oppidum
Noph. Ez:30.16. so Vat:Pagn:Iun:& Eng: write it. yᵉ Sep:Chad:Par:& Hier: Mēphis
Auen. Ez:30.17. so Vat:Pag:& Eng: write. the Sep:Vul:& Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex:12.37. Gen:47. Gosen. the Hebrewes and Chald:Par:
Migdol. Ex:14.1. Ieremi 46.14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. G:Tyr:bel:Sac:l:20.c:17.
Pithom. Exod:1.11. which Herodotus calls Putamos.
Elim. Ex:15. 27. yᵉ 6. Mansion. W: of Tyre in his 11. book of yᵉ holy warr: c:29. found yᵉ
ruins of a Cit: there. wᶜʰ was ſtill caled Helis. & inhab: in his time in yᵉ y. 200. after Christ
Etham and Sur. one and the same. Etham. Nūb:33. 8. Sur. Ex:15.22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of yᵗ name neere yᵉ Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades. and Cadesbarne. diſtinct places. (Paran. Nūb:13.14.27
Sin. is betweene Elim & Sinai. Ex:16.1. Sin. strecheᵗʰ no far. Norᵗʰ thē. this for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyneᵗʰ to Arabia yᵉ Desert & Cadesbarne to Idumea. (is wᵗʰout til. Ex:17.1
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex:19.2. and it strec
heth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye Eaſt from the Dead Sea and ioyne uppon the
Desert Arabia. and those of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.

way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the Eaſt-ſide of the Land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes:* from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes* confidence in the All-powerfull God was ſuch, by whoſe Spirit, onely wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000. men, to caſt the ſucceſs upon his own underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, ſixteen miles diſtant; and ſate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoining to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the ſame which *Oroſius* calleth *Climax:* on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpeculæ, ſive cuſtodiæ; Lord of the watch-tower.* For the *Egyptians* believed, or at leaſt made their ſlaves believe, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arreſt them, and force them to return to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. Egyptii *diis fœcundi; The* Egyptians *were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith S. *Hierom.* But *Moſes*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower aſleep, or out of countenance.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Exod. 13. 17.

Now, theſe two paſſages, leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a ſtreight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but got ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and waſh of the Sea; in ſo much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh's* ſudden approach, began to deſpair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behooved them moſt to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *Which*, ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpair in God's former Promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their own ſtrength and multitudes. Chap. 17. 11.

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§. VIII.

Of their paſſage over the Red Sea; and of the Red Sea it ſelf.

But *Moſes*, who feared nothing but God himſelf, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſs, who hath never abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſted in him; uſing this comfortable and reſolved ſpeech: *Fear not*, &c. *for the* Egyptians *whom ye have ſeen this day, ye ſhall never ſee them again. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which, *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in theſe words; *Wherefore cryeſt thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Iſrael *that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of* Iſrael *go on dry ground through the midſt of the Sea.* *Moſes* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the ſands uncovered, paſt on towards the other ſide and coaſt of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſtern Wind, and by *Moſes* Rod, to prepare.

Exod. 14. 13.

Exod. 14. 16.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, ss it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Hoſt of* Iſrael, *removed, and went behind them; alſo the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behind them;* which is, that it pleaſed God therein, either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtry of his Angel, to interpoſe his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmfull ſpeed. But in the morning-watch, *Moſes* ſeized the other bank of *Arabia* ſide; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obſcure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, haſted himſelf towards his own Coaſt: *But Moſes ſtretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the Land with unreſiſtible fury and ſwiftneſs, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, ſo as not one eſcaped. For, it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*, that

Joſua 24. 7.

Exod. 14. 27.

that is, when the waters began to cover the ſands, the *Egyptians* being ſtrucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſt on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels ſtuck faſt in the mud and quick-ſands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming againſt them with ſupernatural violence.

Lyranus, upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*,conceived, that after *Moſes* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Iſrael* were fearfull to enter it, *Aminadab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of *Judah*, firſt made the adventure; and that therefore was that *Tribe*,ever after,honoured above the reſt, according to the Prophecie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49.8. *Thy fathers Sons ſhall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome*,upon *Hoſea* 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that *Judah* had the firſt place in all their miracles in the Deſart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet, that *Moſes* himſelf was the Conducter of *Iſrael* at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. *Pſalm*; *Thou didſt lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of* Moſes *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrews* have alſo another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts,and that every *Tribe* paſt over in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the 135. *Pſalm*, according to the vulgar: *Diviſit Mare Rubrum in diviſiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in diviſions.* Alſo that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Paſture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*,*Abulenſis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written, *Pſalm* 77. *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy ways:* and in the laſt Book of *Wiſdom*,verſ.7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now, this Sea, through which *Moſes* paſt, and in which *Pharaoh*,otherwiſe called *Chencres*, periſhed, in the 16. year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the ſame differ nothing at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philoſtratus* in his third Book noteth,and our ſelves know by experience, it is of a bluiſh colour,as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait, between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Abyſins:* the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Poſſodium*,to the other Land of *Æthiopia*,hath not above ſix leagues in breadth, and the ſame alſo filled every where with Iſlands,but afterwards it extendeth it ſelf 58. leagues from coaſt to coaſt,and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa* on one ſide, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as farr as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea; where the *Turk* now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The *Coſmographers* commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*; but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſt, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*, ſometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was known,ſaith he,before it was called *Hero*,many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*,and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*; King *Juba*,*Læniticum*;others more properly,*Elaniticum*,of the Port and City *Elana*, which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*; *Ptolemy*,*Elana*; *Pliny*,*Læna*; *Joſephus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Aila:* there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salmanaſſer* carried the *Iſraelites* captive, 2 *King*.8.11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*.the *Septuagint* call *Elæa*; and in the firſt of *Chro*.5. *Ala*. But, as for the *Red Sea*, on the parts thereof,thus diverſly named, the *Moors*,and *Arabians*(Vaſſals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation,than the *Gulf* of *Meca*,after the name of *Mahomet*'s Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus:* and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greek* ſignifieth Red; hence it is, that,being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the Son of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, it took the name of the *Red Sea*, as *Q. Curtius* conjectureth;which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it ſeems to me, by the view of a Diſcovery of that Sea,in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the *Eaſt-India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of a redneſs, both from the banks, cliffs, and ſands of many Iſlands,and part of the Continent bordering it. For,I find by the report of *Caſtro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which Diſcourſe I gave Mr.*Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an Iſland called *Dalaqua*, ſometime *Leques*,containing in length,25.leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, ſands, and cliffs, of which Iſland, being of a rediſh colour, ſerve for a foil to the waters about it; to make it ſeem altogether of the ſame colour.Secondly,the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth,that from 24.degrees of *Septentrional* latitude,to 27. (which make in length of Coaſt 180. miles,lying,as it doth, Northerly & Southerly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sunbeams, give a kind of rediſh luſtre to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and

we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones,on which the greateſt ſtore of Corral grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Iſlands of this Sea,many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe, growing under water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſs by the ſhadow of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and cliffs, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took the name of the *Red Sea*, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch; which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*,eighth Book, and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea, from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the antient *Coſmographers*, *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together,along Northward toward *Sues*, ſome 3. leagues, or 9. *Engliſh* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which, the firſt 26. have 9. miles breadth, as aforeſaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea, and ſtrengthen it ſo faſt, as for 6. miles together, it is not above 3.miles over; from thence,upward the Land on *Egypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay*, or *Cove*, for ſome 10. miles together, after which, the Land grows upon the Sea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over,though others would have it to be over againſt *Elana*,or *Toro*,but without judgment; for from *Rameſes* to *Pihacheroth*, and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at moſt,which *Moſes* paſt over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, oppoſite to *Elana*,or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80. miles. For *Rameſes*, to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave,ſtandeth in30.degrees 5. minutes of *Septentrional* latitude;and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty *Enliſh* miles, the way lying,in effect, North and South.

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§. IX.

That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*,and other *Heathen* Writers,who, in hatred of the *Hebrews*,have objected that *Moſes* paſt over the *Red Sea* at a low ebb,upon a great Spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than diſcretion,purſued him ſo farr, as before he could recover the coaſt of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the floud,and therein periſhed;did not well conſider the nature of this place,with other circumſtances.For,not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain,that the Waters were divided,and that God wrought this miracle by an Eaſterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perſwadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame natural reaſon unto which they faſtened themſelves, it is made manifeſt, that had there bin no other working power from above, or aſſiſtance given from God himſelf to *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael*, than ordinary ,and caſual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land,and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, *Moſes* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) muſt have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Sues*, on his left hand,dry and uncovered.For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water 10. or 12. miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moſes* paſt, who entred the ſame ſo far below it,and towards the body of the ſame Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleev,or Strait,had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide diſcovered, when *Pharaoh* found the floud increaſing, he needed not to have returned by the ſame way toward *Egypt* ſide,but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and ſo taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Sues* it ſelf, or elſewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witneſs the contrary,that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moſes* paſt on between two Seas,and that the waters were divided. Otherwiſe,*Pharaoh*,by any return of waters, could not have periſhed, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies deſtruction, prove the cauſe to have bin a power above nature,and the miraculous work of God himſelf. Again, thoſe words of the Scriptures,that *God cauſed the Sea to return back by a ſtrong Eaſt-wind*, do rather prove the miracle,than that thereby by was cauſed an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not lie Eaſt and Weſt, but, in effect, North and South. And it muſt have been a Weſt and North weſt wind, that muſt have driven thoſe waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-eaſt into the Sea. But the Eaſt-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it aſunder: ſo as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which uſed in times before to ebb away, the floud preſt him, and over-whelm'd him. Thirdly, ſeeing *Joſephus* avoweth, that *Moſes* was not onely of excellent judgment, generally, but alſo, ſo great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities, ſeeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this groſsneſs, and diſtraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardneſs of a Mountainous paſſage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have truſted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafety; and when *Moſes* prayed unto God for help, he was anſwered by God; *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Iſrael, *that they go forward, and lift thou up thy Rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all, but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong Eaſt-wind, whereby the ſands diſcovered themſelves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right Cap. 14. v. 21. hand, *ſo that the Waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the Waters ſo defended them on both ſides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the ſame path, not that the Waters ſtood upright as walls do, as ſome of the Schole-men have fancied. For, had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any ſuch buildings in the Sea, they would ſoon have quitted the chaſe and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſervations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Countrey, on his own coaſt, and in his own moſt traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had ſo many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by God's powerfull hand only; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when, looking through no other ſpectacle but their own proſperity, they leaſt diſcern it coming, and leaſt fear it. Laſtly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been over-taken by the ordinary return of the floud, before they could recover their own coaſt; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud, which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been caſt a-ſhore on the coaſt of *Arabia*, where *Moſes* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide; where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them; Which floud doth not any where croſs the Channel, and run athwart it, as it muſt have done from *Egypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to have caſt the bodies there; but it keeps the natural courſe towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carkaſſes ſhould have been carried, if the work had not been ſupernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Egyptians* which ſtayed in the country, did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did ever after honor thoſe beaſts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be given elſe-where. *Oroſius*, in his firſt Book and tenth Chapter againſt the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived ſome 400. years after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot wheels were to be ſeen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* ſands; and though they were ſometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ſoon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites *from the* Red Sea, *to the place where the Law was given them; with a diſcourſe of Laws.*

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§. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story, untill the Amalekites *met with the* Iſraelites.

BUt to go on with the Story of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. *Moſes* was born in the year of the World, 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Crioſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theſſaly*. He fled Act. 7. Joſua 14. into *Midian*, when he had lived fourty years, 2474. in the year of the World, 2474. and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year, 2514. the laſt 2514. Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the firſt *Hebrew* Moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-ſetting, in the year of the World, 2514. was Pag. 254. the celebration of the *Paſſover*; & in the dead of the night of the ſame day, were all the firſt born ſlain through *Egypt*, or in all thoſe parts Exod. 12. where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. Numb. 33. day of the firſt Month of the *Hebrews*, called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World, 2514. *Moſes*, with the children of *Iſrael* removed from the general Aſſembly at *Rameſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Exod. 13. And departing thence, they made their third ſtation at *Etham*; and journeying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the ſame night, after Numb. 33. Exod. 14. midnight, they paſt the *Red Sea*; *Pharaoh* Numb. 33. and his Army periſhing in their return, about Exod. 14. the firſt dawn of the day. *Moſes* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Iſrael*; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that paſſage, he encamped at Exod. 15. *Marah*, in the Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is called *Sur*, 25. miles from Numb. 33. the Sea; where the children of *Iſrael*, preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt, at *Pharaohs* approach at *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the Tree of the Croſs, changed the bitterneſs of everlaſting death, into the ſweetneſs of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers theſe bitter Fountains in his ſixth Book, 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly, *Ptolemy* the ſecond, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and ſmall Shipping to Trade and Navigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight Exod. 15. miles: where finding twelve Fountains of ſweet water, and threeſcore and ten Palm- Numb. 33. trees, he reſted divers days.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moſes* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the ſcarcity of waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, in his Hiſtory William of the *Holy Warr*, found at *Helim*, the ruines Tyre, l. 11. cap. 16. of a great and antient City. And at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into *Egypt*. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) Helim *Civitatem antiquiſſimam, populo* Iſraelitico *aliquando familiarem; ad quem cum perveniſſet, loci illius incolæ, Regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes, in Mare vicinum ſe contulerunt*; *Entring* Helim, *a very antient City, well known ſometime to the people of* Iſrael; *whither, when he came, the Inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boat, and ſhifted themſelves into the Sea lying near them.* From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and ſat down by the banks of the *Red Sea*; the ſeventh Manſion. For it ſeemeth, that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to reſiſt his paſſage through part of *Arabia*. And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms; nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountring with the leaſt miſery, were more apt to return to their quiet ſlavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every way accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to undertake or ſuſtain ſo dangerous an enemy: he therefore made ſtay at this Manſion, untill the fifteenth of this ſecond Moneth, called *Zim*, or *Jiar*; and made Exod.16. the eighth Manſion in the Deſart of *Zin*; where the children of *Iſrael* mutinied againſt *Moſes* the third time, having want of food. In the 16. Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moſes* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every ſeveral encamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is ſet down.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of Quails, as the Countrey about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following, it alſo rained Manna, being the 16. of their Moneth, which ſerved them in ſtead of bread. For now was the ſtore conſumed which the people carried with Exod.16. them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it ſeemeth, that they durſt not feed themſelves with many of thoſe; but reſerved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withall, and for Breed to ſtore themſelves when they came to the Land promiſed.

From hence towards *Raphidim*, they made two removes of 20. miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſix miles. Here, being again preſt with want of Water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſual, and ſometime neceſſary want, and to undergo the hazzards and travels which every manly mind ſeeks after, for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moſes*, with the ſame Rod which he divided the Sea withall, Exod.17. in the ſight of the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, brought waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatisfied.

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§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occaſion of the battel with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro'*s coming; who, being a* Kenite, *was Prieſt of* Madian.

AND while *Moſes* encamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledg of his approach, and gheſſed that he meant to lead the children of *Iſrael* through their Countrey (which being barren of it ſelf, would be utterly waſted by ſo great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it moſt for their advantage to ſet upon them at *Raphidim*, where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, enfeebled them. On the other ſide, *Moſes* perceiving their reſolutions, gave charge to *Joſua*, to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Exod.17. Between whom and *Iſrael* the victory remained doubtfull, for the moſt part of the day; the *Hebrews* and the *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulſes for many hours. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes* Prayers to God been of farr greater force, and more prevalent than all reſiſtance & attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterpriſe. For thoſe bodies which are unacquainted with ſcarcity of food, and thoſe minds whom a ſervile education hath dulled, being beaten, and deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazzard themſelves.

After this Victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better aſſured himſelf of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod*.18. 1. *When* Jethro, *the Prieſt of Madian*, Moſes *Father-in-law, heard all that God had done for* Moſes, *&c.* of which, the laſt deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law, *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where, among other things, he adviſed *Moſes* to appoint *Judges*, and other *Officers* over *Iſrael*, being himſelf unable to give order in all cauſes and controverſies, among ſo many thouſands of people, full of diſcontentment and private controverſie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongſt the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, Verſ. 11, 17. it is manifeſt: where it is written, *Now* Heber *the* Kenite, *which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the Son of* Jethro, *the Father-in-law of* Moſes, *was departed from the* Kenites, *and* Chap.15. v.18. *pitched his Tents untill the Plain of* Zaanaim, *which is by* Kedeſh. Likewiſe, in the firſt of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, leſt he ſhould deſtroy them with the *Amalekites*. Numb.24. 18. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of 1 Sam. cap.15. *Sin Kadeſh*; and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the ſaying of *Balaam*, ſpeaking of the *Kenites*: *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou haſt put thy neſt in the rock.* And that *Saul* ſpared this Nation, he giveth for cauſe, that they ſhewed mercy to all the children of *Iſrael*, when they came up Gen.15. from *Egypt*. For theſe *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the iſſues of *Madian*, one of the ſix Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might alſo take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they deſcended by the mother, who (as it ſeemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moſes*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s Daughter the mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongſt thoſe Nations, which God promiſed, that the ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by theſe, who are deſcended from *Abraham* himſelf: but by ſome other Nation, bearing the ſame name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For, in the fifteenth of *Geneſis*, *verſ.* 19. theſe *Kenites*, or *Chuſites*, are liſted with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, Gen.15. *Canaanites*, *Gergeſites*, and *Jebuſites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But theſe *Kenites* deſcended from *Abraham*, had ſeparated themſelves from among the reſt, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, Jud.4. which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*; that is to ſay, from thoſe *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedeſh*, or *Cadeſh*. Again, *Moſes* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other Sons were born; which he did (referring my ſelf to better judgment) rather, becauſe they were more antient, than by anticipation.

15. 4. And as of the *Kenites*, ſo we may conſider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moſes* into five Tribes. For ſome of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as thoſe of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards deſtroyed by *Moſes*. But the *Madianites*, neer the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moſes* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, ſeem likewiſe not to have been corrupted. For theſe *Madianites*, with the *Kenites*, aſſiſted *Iſrael*, and guided them in the Deſarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Iſrael* rooted out, when thoſe adjoyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether thoſe of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Prieſt, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the ſame, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moſes* would not have ſent 12000. *Iſraelites*, as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have deſtroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives kinred inhabited; ſeeing himſelf coming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech* in that paſſage. Neither could *Moſes* forget the length of the way through thoſe diſcomfortable Deſarts, wherein himſelf and *Iſrael* had wandered fourty years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Raguel*, or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one perſon, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar*, and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *Engliſh*, *Revel*, *Exod.* 2.18. cals him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3.1. and 4.18. & 18.1. & 6.9, 10, 12. & in *Numb.* 10.29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the ſame, but not *Raguel*.

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§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THE reſt of the Moneths of this year 2515. were ſpent in the Deſart of *Sinai*, neer the mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, the twelfth Manſion. *Euſebius* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were diſtinct Mountains: *Hierom*, to be but one, of a double name. And ſo it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exodus* 24. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Pſalm*, *verſ.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exodus* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And ſo it is called, *Galatians* 4. *verſ.* 24. And again, *Deut.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And ſo it is in the firſt of *Kings* 8. 6. and the ſecond of *Chronicles* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Eccleſiaſticus*, 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardeſt* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in* Sinai, *and in* Horeb *the judgment of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are diſ-joined at the top, by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who, in the year 1588. paſt out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monſieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farr the higer hill. From the ſide of *Horeb* (ſaith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two *Monaſteries* of *Chriſtian Maronites*, containing ſome hundred Religious perſons of divers Nations, who had pleaſant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. Theſe (ſaith the ſame Authour) give Pet Bel l.2. cap.62. entertainment to all ſtrangers, which paſs that way.

Now, that there was ſome ſuch Torrent of water neer *Sinai*, in *Moſes* time, it is very probable: Firſt, becauſe he encamped thereabout almoſt a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, becauſe it is written, *Exod.* 32.20. that when *Moſes* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* ſet up in his abſence, he caſt the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Iſrael* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moſes*, where he ſtayed a whole year, wanting ſome ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the twentieth day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year; and he arrived about the five and fourtieth day after the egreſſion; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no Story nor other Paſſage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof ſpeak ſomewhat of the Law, and the kinds and uſe thereof: wherby, if the Reader find the Story any way diſ-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and ſquare of Laws: ſo it pleaſed God to give thereby unto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their conqueſt. For, as the North Starr is the moſt fixed Director of the Sea-man to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life: the Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the Law humane, depending on both theſe, the guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very ſpirit, and the very ſinews of every Eſtate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a juſt Law, being reſembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without luſt, and to a Mind without paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and diſtributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Antient*, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe which were taken for the firſt makers of Laws were honoured as gods, or, as the Sons of gods: and the reſt, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Poſterity for men of no leſs vertue, and no leſs liberally beneficial to their Countreys, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Iſraelites*, from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, ſometime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themſelves: other from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Chriſtian Monarchies* and *Eſtates*.

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§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law *and* Right.

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diverſly, and in an indifferent ſence uſed. For, if we conſider it at large, it may be underſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerved by force, for their Decrees do alſo uſurp that Title, according to the general acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Eſay*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewiſe, the word is uſed for the tumultuary reſolutions of the People. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Laws, though evil and inſufficient: *Mala lex eſt, quæ tumultariè poſita eſt; It is an evil Law that is made tumultuouſly.* So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws.

Eſay 10.

Ethic. l.
cap. 1.

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelf, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the fleſh, which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which ſence, as elſewhere, this moral habit or diſpoſition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in S. *Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*; *But I ſee another law in my members, rebelling againſt the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of ſin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are ſometime called (*a*) *laws*, ſo farr as they agree with the reaſon of the Law eternal; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

(a) So Virgil, Contiguæ his leges æternaque fœdera certis impoſuit natura locis; where alſo it is to be noted, that he joyns Leges and Fœdera together, as in the Scripture the Law is oftentimes called the covenant.

Alſo private contracts among Merchants, and other Tradeſ-men, do often put on the name of laws. But law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſary mean, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civil Community. The reſt, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges; rather compulſions than laws:* And whatſoever is not juſt, S. *Auguſtine* doth not allow for laws, howſoever eſtabliſhed: for he calls them *iniqua hominum conſtituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda ſunt; The unjuſt conſtitutions of men, which are neither to be tearmed nor thought laws.* For, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, *Legalia juſta ſunt factiva, & conſervativa fœlicitatis; Juſt laws are the workers and preſervers of happineſs:* becauſe by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero*: Yea, *to life everlaſting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, ſaith *Plato*, is God, and his worſhip: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus.* *Lex*, or the Law, is ſo called by the *Latines*, *à legendo*, or, *à ligando*, *of reading*, or *binding*: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, ſaith *Varro*; For, after Laws were written and publiſhed, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, *à ligando*, is no leſs agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called alſo a yoak, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula; they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands.* And in the ſecond *Pſalm*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipſorum; Let us break their bands aſunder, and let us caſt away their cords from us.*

Ariſt. Ethic. 5. c. 5.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hier. 5. 5.

Pſal. 2.

The *Covenant* it is called, becauſe of the conditional promiſes of God; and becauſe of God's people's voluntary ſubmiſſion of themſelves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, uſe the word διαθήκη, a *Teſtament*, or *laſt Will*: which name it hath, becauſe it is not otherwiſe effectual for our ſalvation, but in reſpect of the death of the Teſtator; for without the death of the Teſtator, the Teſtament is of no force, as *Heb.* 9. 17. it is ſaid, *Teſtamentum in mortuis ratum eſt.*

The *Hebrews* call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, becauſe every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos*, of diſtributing, becauſe it diſtributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Juſtice being an attribute proper unto God himſelf. *Imperium legis, imperium Dei eſt; The reign of the Law, is the reign of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philoſophers*; *Lex eſt vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ ſunt ſequenda, & quæ fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhun:* or, *Lex eſt omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina; Law is the Queen, or Princeſs of things both humane and divine.* But this deſcription is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wiſdom of Nature: the reaſon and underſtanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, *Index ſui, & curvi*, the demonſtrance of it ſelf, and of the crooked; ſo is the Law, the judge and meaſure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the *Law* a directive rule to goodneſs of operation; and though Law, as touching the ſubſtance & eſſence, conſiſts in underſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is alſo diverſly taken, as ſometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: ſometime for the Law it ſelf; as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. *Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two general words, *Jus* and *Fas*; whereof *Jus*, ſaith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* To go over another man's field, is permitted by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore in a thing out of controverſie, *Virgil* uſed both theſe words: as *Fas & jura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

Iſid. Etym.

The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Suſtantive Noun *juſſus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the *Greek* Ζεύς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* Genitive caſe *Jovis*; becauſe, as the Scripture ſpeaks, the *judgment is God's.* For, as it is certain that *jusjurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum* (for ſo we find it written in *Nonius* out of the antient, in which ſence the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) ſo alſo we may ſay, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis eſt*; becauſe as God is the Authour, and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, ſo alſo in his *Vicegerents*, the *Magiſtrates*, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of right. Of this *Jus*, the juſt are denominated, *Juſtus à jure*, and *Juſtitia à juſto*; *The Right gives name to the Righteous*; and *Juſtice takes her name from the Juſt.*

Deut. 1. 17
2 Chron. 19. 6.

Exod. 28. 11.
1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternal.

BUt, becauſe Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to divide and diſtinguiſh them. I mean, thoſe ſorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane laws to their infinite and horrible confuſion.

Laws are of 3. kinds:
- *Eternal, or uncreated.*
- *Natural, National, or Internal.*
- *Laws impoſed or of addition, commonly called poſitive.*
  - *Laws poſitive, or impoſed, explicating, and perfecting the Law of Nature, are double:*
    - *1 Divine, which hath two parts.*
      - *Written.*
        - *The written is alſo double.*
          - *The Law of Moſes.*
          - *The Goſpel.*
      - *Unwritten.*
        - *As the Doctrine and Religion of the Patriarchs before the written Law of Moſes, which ſome call Cabala.*
    - *2 Humane, which is alſo twofold.*
      - *Written*
        - *Which Cicero in his ſecond Book of Invention calleth* Jus Legitimum, *divided into the*
          - *Eccleſiaſtical, and*
          - *Secular,*
      - *Unwritten*
        - *As the Laws of Cuſtom and Uſe.*

The Law Eternal is thus defined by *Thomas.* P. 1. q. 2. art. 1. *Lex æterna eſt æternus divinæ ſapientiæ conceptus, ſecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipſo præcognitarum; The eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's Wiſdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himſelf.* Th. q. 36. art. 1. Or, *Lex æterna eſt ſumma atque æterna ratio divinæ ſapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad deſtinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipſarum modum aliquem neceſſitatis adferat; It is high and eternal reaſon of divine ſapience: as it directeth all things in ſuch ſort to their proper ends, impoſing a kind of neceſſity, according to their ſeveral natures, or conditions.* Now, the difference lies in this: That as the ſame divine underſtanding directs all theſe to their proper ends; ſo it is called Providence: but, as it impoſeth a neceſſity, according to the nature of all things which it directs, ſo it is called a Law.

Of this eternal Law, *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad rectè faciendum impellens & à delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex eſſe cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum orta eſt. Orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis; That perfect reaſon and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us back from evil, did not* (ſaith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine underſtanding, and therefore a true Law, and a fit Princeſs to command and forbid, is the right reaſon of the moſt high God.* This eternal Law (if we conſider it in God, or as God) is always one and the ſame; the nature of God being moſt ſimple: but as it is referred to divers objects, ſo the reaſon of man finds it divers and manifold. It alſo ſeemeth one law in reſpect of things neceſſary, as the motions of the heavens, ſtability of the earth, *&c.* but it appeareth otherwiſe to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all thoſe that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law, all things are directed, as by the counſel and providence of God: from this Law, all laws are derived, as from the rule univerſal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the ſecond to the firſt.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in conſideration; the eternal directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his ſupernatural: but the divine Law to a ſupernatural end onely: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal: as it were a ſtream from the fountain. Tho & Aug.

The Law humane or temporal is alſo thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reaſon; from which if it differ, it is then *impoſitio iniqua, a wicked impoſition*; and onely borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal Law all things are ſubjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures, or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, natural or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the univerſal, and therefore it is the Law alſo of things which are ſimple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creator and Director: as Pſal. 148. *Praiſe him all ye his Angels: praiſe him Sun and Moon, all bright Starrs: Heavens of heavens, for he hath eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſs: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps; fire and hail, ſnow and vapours, ſtormy winds which execute his word: mountains and hills, fruitfull trees, and all Cedars; Beaſts and all Cattel,* &c. Now, as the reaſonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propoſed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) ſo all other natural things and creatures have in themſelves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cauſe, or end propoſed. For Beaſts are led by ſenſe, and natural inſtinct: thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward; things light to mount upward, *&c.* and fire to heat whatſoever is appoſed. This kind of working, the *Ariſtotelians* aſcribe to common nature; others to fate; a difference uſed in tearms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia:* ſo are all things which appear in themſelves thence derived, there-under ſubjected, thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe laws: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: ſo is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. *Auguſtine, Lex æterna eſt, qua juſtum eſt, ut omnia ſint ordinatiſſima; The Law eternal is that, whereby it is juſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

de ib. 6. Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* uſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Book of *Free-will*, the ſixth Chapter. For the law of *Moſes*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt untill the time of the Pædagogie of God's people, or Introduction to Chriſt, ſhould be expired; which time of expiration, ſome think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Croſs he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather think John 18. 30 theſe words of our Saviour to have no other Pſal. 69. 22. ſignification, than that now the Prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo S. *John* expounds it, when he ſaith, *v.* 28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled,* ſaid, *I thirſt:* though I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of ſo much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews,* and agreeth not with the Law of the New *Teſtament* and Goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable Law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in it ſelf; but the things preſcribed change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon, and being one, ſhe can do all things, and remaining in her ſelf, reneweth all.*

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§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the Aug in Ep ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49. School-men; only as it is conſidered in Man, it is called *The impreſſion of divine Light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reaſonable creature. Lex Naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Ulpian* defines Ulp. de juſtitia & jure l. 1. tit. 1. *the natural Law to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterward addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt; The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to thoſe the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formal reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them, at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: ſeeing that Bulls and Horſes appear unto the ſenſe more fearfull and terrible, than the leaſt kind of Doggs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other; yea, though by them never ſeen before, and that as ſoon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it ſenſe, which hath taught other Beaſts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Neſts high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India*, to make their Neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elſewhere, to ſave their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The inſtances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that ſome Trees, as the female of *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in ſight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unſearchable Wiſdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reaſon of Man hath made its ſelf ſubject, and a Vaſſal to Paſſions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtom hath bred in Men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which S. *Auguſtine* calleth the Law of Reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did antiently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law conſtrain'd to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to uſe one another's Wife, and to the women, to chooſe them others beſides their Huſband, to beget them with child: which Law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra ſect. 4. cap. 1. loco. ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Græcorum.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the beſt beloved Wives: as alſo they have many other cuſtoms remembred by *G. Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon.

Acoſta.

And I know not from what authority it is, that theſe Laws ſome men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſs among the faithleſs: to provide for our ſelves by another man's deſtruction: that Injury is not done to him that is willing; to deſtroy thoſe whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of S. *Auguſtine*, or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *The impreſſion of divine light*; the other, *the dictate*, or ſentence *of practique reaſon*) the ſame can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exerciſe of Juſtice and uprightneſs: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, ſave that which we would be content ſhould be offered or performed toward our ſelves. For, ſuch is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, ſheweth us good, that is, the obſervation of thoſe things which lead us thereby to our laſt end; which is eternal life; though of themſelves not ſufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo ex naturæ alieno trimen locup fieri

Pſal. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reaſon and underſtanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our ſelves, ſufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelves. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature thoſe things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themſelves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the ſame right unto all men, which we deſire ſhould be done unto us, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon; in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of Conſcience hath made her reſting place and habitation; *In arce altiſſima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which ſhew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their conſciences for a witneſs of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

Rom. 1. 11.

Rom. 1. 1

And it is moſt true, that whoſoever is not a law unto himſelf (while he hopeth to abuſe the World by the advantage of hypocriſie) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteouſneſs, purchaſing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, ſeeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: ſome Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, areſcit; Thoſe flowers wither, while we diſcourſe of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we ſhould therefore inhabit and dwell within our ſelves, and become fearfull Witneſſes of our ſecret evils, did that reverend Philoſopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum; maximè omnium verere teipſum; Commit nothing foul or diſhoneſt,* ſaith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men, reverence thine own Conſcience.* And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reaſon; by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reaſonable mind is the form of Man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper form preſenteth unto him; to wit, that which right Reaſon offereth; and the Acts of right Reaſon, are the acts of Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this Reaſon, is a man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, &c. and the Beaſt, which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunders. He cauſed the Sun to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for ſigns, and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as Man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms; the whole World would then periſh, and all return to their firſt *Chaos*, darkneſs, and confuſion.

Gen. 1.

Job c. 28.

By this natural Law, or law of humane Reaſon, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedneſs and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law written, *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen.* 4. *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, ſin lieth at thy door.*

The *School-men* are large alſo in this Queſtion of the natural Law; the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpoſe to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reaſon taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reaſon; they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eſchewed) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more univerſal propoſitions. Again, as it anſwereth the natural appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the firſt, to deſire to live, and to ſatiſfie hunger, &c. and of the ſecond, to eſchew pains, ſorrow, and death) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of natural Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, as alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable laws of Nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Res*; ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun evil. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to deſire their own good. And ſo is good defined by *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* upon the 44. *Pſalm* approveth: *Rectè quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have ſome men defined good, or goodneſs, to be that which all things deſire.*

Tho. q. 94. art. 2.

Ethic. l. 1. cap. 1.

The ſecond kind of appetite, is of thoſe things which appertain unto us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſs. For, as Senſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being; ſo is it meet, even by the law of Nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in Beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* define *natural Right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the inſtincts of Beaſts can properly be called a law, but onely a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Vlpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus Naturæ*, the other *Jus Gentium:* the Divines underſtand the law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reaſon, both in Beaſts and Men; and reſtrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our ſelves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and diviſions of this law of Nature anſwering the diviſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas:* firſt, becauſe it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, ſtirring up to good, and declining the contrary: ſecondly, becauſe all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt end.

That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifeſt; and chiefly Man; becauſe he is endued with reaſon: in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſerv-
Baſil. ing the law of Nature increaſeth; *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſs, which was written by* S. Paul,
Rom 1.18. *When the commandment came, ſin revived.* Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of Nature, when thoſe that break the ſame, are ſaid by S. *Paul, To be delivered over into a reprobate ſenſe* (or mind) *to do thoſe things which*
Rom 2.15. *are not convenient:* And again, *that their conſciences bear witneſs, and their thoughts accuſe them.* For, though this law of Nature ſtretch not to every particular; as to command faſting, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatſoever is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore ſaid *Damaſcene; Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando*
L. 2. Fid. ortho. c.30. *in id quod contra naturam eſt; Men* (ſaith he) *are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature:* And S. *Auguſtine, Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of Nature ſo ſtreight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For, whereas by this law, all men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themſelves: according to the rules of Juſtice and Equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome caſes, this her law ſhe ſuffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the Univerſal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who, according to S. *Paul, abideth faithfull, and* 2 Tim 2. *cannot deny himſelf.*

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFter the Eternal, and Natural, the law *Poſitive* or impoſed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine poſitive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at ſuch time as the World had ſtood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year, when as *Aſcatades*, Aug. de ci- vit. Dei, l. or *Aſcades* governed the *Aſſyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt:* to wit, after the promiſe to *Abraham*, 430. years. And this, it ſeemes, was the firſt written law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, ſignifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Græcians*; no, not in *Homer's* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at leaſt; and *Troy* it ſelf was caſt down 335. years, after *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt.* This law, it pleaſed God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a laſting Book of his expreſſed Will in the Church: and that the Prieſts and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Chriſt: and that ſo theſe Children of *Iſrael*, though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt*, might be without excuſe, the ſlight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reaſon known to us, why this law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might eaſily, without any written law, inſtruct their own Children; and yet, as they increaſed, ſo doubtleſs they had, beſides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before

before the law written. But now at length, for as much as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every ſin in particular: nor ſufficiently terrifie the conſciences of offenders; nor ſo expound divine Worſhip, as for thoſe after-ages was required, who gave every day leſs authority than other to the natural law; In theſe reſpects it was neceſſary, that the law ſhould be written, and ſet before the eyes of all men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own conſciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the cauſes and neceſſity, why the law was written; whereof theſe are the chiefeſt.

The firſt, for reſtraining of ſin, directly grounded upon this place of *David, The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The teſtimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wiſdom to children.* For the humane law, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or puniſhment; ſeeing thereby it might take away ſomthing ſeeming neceſſary, and hinder common profit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it ſerveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can onely take knowledg of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our diſpoſition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no leſs clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our Souls*, added by *David:* wherein are all our outward acts firſt generated, according to the *Cabaliſts. Actiones hominum nullæ eſſent, niſi prius in mente dicerentur; The actions of men* (ſay they) *would be none at all, were they not firſt conceived in the mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of truth, which by reaſon of diverſity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among ſundry Nations, we cannot be aſſured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore alſo ſaid *David, That the teſtimony of the Law of God is faithful; giving wiſdom to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of Time, betweeen the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the law of Reaſon and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the firſt Age received many *Precepts* from God himſelf, and whatſoever was firſt impoſed by *Adam*, the ſame was obſerved by *Seth*, who inſtructed *Enos*; from whom it deſcended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, and *Moſes*. Yea, many particular commandments afterward written, were formerly impoſed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the mouth of their *Prieſts* and *Elders*; to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of ſecret Myſteries, reſerved in the boſoms of their *Prieſts*, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to the Poſterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he ſhould impoſe names to all Beaſts, according to their natures; to whoſe perfection of underſtanding, they were ſufficiently known. For, finding the reaſon of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names ſignificant, not only to Beaſts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his iſſues imitated; as the name of *Seth* ſignifieth, as ſome take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather one given in recompence for *Abel* that was ſlain; and *Enoſh* ſignifieth Man, or miſerable, *&c.* Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God alſo gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* alſo was Marriage firſt inſtituted, all men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was alſo forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it ſelf, it is manifeſt. God himſelf making it appear, that it was one of the greateſt cauſes of the deſtruction of Mankind by the general Flood. Gen. 4 1. Item 44.4. & Deut. 34. 1. For God ſaid unto *Noah*, *An end of all Fleſh is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will deſtroy them* * *from the Earth.* That offence therefore, for which all periſhed, could not be unknown to all that periſhed: God's Mercy and Juſtice interpoſing between the untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth: *Whoſo ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed; for in the Image of God hath He made Man.* Gen 9. 6.

Gen. 9. 25. Gen 34 25 Gen. 38. 24 Alſo the law of honouring and reverence-

* The common reading is *cum terra:* but God did not deſtroy the earth: and why may not this Prepoſition in this place have the ſame force, which it hath, according to *Junius*? eſpecially, ſeeing theſe words are but a repetition of that which is ſaid, *ver.* 7. *Delebo hominem de ſuperficie terræ.*

ing our Parents, was obſerved among the faithful, and the contrary puniſhed by the Father's curſe: as, *Curſed be Canaan, a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural ſin of the *Sodomite* was puniſhed in the higheſt degree, as with fire from Heaven. The ſin of Adultery and Raviſhment, was before the Law no leſs deteſted than the reſt, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave againſt *Tamar*, That ſhe ſhould be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, againſt whom this ſentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, becauſe of the woman which thou haſt taken; for ſhe is a man's Wife.* To theſe we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of diſtinction of clean and unclean Beaſts, of Circumciſion, of the brother to raiſe up ſeed to his brother that left a Widow childleſs, and divers other conſtitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law impoſed*, of which the Law of *Moſes* containeth that which is called, *The Old Teſtament*, may be ſaid, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in ſtone, but alſo in ſubſtance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For, as S. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelf, *I knew not ſin, but by the Law*; ſo ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by ſome kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men, by reaſon; Beaſts by ſenſe and inſtinct, without diſcourſe; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things Inanimate, by their neceſſary motions, without ſenſe or perception.

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§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture ſpeaketh not alway in one ſence, when it nameth the Law of Moſes.

NOw, as the word (*Law*) in general, as is aforeſaid, hath divers ſignifications, and is taken for all doctrin which doth preſcribe and reſtrain; ſo the Law, called *the Law of Moſes* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diverſly: as ſometime for the *Old Teſtament*; as, *Now we know, that whatſoever the Law ſaith, it ſaith to them which are under the Law.* Rom. 3. 19.

When it is oppoſed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Pſalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moſes*. For ſo S. *Luke* hath diſtinguiſhed them; as, *All muſt be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms.* Luke 24. 44.

When it is oppoſed to the *Goſpel*, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom 3. 28.

When it is oppoſed to *Grace*, it ſignifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and *Summum Jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* Rom. 6. 14. Gal. 3. 11.

When it is oppoſed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things ſignified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Chriſt*, and the like; then it ſignifieth but ſhadows and figures; as, *The law was given by* Moſes, *but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.* John 1. 17.

Laſtly, when it is oppoſed to the time of *Chriſt's* coming, it ſignifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the law*, &c. Gal 3. 23. Luc. 16. 16. Or the law of the Order and Inſtitution of the *Aaronical Prieſthood*; as, *All the Prophets & the law*, or the Prieſts, *propheſied unto John.* Heb. 7. 11. & 10. 1. And if the *Prieſthood* be changed, the Law alſo, to wit, of the *Prieſthood*, muſt needs be changed.

The word (*Law*) is ſometime alſo taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Intereſt, Authority, and Empire, or for conſtraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of ſin and death, the enforcements of concupiſcence*, &c. Rom. 8. 2. Rom. 7. 23.

But the *Written Law of Moſes*, or the law of the *Old Teſtament*, of which we now ſpeak, is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding Holineſs and Juſtice, promiſing eternal life conditionally, that is, to the obſervers of the Law, and threatning Death to thoſe which break the Law in the leaſt. For, according to S. *James*, *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole, and fail in one point, is guilty of all.* James 2. 10. The definition uſed by the *Schole-men*, in which, both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina eſt divinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium, ut aptè pervenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; the divine Law (ſay they) *is the decree of God, preſcribing unto men a neceſſary mean, whereby they may aptly attain ſupernatural beatitude, which is the laſt end of man's life.*

The Law of *Moſes* hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral law entreateth of vertue and goodneſs; the Ceremonial of divine ſervice, and of holineſs; (for external worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and preſcribeth orders for juſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaid of S. *Paul*, *The Commandment is juſt, holy, and good:* Rom. 7. 12. juſt, or juſtice being referred to the Judicial: holy, or holineſs to the Ceremonial; good, or honeſt to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy things, Sacraments, and Obſervances. To Sacrifices belong Beaſts, and the Fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumciſion, the Paſſover, and ſuch like. For Obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of Beaſts; or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as alſo it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, *Thou ſhalt not yoak together in a Plough, an Ox and an Aſs*, or caſt mingled ſeed in one field. It alſo exhorteth to natural compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beaſts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome referr theſe Precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the Bird ſitting on her Neſt, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpect the ſame power which it had before the coming of *Chriſt*. For the Moral liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away; ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God: and to uſe charity one towards another; which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by ſpecial Rules and Precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial alſo lived in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; although in a farr fewer number than before *Chriſt*'s coming, and in a farr leſs degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, the Judicial liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the natural and univerſal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of juſtification, the Ceremonial as touching the uſe and external obſervation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelf is come, of whom the Ceremonies were ſigns and ſhadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weal and Policy.

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§. X.

A Propoſal of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in general conſideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſence and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, ſo he only gave the Law, who could onely give

the end and reward promiſed, to wit, the ſalvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the miniſtery of Angels, as it is ſaid: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* Gal. 3 19. And in the *Acts*, *He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.*

3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diſſevered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promiſe made to *Abraham.* Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledg of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſevered they were, becauſe of God's choice and election. Children of the Promiſe they were, for the Promiſe was made by God unto *Abraham* and his ſeed; not unto his ſeeds, as to *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but to his ſeed, as to *Jacob* or *Iſrael* ſingularly, of whom *Chriſt.* *Now, to* Abraham *and his ſeed was the Promiſe made;* Gal. 3 6. *he ſaith not, to the ſeeds, as ſpeaking of many; but, to thy ſeed, as of one, which is Chriſt.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Auguſtine*; that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moſes*: the Law written in the commandments received by *Moſes* in the Worlds year, 2514. continued to the Baptiſm of *John*; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth conſideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to, or ſign of, our Juſtification; but not by it ſelf ſufficient, but as a figure of *Chriſt* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteouſneſs in moral precepts. For through the Paſſion of *Chriſt* were ſins forgiven, who taketh away the ſins of the World: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly* Gal. 4. *and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace, weak, as not able to forgive and juſtifie. The Heb. 9 bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Aſhes of an Heifer could onely cleanſe the body; but they were figures of *Chriſt's* bloud, which doth cleanſe the inward Soul. Gal. 8. *For if the Law could juſtifie, then Chriſt died in vain.*

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§. XI.

Of the ſixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Teſtament.

THe old and new Teſtament differ in name, and in the mean and way propoſed for attaining to ſalvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it ſelf, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happineſs and ſalvation.

The old Teſtament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witneſs of Gods Will, was called the old, becauſe it preceded the new Teſtament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witneſs. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expreſs, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our redemption. It is alſo called the old, to ſhew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he ſaith, the New Teſtament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old Law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it conſtituted in a policy periſhable; but the new was given in a promiſe of an everlaſting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Teſtament and Goſpel for ever during.

The old Teſtament is called the Law, becauſe the firſt and chief part is of the Law of *Moſes*, of which the *Prophets* and *Pſalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Teſtament is called the Goſpel, becauſe the firſt and chief part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epiſtles, or Letters of the *Apoſtles*, and the *Acts* or Story of the *Apoſtles*, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, ſignifying a joyful, happy, and proſperous meſſage, or (as *Homer* uſed it) the reward given to the Meſſenger bringing joyful news. It is alſo ſometime taken for a ſacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleaſing ſucceſs, as by *Xenophon.* In the Scriptures it hath three ſignifications. Firſt, for glad tidings in general, as in *Eſay* 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is reſtrained, to ſignifie that moſt joyful meſſage of Salvation, as in *Luke* 2. 10. whence alſo by figure it is taken for the Hiſtory of *Chriſt*; and ſo we underſtand the four Goſpels.

Laſtly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, as 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. and 2 *Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Teſtaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danæus* compriſed in theſe four.

In their Author.
In the ſubſtance of the Covenant, or things promiſed.
In the foundation, to wit, *Chriſt.*
In the Effects, that is, in Righteouſneſs and Juſtification.

In the Author they agree, becauſe both are of God, and therefore both one Teſtament and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, ſo was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Chriſt*, ſo doth the new Law teach *Chriſt*; the old propoſing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both; both tending to one and the ſame end, even the ſalvation of our Souls; which, according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe by obſerving the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleſſings; yet all theſe were but figures to teach, and pledges to aſſure the Fathers of thoſe ſpiritual bleſſings by *Chriſt*; for by the earthly, he raiſed their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, notwithſtanding theſe worldly goods, did yet acknowledg themſelves ſtrangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hieruſalem*; according to this place of the *Hebrews*; *All theſe died in faith, and received not the pro-* Cap. 11. v. 13. *miſes, but ſaw them afar off, and believed them; confeſſing that they were ſtrangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpoſe alſo S. *Au-* Lib. de Civit. Dei, 18. c. 15. *guſtine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promiſſa terrena, æterna promitti*; *Few* (ſaith he) *do underſtand the old law; not attending that by things earth-* In Sophon. c. 3. v. 9. *ly, eternal are promiſed.* And S. *Hierom*; *Noluit Deus paſcere* Judæos *more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, ut* Judæi *ſomniant*; *God would not feed the* Jews *as beaſts with corporal gifts and riches, as themſelves dream.* And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus*; *& ero vobis in Deum*; *I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I wil be your God*, prove that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gave them this promiſe, but in reſpect of the future; to wit, the ſafety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, ſo hath he of his goodneſs, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the old and new Teſtament in ſubſtance, inferrs alſo the agreement in foundation. For *Chriſt* is called the foundation of the law laid by the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promiſes of God in the old and new, are aſſured: the Fathers having eaten the ſame ſpiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledg of our ſin and miſery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ſerveth in ſubordination to the Goſpel, the proper effects wereof are mercy and ſalvation; to which the law ſerving as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledg their ſin and miſery, God ſheweth his mercy and ſalvation) may be ſaid to agree with the Goſpel in the effect. For otherwiſe, if we ſever the law from ſubordination to the Goſpel, the effects are very different; the one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſs by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the Goſpel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Goſpel allureth; *Moſes* accuſeth, *Chriſt* defendeth; *Moſes* condemneth, *Chriſt* pardoneth. The old reſtrained the hand, the new, the mind. Homil ad Rem. *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrotantes probaret*; *The law was given, not to help, but to diſcover ſickneſs:* and S. *Chryſoſtom*; *Data eſt lex, ut ſe homo inveniret; non ut morbus ſanaretur, ſed ut medicus quæreretur*; *The law was given, that man might find and know his own imperfection; not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen, but that he might then ſeek out the Phyſician.* For Chriſt came to ſave the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moſes* was but a Servant, and *Chriſt* a Son; ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerved to be brought, as by the *worthieſt* perſon, ſaith Heb. 7. *Cyril*; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

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§. XII.

Of the reſt of the points propoſed.

THe ſeventh Conſideration is of the end, and uſe of the Law; which is, to bring us to *Chriſt*; for finding no righteouſneſs in our own works, we muſt ſeek it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and utmoſt end; the next and proper end of the Law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſs, and to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. *Curſed is he that continueth not in all the things of this Law.* Lev. 18. 5.

The ſecond end of the Law, is, to render us inexcuſable before God; who knowing ſo perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteouſneſs, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The the third and chief end of the law, is, as hath been ſaid, to ſend us to *Chriſt*, and his Grace, being in our ſelves condemned and loſt. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearfull tempeſt, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſign, and preſerve, the place of the Church and true People of God; and to hold men in one Diſcipline, and aw, till the coming of *Chriſt*;

Chriſt; after whom the Church was to be diſperſed over the whole World.

Theſe be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and uſe of the Ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The uſe of the Judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we muſt conform our ſelves.

The ſence and underſtanding of the law is double, literal, and ſpiritual; by the literal, we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God; by the ſpiritual, the figures and myſtical fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until *Shila* come.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the ſame had being until the Paſſion of *Chriſt*: before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, then the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and Figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the Body of thoſe ſhadows) ceaſed to bind the conſcience any longer; the myſterie of our Redemption being now by *Chriſt*, and in him, finiſhed. In token whereof the veil of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and ſhadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the Commandments was hereby aboliſhed, or weakned at all; otherwiſe than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſerving of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelf ſeverely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein *David* ſo much rejoiced, as he preferred the obſervation of the law before all that the World could yield. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches*: And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thouſands of gold and ſilver. This is the love of God* (ſaith S. *John*) *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelf in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth. *This Commandment* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farr off. It is not in heaven, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cauſe us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay Who ſhall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us?* &c. *but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I have ſet before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayſt live,* &c. Neither is it ſaid in vain in S. *Matthew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments*; and in S. *John*, *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna eſt; I know that his Commandment is life everlaſting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments; certainly, he is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to love God, and neglecteth to obſerve the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confeſs it not in mans ability, without the ſpecial grace of God, to fulfil the law (*Chriſt* only as man excepted) yet, if we rightly conſider the merciful care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandments, we ſhall find in our ſelves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chains of obedience, to which the Word of God, and Divine Reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) propoſeth to it ſelf. *For, this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous*, 1 Joh. 5. 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences; it is not hard for any man to judg, by what eaſie perſuaſions, we ſteal away from our own power, as unwilling to uſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

1 *John* 5.

Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13. & 14. *Rom.* 10. *v.* 6, 7, 8.

Ca. 9. Cap.

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§. XIII.

Of the ſeveral Commandments of the Decalogue; *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOr by the firſt, we are commanded to acknowledg, ſerve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this Precept? ſeeing every reaſonable man may conceive and know, that an Infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities; and that it is of neceſſity, that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been cauſed, and are continued. And if brute Beaſts had this knowledg of their Creator, and how in his Providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, *Which giveth to Beaſts their food*, &c. there is no doubt, but they would alſo ſerve and love him onely.

Pſal. 149.

The ſecond Precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this

is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue; until (ſaith *Lactantius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelf thereby. For what reaſonable man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blind, deaf, dumb, and dead ſtocks, more worthleſs than the moſt worthleſs of thoſe, that having life and reaſon, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baſer, than the baſeſt of Beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſtimation? For what do we thereby (ſaith the Wiſdom of *Solomon*) *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and ſucceſs in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more ſenſleſs, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

Gloſſa in verb. Caſum.

Wiſd. 13. *v.* 19.

Pſal. 35. 18.

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither perſuaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit; the two greateſt inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdain of God, unleſs the hate of good men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an advantage. For, as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and Hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all ſubtilty of argument, or cunning perſuaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornful advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft gives ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to luſt, Oppreſſion to covetouſneſs; but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſalvage Nations of the World do not uſe it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath day* holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the labourer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And, that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in *Exod.* 23. 12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Ox, and thine Aſs may reſt, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table, to honor our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which Nature it ſelf hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cheriſhed us in our weak and helpleſs infancy, and beſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordinances, curſing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, Thou ſhalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it, our own laws, and, in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between ſlaughter caſual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is.* And certainly, whoſoever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his own will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preſervation of Virginity have been poſſible for thouſands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſte to their Grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injury, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the deſire of beauty and form hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbear the proſecution of this ill, did not himſelf give ſuck to this Infant, and nouriſh warmth, till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, That we ſhall not ſteal. And, if that kind of violent robbery had been uſed in *Moſes* time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-days in *England*, and, to the diſhonour of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Chriſtians*; out of doubt, he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For, I ſpeak not of the poor and miſerable Souls, whom hunger and extreme neceſſity inforceth; but of thoſe deteſted Thieves, who, to maintain themſelves Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houſes, and ſpend in Bravery, Drunkenneſs and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men have ſometime laboured for, all their lives; impoveriſhing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this

Commandment might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoon appear,if Princes would reſolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of ſparing the firſt offence,that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if every man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth,but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſs: from which, if men could not forbear, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſs, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially, in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandments, forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man,either the bodies of their wives for concupiſcence,or their goods for deſire of gain. And this Precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our frail affections; and yet, if we judg hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies,and vain thoughts. For, although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtrain and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeek for grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For, *Concupiſcentia*,according to ſome, *Eſt effrænatus habendi appetitus*; *An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having:* And,as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our natural frailty, or unadviſed error; But, as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort; which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi; Such paſſions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeem,that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harm us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur,nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; *As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome, that they hurt us not; and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to bear ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not onely the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held; that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For, even ſo the Moral *Philoſopher* can tell us,that the continent man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as,on the other ſide,the Incontinent hath good deſires but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evil deſires, when they are accompanied with aſſent,are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore,if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil deſires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, ſuch a man according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelf makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue,but only a degree unto it; confeſſing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his evil affections,yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent man the having of theſe evil deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſin. Onely in this we excel him here; that we are able out of Divinity,to give the true reaſon of this doctrine; which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſin: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witneſs our love toward himſelf; we may not ſafely give liberty to our vanities,by caſting back upon God (who is Juſtice it ſelf) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impoſſible for us to keep. For,as he is accurſed (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) that avows that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition; *Maledictus*

qui dicit impoſſibilia Deum præcepiſſe; *Accurſed is he that ſaith,that God hath cōmanded things* (in themſelves, and not through our fault) *impoſſible*. Now,as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; ſo is our weakneſs alſo in the Scriptures laid before us,and therefore it is thus ſafely to be underſtood, that we ſhould without evaſion, or without betraying of our ſelves, do our faithful endeavours to obſerve them: which if we do unfeignedly,no doubt,but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man juſt,*David* witneſſeth: *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight,* ſal.143. *no fleſh that liveth ſhall be juſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings*, *There is no man that ſinneth* 8. *not*; 46. And again, *Who can ſay,I have made my* v.20.9. *heart clean?* But, ſeeing there is no ſin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conſcience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or reſtrain himſelf in all that he can; yea,or no? For when a King gives to his ſubject a commandment upon pain of loſs of his love, to perform ſome ſervice: if the ſubject,neglecting the ſame,ſeek to ſatisfie his *Soveraign* with ſhifting excuſes,out of doubt ſuch a Prince will take himſelf to be derided therein.

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§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.*

AND if we conſider adviſedly, and ſoberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments,which God by the hand of *Moſes* gave unto his People,it will appear,that ſuch was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the obſerving,or not obſerving of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet,if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happineſs and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the ground and diſſolve. Therefore theſe Laws were not impoſed as a burthen, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right might be done to all men, from all men: that by Juſtice, Order, and Peace,we might live the lives of reaſonable men, and not of Beaſts; of free-men, and not of ſlaves; of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reaſon onely Judg, let us ſee the inconveniences in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Laws.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a farr greater hatred, warr, and bloud-ſhed follow,than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among thoſe Nations which acknowledg one *God*, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſs of time, and an impoſſibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this diſadvantage,and ill to man, that whoſoever taketh the Name of God in vain, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelf by calling God to witneſs for him, when he may juſtly uſe his Holy Name.

The obſerving the *Sabbath* Holy, giveth reſt to Men and Beaſts, and Nature her ſelf requireth intermiſſion from labour.

If we deſpiſe our Parents,who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to ſcorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed,the race of mankind would be extinguiſhed; and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelf.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could ſay unto himſelf; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to Poſterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raiſe Families; murthers and poiſonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every man ſubject to moſt filthy and unclean Diſeaſes.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were ſuffered, all mankind would ſhortly after periſh, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And ſuch is the miſchief of Robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes,appointed reſtitution fourfold, policy of State,and neceſſity,hath made it death.

To permit falſe Witneſſes, is to take all mens lives and eſtates from them by corruption; the wicked would ſwear againſt the vertuous; the waſter againſt the wealthy; the idle Beggar and Loyterer, againſt the careful and painful Labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and Juſtice thereby baniſhed out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitleſs hopes, ſo long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the deſire of the one,or the other,to wit, the Wives,or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other,but that our ſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments,if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely,for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelf, did the moſt merciful and provident God ordain them; without the obſervation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no uſe. For we ſhould remain but in the ſtate of brute Beaſts, if not in a farr more unhappy condition.

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§. XV.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

HUmane law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak,is firſt divided into two (*viz.*) Written,and unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of uſage, approved by time; which *Iſidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*; to be *cuſtoms approved by antiquity,or unwritten laws.* Now cuſtom differeth from uſe, as the cauſe from the effect; in that cuſtom is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a law; but yet there,where the law is defective,ſaith *Iſidore.*

And of cuſtoms there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the firſt are written cuſtoms, received and exerciſed by Nations, as the cuſtoms of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*,the antient general cuſtom of *England*, and the cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other *Provinces.*

The ſecond are theſe petty cuſtoms, uſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National cuſtoms are ſome written, others unwritten.

In Reg. Jur. v.2. q. 117. art. 1.

The particular or petty cuſtoms are ſeldom written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the inhabitance. The cuſtom of the *Dutchie* of *Cornwall*,comprehending alſo the *Stannary* of *Devon*,as touching *Tinn*,and *Tinn* cauſes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall.* But howſoever, uſe and time hath made theſe cuſtoms as laws, yet ought every cuſtom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit*; *That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (ſaith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vicioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu tempoporis convaleſcere*; *Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning.* For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all laws of cuſtom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law Divine,and Natural;the other, that the cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, proving a right birth, and neceſſary continuance; it being manifeſt,that every cuſtom which is againſt the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed.And it is true,that all cuſtoms of this nature, were but tollerated for a time,by the law-makers, though they have been ſince continued; becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their Anceſtors were thereto moved. For,*Non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio.* And it is in this ſort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus princeps eſt*; *The people cannot bring in a new cuſtom againſt law, ſave by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

Ulp. l. 29.

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doom of practick reaſon; by which humane actions are ruled and directed.*Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the adviſement of wiſe men,and the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the law,a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for government and common profit; And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; *All that ſtands with reaſon.*

Greg. d Val. ex Tho. q. 9 art. 3. q. 94.

Laſtly,and more preciſely,it is thus defined. Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal; made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publick authority; preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth,ſaying,*Mihi lex eſſe non videtur,quæ juſta non fuerit*; *It ſeems to be no law at all to me, which is not juſt*; and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law juſt and legitimate (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverunt.*

Lib. 1 arb.

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe

of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the law natural, to wit,the natural, demonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authoriſed Magiſtracy,it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones*; *Violences, or wicked conſtitutions.*

4.Parts. Of humane law there are four properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe four conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawn out of the law of Nature; ſo every particular of the humane law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect, the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it preſcribeth and directeth all humane actions. And ſo is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For,according to *Thomas. Alia lex* Julia *de Adulteriis,alia* Cornelii *de Sicariis*;*The law of* Julian *againſt Adultery,is one,the* Cornelian *againſt Ruffians, is another.* Now, the humane law generally taken,is in reſpect of theſe conſiderations, divided into the law of Nations,and the Civil.

The law of Nations is taken leſs or more properly; leſs properly for every law which is not of it ſelf, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Ulpian* underſtands it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or *the law of Nations*, to be that which is only common amongſt men,as Religion, and the Worſhip of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations;but from the principles of the Scriptures,and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken,is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet ſo probable, that all Nations do aſſent unto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadors* be granted between enemies, *&c.* which National law, according to divers acceptations, and divers conſiderations had of the humane law, may be ſometime taken for a *Species* of the Natural, ſometime of the Humane.

Jus civile, or the civil Law,is not the ſame in all Common-wealths,but in divers Eſtates it is alſo divers and peculiar, and this law is not ſo immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles, as all Nations do not agree in,or eaſily aſſent unto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are divers, and do not fit all Eſtates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile neque in totum à Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſervit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id iſt, Civili efficimus*; *The civil Law*(ſaith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the Civil Law.*

In Leg. 6. 19. ff. de Juſtitia jur.

The law now commonly called the *Civil Law*,had its birth in *Rome*;and was firſt written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian* and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the antient *Roman* cuſtoms and laws *Regal.* The Regal laws were deviſed by the firſt Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*,or *Papyrianæ*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then raigning. For, though ſo many of the former laws as maintained Kingly authority, were aboliſhed with the name; yet thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To theſe laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occaſion) thoſe made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-conſulta:* thoſe of the common people, called *Plebei-ſcita*, thoſe of the Lawyers, called *Reſponſa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the *Annual Magiſtrate*; which Edicts being firſt gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and preſented to *Adrian* the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual laws, and the *Volume* ſtyled, *Edictum perpetuum*; as thoſe and the like collections of *Juſtinian* afterward were.

Dion. Hal.

C. Signon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

The difference antiently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, conſiſted in this, that laws are the Conſtitutions made or confirmed by Soveraign Authority (be the ſoveraignty in the People,in a few,or in one) and are withall general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Juſſum Magiſtratus*, unleſs by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the ſame, ſaith *Varro. Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam eſſe dicunt*; *They who aſcribe the moſt to an Edict, ſay that it is a law for one year:* Though *Iſidore* doth alſo expreſs by the word *Conſtitutions* or *Edicts*, thoſe Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as, *Conſtitutio, vel Edictum eſt quod Rex, vel Imperator conſtituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which* *a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.*

Laſtly, the *humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Eccleſiaſtical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and tranquility of the Common-weal; the *Eccleſiaſtical*, the ſpiritual good, and right government of the *Eccleſiaſtical Common-wealth*, or *Church*: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam ſpectat*; *That reſpecteth the law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And ſo may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways; Firſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the law of Nations, as in the firſt diviſion: Secondly, as it is the ſame with the *Secular*, and diverſe from the *Eccleſiaſtical*. But this diviſion of the *School-men* is obſcure. For although the *Civil* be the ſame with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil*, and all other laws not *Eccleſiaſtical*. For, of *Secular* laws in uſe among *Chriſtian* Princes, and in *Chriſtian* Common-weals, there are three kinds; the *Civil*, which hath every where a voice, and is in all *Chriſtian* Eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerful; the laws of *England*, called *Common*, and the laws of cuſtom, or *Provincial*. In *Spain*, beſides the law *Civil*, they have the cuſtoms of *Caſtil*, and other Provinces. In *France*, beſides the *Civil*, the cuſtoms of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous liez ſitues & aſſis en Lodunois, ſeront governez ſelon les coſtumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, ſhall be governed according to the cuſtoms of that place.* There are alſo in *France* the cuſtoms of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kinds; General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe antient cuſtoms, before and ſince their reformation have theſe words: *Nos autem Regiſtrum prædictum, uſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas*, &c. *laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Regiſter aforeſaid, laudable uſe, and antient cuſtoms, we praiſe, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common Law of *England* is alſo compounded of the antient cuſtoms of the ſame, and of certain *Maxims* by thoſe cuſtoms of the Realm approved. Upon which cuſtoms alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cuſt.

Theſe antient cuſtoms of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that cuſtom by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroy'd, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the antient cuſtom of *England*, that the eldeſt Sons ſhould inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland*, it is the cuſtom of all Lands (that have not been reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life; and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many brothers) before the Heir in lineal deſcent; this is called the cuſtom of *Taniſtry*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldeſt of thoſe four have alſo a Son, the three brothers of the eldeſt Son ſhall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the grandchild: the cuſtom being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, having always lived in a ſubdivided *civil* Warr, not onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforc'd to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar and petty Cuſtoms, beſides the great and general cuſtom of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts* of *Parliament*; Laws propounded and approved by the three Eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelf-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent, quàm quòd judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; *The Laws do therefore bind the Subject, becauſe they are received by the judgment of the Subject.* *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deviſed, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

Ulp. ff. d Leg. Leg. 31. Aug. de vera relig cap. 31. Gratian. dec. diſt. Cum in iſtis.

Iſidore faſtneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the cuſtom of the Countrey; alſo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifeſt; and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He alſo gives four effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the later encourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*: *It behooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a commender of Vertue.* The part obligatory, or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is two-fold: the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of external puniſhment. Theſe two effects the Law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to Vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men vertuous. For laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are thoſe into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil, and do good.*

Pſalm 37.

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§. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane laws, and in what ſort.

NOw, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*; and namely, whether Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforeſaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For, as touching violence, or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment againſt himſelf; and, if equals have not any power over each other, much leſs have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of Laws, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above the laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and ſenſleſs Carkaſs. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & lex animata*: *An animate, and living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, and conſerve it; and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex*; *Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

ct. l. 1.

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by humane laws onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the *Divines* and *Lawyers*, which inferr a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God onely.

Tibi ſoli peccavi, ſaith *David*; *againſt thee onely have I ſinned*; therefore the Prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the law; *Princeps non ſubjicitur legi.* For ſeeing, according to the *School-men*, the law humane, is but *quoddam organum, & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ: non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet*; *ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo, neque lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud*; *Seeing humane law* (ſay they) *is but a kind of organ, or inſtrument of the power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to bind any one, whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelf, or by his own power, be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himſelf: for every active ability, is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it ſelf reſides. And ſeeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; *Ergo, etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps, ſive Legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; *Therefore alſo may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleaſure, deliver himſelf from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis. Princeps vero ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis*; *The ſubjects are bound to fulfill the Law by neceſſity of compulſion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.*

Pſalm 50. *Aff. de Leg.*

Greg. Valentia de Leg.

Now, concerning the politick laws, given by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no civil Inſtitutions of other People ſhould preſume to digreſs, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to ſeem wiſer than God himſelf, who hath told us, that there are no laws ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their ſeveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leſs than in their peculiar Languages; which diſagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the ſame law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural cuſtoms of the ſundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued perſuaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heavens; or, peradventure, ſome temper of the ſoil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sybarites* luxurious; want, and opportunity to ſteal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence ſo common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt imbraced, but after, with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more conſcientiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, methinks it were not amiſs to conſider, that the high God himſelf permitted ſome thing to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the antient Rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the law, given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with ſo long and ſo publick approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparel in *Turkie*; there may be a wiſe and upright Law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Eccleſiaſtical*, and therefore the leſs capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeek the Lord God, *the God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 Chron. 30.18,19.

To this effect it is well obſerved by Mr. Doctor *Willet*, that the moral Judicials of *Moſes* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively, that we are tied to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of death is given by *Moſes*; Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling under *Chriſt* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, Iſai. 9. may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes* law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heavie: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becometh not the Goſpel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the ſubject of many learned diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me, to ſpeak any thing definitively in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controverſie among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath always been very plauſible. And ſurely, howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, wheron the conſcience of a Judg may reſt, with equal ſatiſfaction in making interpretation, or giving ſentence upon doubts ariſing out of any law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judg could have been witneſs, of whom *Forteſcue*, that notable Bulwark of our laws, doth ſpeak, complaining of a judgment given againſt a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accuſed by her own man, without any other proof, for murthering her Huſband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the man who accuſed her, within a year after, being convict for the ſame offence, confeſt that his Miſtriſs was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whoſe terrible death he then (though over-late) grievouſly lamented; but this Judg, ſaith the ſame Author, Cap. 5.3. *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quod nunquam in vita ſua animum ejus de hoc facto ipſe purgaret; He himſelf often confeſſed unto me, that he ſhould never, during his life, be able to clear*

his conſcience of that fact. Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yield unto the *Metaphyſicks*, that from thence are drawn Propoſitions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themſelves cannot be proved, may juſtly be granted by all other politick inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more juſtly, by how much the ſubject of the *Metaphyſicks* which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The Being of beings*, the onely good, the fountain of Truth, whoſe fear is the beginning of Wiſdom. To which purpoſe, well ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Conditor legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt, & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum eſt*; *The Author of temporal Laws, if he be good and wiſe, doth therein conſult the Law æternal, to determine of which, there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue* his Diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius, aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm poſuit Dominus*; *No man can lay a better, or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Iſraelites *from the receiving of the Law, to the death of* Moſes.

§. I.

Of the numbring and diſpoſing of the Hoſt of Iſrael, *for their marches through the Wilderneſs; with a note of the reverence given to the Worſhip of God, in this ordering of their troups.*

VVHen *Moſes* had received the Law from God, and publiſhed it among the People, and finiſhed the Tabernacle of the *Ark*, and *Sanctuary*; he muſtred all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael*; and having ſeen what number of Men fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from twenty years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, ſuch Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe moſt eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the Warrs, beſides Women and Children; alſo, beſides the ſtrangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moſes* into four groſs and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole Tribes.

The firſt of theſe containing 186400. able Men, conſiſted of three Regiments, which may well, in reſpect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naaſſon*; in *Iſſachar*, 54400. led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All theſe marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the firſt that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the Eaſt-ſide of the Army, which was held the firſt place, and of greateſt dignity.

The ſecond Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the hoſt of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*; in *Simeon*, 59300. under *Shelumiel*; in *Gad*, 45650. under *Eliaſaph*: Theſe had the ſecond place, and encamped on the South-ſide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiment of *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. Theſe marched in the third place, encamping on the Weſt quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Eliſhama*; *Manaſſe* 32200. under *Gamliel*; *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and laſt Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Aſher*. And theſe had the Rere-ward, and moved laſt, encamping on the North-ſide. *Dan* had 62700. under *Abiezer*; *Aſher* 41500. under *Pagiel*; *Nephtali* 53400. under *Ahira*.

Beſides theſe Princes of the ſeveral Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thouſands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and inſurrection againſt *Moſes*; *Numb.* 16. *verſe* 1. and 2. For there aroſe up againſt *Moſes* 250. Captains of the *Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*; of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutineers, with thoſe 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before ſpoken of, as by their names, *Numb.* 1. is made manifeſt.

The bleſſing which *Iſrael* gave to his children, took place not only in the diviſion of the Land of Promiſe, and other things of more conſequence, long after following; but even in ſorting them under their ſeveral Standards in the Wilderneſs it was obſerved. For *Judah* had the precedency, and the greateſt Army, which alſo was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacob*'s Wife. *Reuben* having loſt his birth-right, followed in the ſecond place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curſe; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joſeph*, who, in temporal bleſſings, had the prerogative of the firſt-born, a double portion, was accompted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Jacob*'s prophecy) taking place before the elder, he was aſſiſted by *Benjamin*, his beſt beloved brother, the other ſon of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldeſt ſon of *Jacob*'s Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the ſons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of theſe four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, ſurrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathens* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reaſon of theſe four powerful Armies which guarded the ſame; ſo was it death for any of the children of *Iſrael* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So ſacred was the movable Temple of God, and with ſuch reverence guarded and tranſported, as 22000. perſons were dedicated to the ſervice and attendance thereof: of which, 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their ſeveral offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People obſerved the former order in their incampings: ſo did the *Levites* quarter themſelves, as in an inner ſquare, on every ſide of the Tabernacle; the *Geſhurites* on the Weſt, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliaſaph* commanded, in number, 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-ſide, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and theſe were lodged on the North-ſide, within the Army of *Dan*. On the Eaſt-ſide, and next within thoſe Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moſes* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the firſt and immediate Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Aaron*, his ſucceſſor in the high Prieſt-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Iſrael*, and of their encamping and marching; the Tabernacle being always ſet in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care which *Moſes* the Prophet, and choſen ſervant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witneſſed well the inward and moſt humble zeal born towards God himſelf. The induſtry uſed in the framing thereof, and every, and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanſhip thereon beſtowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the proviſions; the dutiful obſervance in the laying up, and preſerving the holy Veſſels; the ſolemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the ſame, which all Ages have in ſome degree imitated, is now ſo forgotten and caſt away in this ſuper-fine Age, by thoſe of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptiſt*, *Browniſt*, and other *Sectaries*, as all coſt and care beſtowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ſerved and worſhipped, is accompted a kind of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous diſpoſition; inſomuch as time would ſoon bring to paſs (if it were not reſiſted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the offices of the *Miniſtery* (robbed of all dignity and reſpect) be as contemptible as thoſe places; all Order, Diſcipline, and Church-government, left to newneſs of Opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and ſoon after, as many kinds of Religions would ſpring up, as there are Pariſh-Churches within *England*; every contentious and ignorant perſon clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; inſomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, ſhall appear to the ſimple multitude, no leſs variable than contrary to it ſelf, the Faith of men will ſoon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in ſcorn and contempt. Which diſtraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cauſe of this Anſwer to thoſe that perſuaded him to becom a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: ſi me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, ſed quid ſequar, non habeo: If I adjoin my ſelf to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I ſhould avoid I ſee, but I ſee not what I ſhould follow.*

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§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Paſſover of the ſecond year: the departing of Jethro.

NOw, when *Moſes* had taken order for all things neceſſary, provided for the ſervice of God, written the laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battels and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all ſorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, ſix covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to tranſport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the ſhoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Veſſels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that ſervice, namely, to the ſons of *Gerſhan* and *Merari*.

Numb. 6.

Beſides theſe Chariots, each of theſe Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his ſervice in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. ſhekels; a ſilver Bowl of 70. ſhekels, after the ſhekel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incenſe-Cup of Gold, of ten ſhekels, which they performed at the ſame time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*; and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conqueſt, beſides the Beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve ſilver Chargers, and twelve ſilver Bowls, amounted unto 2400. ſhekels of ſilver; and the weight of gold in the Incenſe-Cups, to 120. ſhekels of gold; which makes of ſhekels of ſilver, 1200. every ſhekel of gold valuing ten of ſilver, ſo that the whole of gold and ſilver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound ſterling. This done, *Moſes*, as in all the reſt, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Paſſover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year; and on the twentieth day of the ſame, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a ſign of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Riſe up, Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great ſquadron of *Juda*, led by *Naaſhon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the reſt marched, as in the Figure expreſs'd. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many Deſarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might ſerve for the advancement of his enterpriſe, he inſtantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterpriſe, as God ſhould beſtow on them; for this man, as he was of great underſtrnding and judgment (as appeared by the counſel he gave to *Moſes* for the appointing of Judges over the People) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelf inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. years before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelf had lived 40. years in theſe parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſouls, which could not be ſo few as a Million, it was neceſſary to uſe many guides, and many conductors. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeem by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Numb.* 10. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yielded not; for it is evident, that he went back from *Moſes* into his own Countrey. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his return to his own Countrey, was

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth ſixteen grains: ſo a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence ſterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. *Gerahs*, ſo a Sanctuary *Sicle* of Silver is about 7. Groats, the common *Sicle* is but half as much, to wit, 10. *Gerahs*: as it is uſualy expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common, and the Sanctuary *Sicle* were all one.

Numb. 9. 5. *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. *Num.* 9. 17.

Judic. 1. 16. & 4. 11. Alſo 1 *Sam.* 15. 6. And 2 *Reg.* 10. 15. 1 *Chron.* 2. 55. *Jer.* 35.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

§. III.

The Voyage from Horeb *to* Kades; *the Mutinies by the way; and the cauſe of their turning back to the Red Sea.*

AFter this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the deſarts of *Paran*; and after three days wandring, they ſate down at the *Sepulchres* of luſt, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incenſio*; by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutineers and Murmurers, which roſe up in this remove, which hapned about the 23. day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23. day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year, they reſted, and fed themſelves with Quails (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-wind to caſt upon them) to the 24. day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the Moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*; whereof ſurfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence Numb. 11. and 13. in the following Moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, Numb. 12. they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued upon her ſeven days, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve diſcoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the Countrey; as alſo to take knowledg of the ways, paſſages, rivers, fords and Mountains. For *Arad*, King of the *Canaanites*, ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh near thoſe ways, through which the diſcoverers and ſearchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the return of the diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; Numb. 21. whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſs* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them againſt the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preſerved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be ſlaughtered, and given for a prey and ſpoile to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For, it was reported unto them by the ſearchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles, that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confeſs'd that they ſaw the Sons of *Anac* there) who were men of fearful ſtature, and ſo far over-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them and to themſelves, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed every Soul of the whole multitude (*Joſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and aſſuring them of Victory. But as men whom the paſſion of fear had bereaved both of reaſon and common ſenſe, Numb. 14. 10. they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death; accompting them as men either deſperate in themſelves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the fear of his bright glory between the unadviſed fury of the multitude, and the innocency & conſtancy of his ſervants, preſerved them thereby from their violence; threatning an entire deſtruction of the whole Nation, Numb. 14. 12. by ſending among them a conſuming and mercileſs Peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion, which they had made, ſince God delivered them from the ſlavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) Numb. 14. 13. prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this ſo ſevere a judgment, how deſervedly ſoever inflicted, would increaſe the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael* failing in power to perform his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſs Deſarts. Yet, as God is no leſs juſt than merciful, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſs heavie than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity; ſo by the meaſure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſs unpuniſhed; reſerving his compaſſion for the innocent; whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerve, and in them to perform his promiſes, which have never been fruſtrate.

§. IV.

Of their unwillingneſs to return; with the puniſhment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOw, when *Moſes* had revealed the purpoſes of God to the People, and made them know his heavie diſpleaſure towards them, they began to bewail themſelves, though over-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelves, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his merciful ſufferings, they would needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them that God was not among them; and that the *Ark* of his Covenant ſhould not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies ſword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no leſs ſharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no leſs cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their own deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrews*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entred *Judæa* before their Enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterpriſe of themſelves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, ſet on them, brake them, and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and perſute, conſumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loſs, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerful aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joined together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarn *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by thoſe painful paſſages of the Deſarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which retreat, before they came back to paſs over *Jordan*, there were conſumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thouſand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſs, the ſtubborn and careleſs generations were wholly worn out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their children; which were increaſed to 600000. and more. For, beſides the double fault, both of refuſing to enter the Land upon the return of their diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heaven. Amos 5. 25. Acts 7.42. 2 King. 17. 16. & cap. 21. v. 3. & c. 23. v. 4, 5, 11. 2 Chron. 33. 3. Hier. 19. v. 13, &c. For, although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of ſundry other places.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moſes*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the ſhoars of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he Numb. 33. croſſed the Valley, and ſate down at *Reſſa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and encamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* always keeping the Valley, between two great legdes of Mountains (thoſe which bound the Deſart of *Sin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſs'd the ſame from *Ceelata*, and marched Eaſtward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahab*, and ſo to *Thara*, or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Manſion. Where *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who, for their contempt of God and his Miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvels and judgments of God that hath been ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his Government, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men, who would have uſurped Eccleſiaſtical authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and goods; even while they ſought to overthrow the Order, Diſcipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his People. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaſeth him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his ſervant *Aaron*, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of the 12. Tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and on every Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*, it pleaſed God, that the Rod of *Aaron* received, by his power, a vegetable ſpirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Bloſſoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah*, the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth* (or *Maſurit*, after S. *Hierom*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierom* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adricomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Aſiongaber*.

Now, although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Solomon* furniſhed his Fleet for the *Eaſt-India*, there was ſtore of Herod. l. 3. freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the Stony*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyſes*; yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the ſeventh Verſe, is alſo called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that theſe Springs ſhould fall into the *Red Sea* at *Aſiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia*; which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moſes* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*, & from thence to *Eſiongaber*; which City in *Joſephus* time, had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *'Eſſia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Eſiongaber* being the fartheſt place towards the South-Eaſt, that Deut. 1. *Moſes* travelled in that paſſage.

It ſeemeth that *Eſiongaber*, or *Aſiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor, near the coaſt of the* Numb. 12. 13. *Land of Edom*; ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent been ſubject unto the *Idumæans*, *Moſes* would alſo have demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaid; *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; 1 King. 11. 18. which were thoſe Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewiſe it is ſaid of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Eſiongaber*, beſides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

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§. V.

Of Moſes *arrival at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Eſiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderneſs* of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh*; or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they ſate down in the firſt Moneth of the fourtieth year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Manſion, *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth Moneth of the fourtieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Eſiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for ſo it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, Numb. 1. *Moſes* ſiſter, whoſe Sepulcher was to be ſeen in S. *Hieroms* time, as himſelf avoweth. From Numb. 3. hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured moſt violently againſt *Moſes*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. For neither the puniſhments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and ſwallowed up by the Earth; by the ſudden Peſtilence, which often ſeized them; nor any

any miracle formerly ſhewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and ſatisfied in every of their appetites; but in ſtead of ſeeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they ſuffered hunger, thirſt, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed eſtates, and caſting ungratefully on *Moſes* all their miſadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had left their bodies in the Deſarts, and they were now entred into the fourtieth year, wherein all their miſeries were to take end. And being, as it were, in ſight of the Land promiſed, they again as obſtinately tempted God as in former times, and neither truſted his promiſes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purpoſes of God are without beginning; ſo his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moſes* Numb. 20. 9. to ſtrike a Rock adjoyning, with his Rod, and the waters iſſued out in a great abundance, with which both themſelves and their cattel were ſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, becauſe God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moſes* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promiſed, whereto perchance their worldly deſires might invite them. But it pleaſed him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountian *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Hor*, *Aaron* was deſpoiled of the garments of his Prieſt-hood, and the ſame put on *Eleazar* his 2553. Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moſes* and *Eleazar* deſcended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more ſeen.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwiſe *Moſera*, as in *Deut.* 10. *verſ.* 6. thoſe *Horites* took name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquiſhed. Some there are which make *Moſera*, which was the ſeven and twentieth Manſion; and *Moſera*, which they write *Moſeroth*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Manſion, and is alſo called *Hor*, to be two diſtinct places; becauſe *Moſes* in paſſing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eſiongaber*, encamped at *Moſera*, after he departed from Numb. 33. *Heſmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Moſera*, which is alſo called *Hor*, he came unto after he had left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moſes* ſiſter, died; the firſt being the ſeven and twentieth, and the ſecond being the four and thirtieth Manſion. But for *Hor*, which is alſo called *Moſera*, it ſhould have been written, *Hor juxta Moſera*; *Hor near Moſera*; for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the Weſt part *Moſes* calleth *Moſera*, and the Eaſt part *Horeb*. By the Weſt part *Moſes* encamped, as he paſt towards the *Red-Sea* on his left hand; by the Eaſt part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab*, as in the deſcription of *Moſes* his paſſage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now, it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, becauſe *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might paſs with the people of *Iſrael* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neareſt way of all other from the City of *Kadeſh*, where *Moſes* then encamped; whereas otherwiſe, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the paſſage of thoſe Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in thoſe Regions. Now, the better to perſuade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moſes* remembred him, that he was of the ſame Race and Family with *Iſrael*; calling him by the name of Brother, becauſe both the *Edomites* and *Iſraelites* were the Sons of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reaſon to favour and reſpect them, than he had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; againſt whom, *Eſau* his Anceſtor had made Warr, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their antient Races deſcended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumæa*. He alſo making a ſhort repetition of Gods bleſſings beſtow'd on them, & of his purpoſes; and promiſes aſſured *Edom*, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, or waſte his Countrey, but that he would reſtrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatſoever he uſed, yea, even for the water, which themſelves or their cattel ſhould drink. For *Moſes* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Eſau*. Deut. 2. 4. But the King of *Idumæa* knowing the ſtrength of his own Countrey, the ſame being near *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and ſharp mountains; and withall ſuſpecting, as a natural wiſe man, that 600000. ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſt in their wills to give him law, reſolvedly refuſed them paſſage, and delivered this anſwer to the Meſſengers: Numb. 20. 20, 21. That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible means. And not knowing whether ſuch a denial might ſatisfie or exaſperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together,

ther, and ſhewed himſelf prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written, Numb. 20. *Then* Edom *came out againſt him* (to wit, *Moſes*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moſes* underſtanding, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir*, or *Idumæa*, and that the Land promiſed, was that of *Canaan*: like unto himſelf, who was of natural underſtanding the greateſt of any man, and the ſkilfulleſt man of Warr that the World had, he refuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which, by reaſon of the ſeat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſs able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conquered the reſt.

§. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumæa, *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelf towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad* the King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a farr greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* been enforced firſt to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being reſolved to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home; leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of cattel that they drave with them, could not encamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was evermore ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſor, which joyned Numb. 14 45. his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which, without direction from God by *Moſes*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadeſbarne*. For it ſeemeth, that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuteronomy* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone, without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael*, near *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predeceſſor that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes* purpoſe to paſs *Moab*, determined, while he was yet in the Deſart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſua*. For, had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the perſute of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a weariſome and needleſs compaſs, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. Numb. 33. 40. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt; which South part of *Canaan*, was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo farr the *Iſraelites*, after their victory, perſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For, had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Joſua*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſs'd *Jordan*; *Joſua* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by

the name of his City ſo called; and with him the King of *Horma*; to which place the *Iſraelites* perſued the *Canaanites*. And he named them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now, after this aſſault, and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people Eaſtward to compaſs *Idumæa*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his commandment ſet up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Cœloſyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*; and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making theſe journies by the edg of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principal City of the *Edomites*. Now, where it is written in *Numb.* 21.4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant, that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that ſided the Red Sea*, but indeed they croſs'd; and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael*, to ſhun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſs'd the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*, where he entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Supk*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountains ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riſeth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farr from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having paſs'd that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Chap.* 48. *Verſ.* 22. calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River *Arnon*; and encamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*; though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*; ſpeaking as he found the ſtate of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*; even from the Predeceſſor of *Balac Peor* then raigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrey; which, though he knew would be denyed him, yet he deſired to give a reaſon to the neighbour Nations of the Warr he undertook. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerved the ſame precept which he left to his Poſterity and Succeſſors, for a law of the Warr; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in theſe words; *When thou comeſt neer unto a City to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and ſerve thee; but if it refuſe,* &c. *thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edg of the ſword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of armies have obſerved to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.

NOw, concerning the Warr between *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, Moſes ſeemeth to referr Numb. 21. 14. a great part of this Story to that Book, entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The book of Gods battels*: and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* Tranſlation, are theſe: *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the book of the battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus*

Numb. 21. Of the Countrey of Suph, ſee more, cap. 10 ſect. 4. || 2. and of the force of the word Suph, alſo Chap. 18. Sect. 3.

it is ſaid in the book: The Warr of the Lord hath burnt(or inflamed)Zoob,and the brooks of Arnon. *Junius* for the *Red Sea*,which is in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he conjectureth. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici ſolet in recenſione bellorū* Jehovæ,*contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph; *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it ſpoken in repeating of the battels of* Jehovah, *againſt* Vaheb *in the Countrey of* Suph, *and againſt the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he underſtands, that amongſt the Warrs which the Lord diſpoſed for the good of the *Iſraelites*, there was in thoſe times a famous memory in the mouth of moſt men, concerning the Warr of *Sehon* againſt *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrey near *Arnon*, out of the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predeceſſor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moſes*; though it be written that this *Balac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For, it ſeems (as it is plain in the ſucceſſion of the *Edomites*) that theſe Kingdoms were elective, and not ſucceſſive. And as *Junius* in this Tranſlation underſtandeth no ſpecial Book of the battels of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations,doubt whether in this place any ſpecial Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged in theſe places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Syracides, cap.* 46. tells us plainly,that thoſe battels of the Lord were fought by *Joſua*; *Who was there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him: for he fought the battels of the Lord.* But ſeeing the Hiſtories of the Scripture elſewhere often paſs over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other books written of the ſame matter at large; therefore it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a book as this there was; wherein the ſeveral victories by *Iſrael* obtained, and alſo victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Iſraelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting, it is not ſtrange, ſeeing ſo many other Volumes, filled with divine diſcourſe, have periſhed in the long race of time, or have been deſtroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magiſtrates. For the Books of *Henoch*, howſoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſpected, are remembred in an Epiſtle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen*, περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

Numb. 21. 26.

1 Chron. 12.

That work alſo of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by *Joſua*, *Chap.* 10. *Verſ.* 13. and in the ſecond of *Samuel*, *Chap.* 1. *Verſ.* 18. called the Book of *Jaſher*, or *Juſtorum*, is alſo loſt; wherein the ſtay of the Sun and Moon in the middeſt of the Heavens is recorded, and how they ſtood ſtill till *Iſrael* had avenged themſelves of their enemies; out of which alſo *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda*, to exerciſe their Bows againſt their Enemies.

Hier. in queſt. ſup. lib. Reg.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predeſtination, in which the juſt are written, according unto the ſixty and ninth *Pſalm*, *Verſ.* 28. where it is ſaid; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous.* *Hierom* thinks that *David* by this Book, underſtood thoſe of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the juſt *Abraham*, of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moſes* are written. Others, that it is was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*,that is was a Commentary upon *Joſua*, by an unknown Author.

Hier. in annot. in Paralip.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manaſſe*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.* *Chap.* 33. *v.* 18,and 19. Of this Book,alſo loſt, *Hierom* conceives, that the Prophet *Eſay* was the Author.

The ſame miſchance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*,who met with *Jeroboam*,and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Iſrael* from the Son of *Solomon*: As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet,and to thoſe of *Jeedo* the *Seer*,remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.* *Chap.* 9. *Verſ.* 29. With theſe have the Books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.* *Chap.* 12. *Verſ.* 15. periſhed; and that of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehoſaphat*, cited in the ſecond of *Chron.* *Chap.* 20. *Verſ.* 34. Alſo that Book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Haſcirim*, of 5000. Verſes, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this,divers others of *Solomon*'s works have periſhed, as his Book of the natures of Trees,Plants, Beaſts, Fiſhes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the reſt remembred by *Origen*, *Joſephus*, *Hierom*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Aſculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of theſe, and other Books many were conſumed with the ſame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

of Moſes *his ſparing the iſſue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in thoſe parts; and of* Sehon *and* Og.

Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.

WHen *Moſes* had paſt *Arnon*, he incamped on the other ſide thereof at *Abarim*, oppoſite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that ſide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-ſide of *Arnon*, having loſt all his antient and beſt Territory, which was now in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moſes* was commanded by God not to moleſt *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the ſame which was antiently poſſeſt by the *Emims*, who were men of great ſtature, and comparable to thoſe Giants called *Anakims*,or the ſons of *Anac*.

Joſ. 15. v. 13, 14, 15.

God alſo commanded *Moſes* to ſpare the *Ammonites*, becauſe they likewiſe were deſcended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thoſe Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it ſeemeth that all that part, eſpecially to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, even to the Deſart of *Arabia*, as well on the Weſt,as on the Eaſt-ſide of the Mountains of *Gilead*,was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promiſed, the *Iſraelites* did not at any time paſs thoſe Mountains to the Eaſt of *Baſan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the deſcription following is made manifeſt. We find alſo, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: ſo theſe Nations, which antiently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it ſelf, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*,which ſometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Joſua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greateſt man of the *Anakims*. There had alſo been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*,called *Emims*: and their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*,near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the ſame antient *Canaanites*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were alſo called *Zuzims*, which is as much to ſay, as *Viri robuſti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the ſame Province,and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Deut. 1. 8.

Now *Moſes* having paſt *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having(as before) ſent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a paſſage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conqueſt upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* eſteemed but as ſtrangers and uſurpers, (themſelves being of the ſons of *Canaan*,and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refuſed to grant *Iſrael* any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter *Moſes* with as much ſpeed as he could, becauſe *Moſes* incamped in the Countrey of his new conqueſts, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and laſt Manſion: which *Moſes* waſted with the multitude of his people and cattel. Towards him therefore haſting himſelf, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and diſcomfited, and the victory ſo purſued by *Moſes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* eſcaped. He alſo ſlaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*,which he found in *Eſſebon*, and all the other Cities,Villages,or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thoſe of *Baſan* alſo were, and deſcended of *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*: for *Moſes* calleth the *Baſanites* alſo *Amorites*. And although *Iſrael* might now have taken a ready way and paſſage into *Judæa*, being at this time, and after this victory,at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave ſo great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Baſan*, or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*, a perſon of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature,and the only man of mark remaining of the antient Giants of thoſe parts,and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain, ſaith *Moſes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Baſan* (who attended *Moſes* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his ſons periſhed, and all his Cities were taken and poſſeſt. After this, *Moſes* with-drawing himſelf back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the proſecution of that war unto *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſe*: who conquering the Eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Geſſuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities, called the ſame after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conqueſts afterward the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* poſſeſt the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the Eaſt part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moſes *his death.*

AFter theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by perſuading them to honour and ſerve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themſelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The *Iſraelites* as they had ever been enclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſuaded to theſe evil courſes, and thereby drew on themſelvs the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: beNu. 25. 1. ſides which puniſhment of God, the moſt of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the love and kindneſs of his all-powerfulneſs, reſpecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews*, become an Idolater) as he forgave the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtayed his hand for his ſake.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms Nu. 16 31. 601730. of which, as his laſt enterpriſe, he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that, ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſervice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000. Nu. 31. 8. Joſ.13.21. *Moſes* gave the charge to *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Joſuah*. Theſe five Princes of the *Midianites* ſlain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vaſſals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Cap.13.21. Dukes of *Sehon*, ſaith *Joſuah*. He ſlew alſo the men, male-children, and women: ſaving ſuch as had not yet uſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaved, and diſpers'd them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerve them.

And *Moſes* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakneſs of body Deut. 3 known to the people, and his unability to travel: and alſo that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to aſcend Deut. 3 the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He haſtned to ſettle the government in *Joſua*, whom he perſuaded with moſt lively arguments to proſecute the conqueſt begun, aſſuring him of Gods favour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo having ſpent theſe his latter days after the conqueſt of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Au-* Aug. l. de Mirab. Sacr. Scri. *guſtine*) uſing both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledg, love, fear, and ſervice of the all-powerful God: He bleſſed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeveral and moſt comfortable bleſſings: praiſing Deut. 33 the greatneſs and goodneſs of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He alſo commanded the Prieſts to lay up the Deut. 31 Book of the Law, by the ſide of the *Ark* of God, The laſt that he indited, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Hea-* Deut. *vens, and I will ſpeak, and let the Earth hear the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrows of this life, unto that Reſt which never afterward hath diſquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World, 2554.

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§. X.

Obſervations out of the Story of Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let us a little, for inſtruction, look back to the occaſions of ſundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things elſe by the *medium* of mens affections, and natural appetites. And ſo we ſhall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrews*, multiplyed by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cauſe of the ſorrows and loſs, which befel himſelf, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he ſought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, God (whoſe providence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes prevented by all the fooliſh and ſalvage craft of mortal men) moved compaſſion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own daughter, to preſerve that child, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and mild, the moſt excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of War, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duſt. The grief which *Moſes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own preſence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to diſcover the ſlaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Madian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place; and *Jethro's* Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's ſheep, far from the preaſs of the World, contenting himſelf (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſart wherein he firſt ſuffered him to live many years, the better to know the waies and paſſages through which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleaſure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence, but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many years after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Egypt; *and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of* Moſes *and* Joſua; *with the ſum of the Hiſtory of* Joſua.

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§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Iſraelites *were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.*

IN like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderneſs, or afterward, we ſhall find them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham*; and the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Iſraelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by antient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diverſity in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*: and ſo to ſerve for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerved them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt underſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the Eaſt: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of

Sem, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kinred. The other for the greateſt part, were the *Canaanites*, the antient Lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories, by proceſs of time divided into ſeveral Families and Names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the ſons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in general was ſtill called.

* It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelvs in the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, about *Baſan*: where they find the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend who is called a *Buzit*. See hereafter *chap.* 10. *ſect.* 7.

As for the *Hebrews* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and ſtrangers in that Country, eſpecially the *Iſraelites*: and this was ſome cauſe that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the *Philiſtims* did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham himſelf*, being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them; eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the Weſt part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kinred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites*, as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity, than of their *Ex.*17.16. old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended *Deut.*11.5. of *Abraham*, or of his kinred, who had linked themſelves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo far poſſeſt themſelves of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equal in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are joyned, as of the ſame Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth it to have been otherwiſe. *Deut.*11.5. For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong; *Ex.*17.16. whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſs war decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Iſmael's* eldeſt ſon *Naboth* ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* beſought God to bleſs *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to promiſe and perform it. For of him thoſe twelve Princes came, which in- *Gen.*17. habited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the Weſt part of the *Deſart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoever the ſtrength of theſe later named Nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that ſome reaſon which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, was in reſpect of fear: becauſe all Princes and States do not wilingly permit any ſtranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all theſe Families before named, were not ſo united in and among themſelves, but that they had their jealouſies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelves, whether they ſtood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preſervation, to joyn themſelves together againſt *Iſrael*: though they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the *Hebrews* a paſſage, which the *Moabites* durſt not deny: becauſe their Country lay more open; and becauſe themſelves had lately been beaten out of the richeſt part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and beſides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was ſtrong by reaſon of the mountains which divided it from *Baſan*. Again, that which moved the *Nu.*21.24. *Moabites* in their own reaſon not much to interrupt *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after ſuch a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as ſoon as *Sehon* was ſlain, and that the King of *Moab*, Balac, perceived that *Moſes* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforeſaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by ſpecial occaſion, were more and more ſtirred up to enmity againſt *Iſrael*. And as for divers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abraham's* kinred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authours of their Pedigrees, God permitted

ted ſome enmities to be, as it were, preſages of future quarrels, which in the poſterity might be the eaſier incenſed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by ſome diſdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Iſmaelites* being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldeſt ſon of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, being but a ſecond ſon, of a ſecond brother; thoſe Princes which were deſcended of the elder Houſes, being natural men, might ſcorn to give place, much leſs to ſubject themſelvs to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the iſſues of *Eſau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in record, that *Gen.*25. their Parent was bought out of his birth- *Gen.*27. right by *Jacob's* taking his advantage, and *Gen.*33.14. that he was deceived of his Father's bleſſing alſo by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he promiſed, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So alſo in the poſterity of *Iſmael*, it might remain as a ſeed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the inſtigation of *Sara*, caſt out into the *Deſart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein periſhed, but that it pleaſed God by his Angel to relieve them. *Iſmael* alſo had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was alſo an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the antient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* alſo, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternal line deſcended of the *Canaanites*. *Gen.*36. For *Eſau* took two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*; and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon*, the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the ſame was conquered by *Eſau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Laſtly it appeareth that all thoſe Families of the *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceſs of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledg and worſhip of God, and became Idolaters, infected and ſeduced by the converſation of thoſe people among whom they dwelt, and by thoſe wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and thoſe *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jethro* was Prieſt, or Prince, or both, worſhipped the true and ever-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the antient Wars of the* Iſraelites.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham* (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Pedigree*) we find four named by *Moſes*: and one and thirty remembred by *Joſua*, though few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a ſmall Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. Theſe *Canaanites* in a general conſideration are to be underſtood for all thoſe Nations, deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Hevites*, &c. and ſo here we underſtand this name in ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the Country of their habitation the holy Land, or the Land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeven principle Families ſhould be rooted out, and that his own people ſhould inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we conſider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the Eaſt, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: in which narrow Country, and in the choiſeſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The firſt King of theſe Nations, named in *Gen* 34. the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their ſiſters raviſhment.

Arad was the ſecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Num.*21.1. *Edom* and the *dead Sea*; the ſame which ſurpriſed *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the *Wilderneſs* in the edge of *Edumæa*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the Weſt part of *Arabia Pe-* *Nu.*21.24. *træa*, or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them over *Arnon* into the Deſarts, the ſame whom *Moſes* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Eſſebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. *Joſ.*9. *Joſeph antiq. lib.*4. *c.*5.

Preſently after which victory, *Og* was alſo ſlain by *Iſrael*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Nu.*21.35. *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was alſo a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebuſites*, and of *Hieruſalem*, with whom *Joſua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham,

Hobam, King of Hebron.
Piram, King of Jarmuth.
Japia, King of Lachis: and
Debir, King of Eglon, who were all *Amorites* overthrown in battel; and hanged by *Joſua*. After this overthrow *Joſua* nameth

Joſua to Joſeph ant. l. 5. cap 1.

Jabin, King of *Hazor*, and
Jobab, King of *Madon*: whom he alſo ſlaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* ſeemed to have ſome dominion over the reſt; for it is ſaid in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all thoſe Kingdoms.*

Joſ. 11. 1.

After theſe *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confeſt that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of ſeventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had uſed the ſame execution upon himſelf, acknowledged it to be a juſt revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hieruſalem* where he died.

Jud 1. Joſeph. l. 5. c. 2.

The laſt King named is *Jabin* the ſecond, who as it ſeemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joſua*. For at ſuch time as he employed *Siſara* againſt *Iſrael*, whom he oppreſt twenty years after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captain *Siſara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he ſlept in her Tent: *Jabin* himſelf periſhing afterward in that war.

Jud. 4. Jud 4. Pſal. 83.

The *Madianites* had alſo their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-Eaſt of the *Dead Sea*. They deſcended from *Madian Abrahams* ſon, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* ſurnamed *Getheglеus* or *Jethres*, ſaith *Joſephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the firſt of *Judges*, the ſon of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Jokſham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Prieſt or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whoſe Daughter or Neece, *Moſes* married, and of whom, I have ſpoken elſewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the ſame with *Hobab*, muſt be his father: and this *Hobab* had ſeven daughters. He guided *Moſes* in the *Wilderneſs*, and became one of the *Iſraelites*: of him deſcended the *Kenites*, ſo called of his father *Raguels* ſurname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the ſecond, even now remembred.

Joſeph. l. 5. c 6. Exod. 3. Cedron. p. 54. Jud. 1.

At ſuch time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Iſrael*, gave them warning to ſeparate themſelves: and yet the *Kenites* had ſtrong ſeats, and lived in the mountains of the Deſarts.

1 Sam. 15. 6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were theſe:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Eſſebon*
4. *Og* of *Baſan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebuſite*, King of *Hieruſalem*. Joſ. 10.
6. *Hobam* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*. Joſ. 11.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the ſecond King of *Hazar*.

Of the *Madianites* theſe:

* *Evi* or *Evis*.

Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, ſo called by the *Greeks*: and by *Eſay*. cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and ſo alſo it is called 2 *Reg*. 14. 7. where it is alſo called *Joktheel*.

Zur
Hur and.
Reba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

* Theſe five were firſt all at one time Kings of ſeveral portions of the Madianites, ſlain by Phineas, and the 12000. which he led againſt them: Num. 31. 8.

* Theſe four laſt were likewiſe at one time ſlain in the purſuit of Gideons victory, Jud. c. 7. v. 25. & c. 8. v. 13

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge* of *Iſrael*, the four laſt named of theſe *Madianite* Kings vexed *Iſrael* ſeven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and ſlain by the *Ephraimites*, at the paſſage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the purſuit of the reſt, *Gideon* himſelf laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being priſoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there periſhed 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will ſpeak hereafter in the deſcription of their Territories.

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§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Iſmaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Iſmaelites*, I find few that are named; and though of the *Iſmaelites* there were more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promiſe of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moſes* time than the reſt of the *Iſmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* governed *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Iſmael*, were content to leave thoſe barren *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the iſſue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that joyned with them (for ſo ſeem the *Amalekites* to have been, and ſo were the *Madianites*:) themſelves taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*: For *Nabaioth* the eldeſt of thoſe twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the *Deſart* in which *Moſes* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the ſame which neighboureth *Judæa* on the Eaſt-ſide. They alſo peopled a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathæi* (*B*) changed into (*P*.)

Gen. 17. Jud. 1.

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſmaels* ſons, gave his own name to the Eaſt-part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward poſſeſt by *Manaſſe*, ſo much thereof as lay within the mountains *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Abbeel ſat down in the *Deſart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy*: and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the Parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame *Happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where alſo the City of *Thema* is ſeated.

Plin l. 6. c. 28.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Camathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Davids* time.

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Iſrael*.

Junius.

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſmaels* ſons, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Aſitæ*, becauſe they worſhiped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the antient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

Exod. 17.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes* after he paſt the *Red Sea*: when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed.

Num. 14.

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Iſraelites* near *Cadesbarne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac*, with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoon as *Iſrael* had reſt, they ſhould root out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he waſted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

1 Sam. 30.

In *Davids* time they took *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recovering his priſoners and ſpoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loſs.

2 Sam. 8. 12.

In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*.

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§. IV.

Of the inſtauration of Civility in Europe about theſe times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily ſtrength as in all ſorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, ſo did Art and Civility (bred and foſtered far off in the Eaſt, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to diſcover a paſſage into *Europe*, and into thoſe parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Aſia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelaſgus*, beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of *Arcadia*, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages, to defend them from rain and ſtorm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the moſt part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched thoſe times were, and how falſly thoſe Nations have vaunted of thoſe their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kindes of knowledg. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have obſerved, that *Prometheus* flouriſhed: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formaſſe homines*

Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de civit. Dei.

homines, quia optimus ſapientiæ doctor fuiſſe perhibetur; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, becauſe he was an excellent teacher of wiſdom: and ſo *Theophraſtus* expoundeth the invention of fire aſcribed to *Prometheus, Ad inventa ſapientiæ pertinere; To have reference to wiſe inventions:* and *Æſchylus* affirmeth, That by the ſtealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledg of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celeſtial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art ſo to uſe this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, thoſe people among whom he lived, had nothing elſe worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucaſus*, his entrails the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and reſtleſs deſire he had to inveſtigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of heavenly bodies; for ſo it is ſaid: *Ideo altiſſimum aſcendiſſe Caucaſum, ut ſereno cœlo quam longiſſime aſtra, ſignorum obitus & ortus ſpectaret; That he aſcended Caucaſus, to the end that he might in a clear skie diſcern a far off the ſettings and riſings of the Stars:* though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwiſe, and others diverſly.

Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct.
In c. 8. lib. 18. de civit. Dei.

Lud. Vives ex Heſ.

Of this mans knowledg Æſchylus *gives this teſtimony.*

Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct.

Aſt agebant omnia
Ut ſors ferebat: donec ipſe repperi
Signorum obitus, ortuſque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Muſarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till (when
I firſt found out how Stars did ſet and riſe:
A profitable art to mortal men:
And others of like uſe I did deviſe:
As letters to compoſe in learned wiſe
I firſt did teach: and firſt did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muſes, Memorie.*

Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de civit. Dei.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more antient, and but 94. years after *Ogyges. Porphyrius* ſayes, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Iſaac.*

There lived alſo at once with *Moſes*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the ſons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be ſaid, that they were born before *Moſes* dayes, and therefore are by others eſteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Beſides theſe ſons of *Japetus, Æſculus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Heſperus*, who being famous in the Weſt, gave name to the Evening, and ſo to the Evening Star. Alſo beſides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the ſame name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that thoſe Mountains which croſs *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco, Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* beſtowes on *Atlas*, the ſon of *Neptune.*

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tuſculan* queſtions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by thoſe names to expreſs divine knowledg. *Nec vero* Atlas *ſuſtinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, niſi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxiſſet; Neither ſhould* Atlas *be ſaid to bear up heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be faſtened to Caucaſus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be ſtellified, unleſs their divine knowledg had raiſed upon their names theſe erroneous fables.*

Lib. 18. cap 8 de civit. Dei.

Orpheus ſometimes expreſs'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu.* But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the moſt approved Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have not doubted: For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in *Aſtronomy*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades.* Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons courſe, of which *Archas* the ſon of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas, Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* took name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more antient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit:* which is to be underſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obſervation of the Moons courſe: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beſtow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion:* others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon:* yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya:* who, beſides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaid, had the ground of his *Philoſophy.*

Ovid. de faſt. l. 1.

§. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moſes* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly, Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives.* This *Deucalion* was the ſon of *Promotheus*, ſaith *Herodotus, Apollonius, Heſiodus*, and *Strabo. Heſiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the reſt *Clymene: Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyſſes*, makes *Deucalion* the ſon of *Minos:* but he muſt needs have meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Ulyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himſelf to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſon to this later *Deucalion*, the ſon of *Minos:* but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* ſerved in that war) and this *Deucalion* the ſon of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalion's* time happened that great inundation in *Theſſaly:* by which in effect every ſoul in thoſe parts periſhed, but *Deucalion, Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Theſſaly*, thoſe people exceeded in all kind of wickedneſs and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, ſo did all that Nation for their foul ſins periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mandkind drew on them that general deſtruction by the flood univerſal. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Juſtice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid:*

Clem. Alex. Strom l. 1. Strabo l. 9.

Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was Better, nor more juſt than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhee.

It is alſo affirmed, that *Prometheus* foretold his ſon *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and adviſed him to provide for his ſafety: who hereupon prepared himſelf a kind of Veſſel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax.* And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterward add the ſending out of the Dove, to diſcover the waters fall and decreaſe, I ſhould verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noah's* flood deviſed by the *Greeks*, did not the time ſo much differ, and S. *Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion.* Among other his children, *Deucalion* had theſe two of note; *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, ſo renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18 c. 10, ex Euſebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no leſs ſtrange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountains of *Veſuvius:* of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many ſtrange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous and renowned; the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks, Hermes.*

Many there were of this name; and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their own times, both S. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the god of Theeves, the God of Wreſtlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many works ſome fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries.* Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſon of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which ſlew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is ſaid to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece:* which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that antient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians, Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians, Thot*, and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes.* And to this *Taautus, Sanconiatho*, who lived about the the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of let-

Lud. Vives out of Cicero in Aug de civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

ters. But S. *Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the ſon of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have ſlain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the ſlayer of *Argus*, to the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moſes* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. *Auguſtine* ſeems to underſtand them to be the ſame with thoſe, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the reſt have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifeſt, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledg which the *Greeks* had, was tranſported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confeſs, that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moſes* and *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moſes* lived, and in whoſe time about his tenth year *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linceus*: in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom Saint *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the Nephew or grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out letters, and taught the uſe of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them firſt from him. For every Nation gave unto thoſe men the honour of firſt Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whoſe works he commenteth, to have been four deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who cals *Atlas*, that lived with *Moſes*, the maternal grand-father of the firſt famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counſeller and Inſtructer of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an Inſcription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Iſis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the ſix and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whoſe works are extant, was not the firſt which was entituled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child. * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is ſaid to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occaſion to ſome Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than *Moſes*: becauſe the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wiſdom*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned.

Euſeb. l. 1. c. 6 de Præp. Evan.

Vir l. 4. Æneid.

Ficin. in Præf. Pamand. Mercurii Triſmegiſti.

* Or is chonicus. See Euſeb. de præp. evang. c. 6.

Vives in lib. 8. c. 11. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approving of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted: yet whoſoever ſhall read him with an even judgment, will rather reſolve, that theſe works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, then that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and ſpirit deviſed. For there is no man of underſtanding, and maſter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was never any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two Treatiſes now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themſelves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelf; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deviſed by the firſt, and more antient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Jacob*: whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaoh's* dreams, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to ſay, as *Abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But theſe are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledg of him: of whom, whoſoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem*; *He hath written many Books belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majeſty of the moſt High, and one God, calling him by the ſame names of God and Father, which we do.* The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgments to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*: as for my ſelf I am perſuaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelf confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator, & opifex, &c. God* (ſaith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and ſpirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himſelf proceeding, moſt perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it alſo fruitful and producing.* And he was therefore (ſaith *Suydas*) called *Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt, in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens*; *Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum*; *This* Mercury *foreſaw the ruine of the old or ſuperſtitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Chriſt, the future judgment, the reſurrection, the glory of the bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

Moſes.

L. 1. c. 6. ſ. 4.

Præf. Mer. Triſ.

To this I will onely add his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam univerſi cives mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namque ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps, qui cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita*; *Hitherto, O ſon, being driven from my country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repaired homeward again in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few days* (*or in a ſhort time*) *by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blood, depart from you, ſee that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that beſt and bleſſed City, to which all her Citizens* (*by the condition of death*) *ſhall repair. Therein is the onely God, the moſt high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with ſweetneſs more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.* The other, and that which ſeemeth to be his laſt, is thus converted by others, agreeing in ſenſe, but not in words: with *Suydas*: *O cœlum, magni Dei ſapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primam emiſit, quando univerſum conſtituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cuncta comprehendentem, Miſeremini mei*: *I adjure thee O heaven, thou wiſe work of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he firſt uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in theſe words: *Obteſtor te cœlum, magni Dei ſapiens opus, obteſtor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus eſt primùm cum omnem mundum firmavit, obteſtor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem; propitius, propitius eſto*; *I beſeech thee O heaven, wiſe work of the great God, I beſeech thee O voice of the Father, which he ſpake firſt when he eſtabliſhed all the world, I beſeech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

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§. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and ſome other that lived about thoſe times.*

THere were alſo in this age both *Æſculapius*, which after his death became the god of the *Phyſicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelf doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that ſeldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ*, or *Venefici*, and *Incantatores*; Sophiſts, Poyſoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome*, *Sapientes*, & *malefici*; Wiſe men, and evil doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo uſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it ſelf ſeems to attribute ſome-

L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de civ Dei c. 10.

what of what they did to natural *Magick*: calling them φαρμακεῖς, workers by drugs. The Ex. 11. *Genevan, Sorcerers and Inchanters*: Junius, *Sapientes, Præſtigiatores, & Magi.* Magicians and Wiſe men here by him are taken in one ſence: and Preſtigiators are ſuch as dazel mens eyes, and make them ſeem to ſee what they ſee not: as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome vertues and ſome vices are ſo nicely diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superſtition having one face and countenance) ſo did the works and working of *Moſes*, and of *Pharao*'s Sorcerers appear in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the ſame art and gift of knowledg. For the Divel changeth himſelf into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the moſt High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which ſurmounteth the wiſdom of moſt men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or miniſtery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are ſuch, as where he alſo beſtoweth the knowledg to underſtand their hidden and beſt vertues, many things by them are brought to paſs, which ſeem altogether impoſſible, and above nature or art: which two ſpeculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana*: the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wiſdom of nature*: the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wiſdom of divinity*: the one *Jacob* practiſed in breeding the pied Lambs in *Meſopotamia*; the other *Moſes* exerciſed in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledg of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledg of nature: of the other ſo far as it pleaſed God to proportion him, both which he uſed to his glory that gave them: aſſuming to himſelf nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo S. *Auguſtine* noteth, that from the time that *Moſes* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joſhua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent vertues, and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionyſius*, otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the uſe of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time alſo there were inſtituted *Muſical* plays to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenneſs and ſcarcity upon that part of *Greece* becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoiled his Temple, and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Ericthonius* inſtitute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a preſent of *Oyl*, in memory of her that firſt preſt it out of the Olive.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* raviſhed *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are alſo given to *Jupiter* by other Hiſtorians. To theſe Saint *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to Lib. de Civ. Dei. c. 12. whom the twelve labours are aſcribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponneſus*: (or as others ſay, onely nurſed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroyed many Monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoſtratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifeſtum* Philoſt. *fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *ſed Egyptium ad Gades pervēniſſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (ſaith *Philoſtratus*;) *It is manifeſt, that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the ſtraights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time alſo while *Moſes* wandered in the Deſarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whoſoever they were, or how worthy ſoever they were that lived in the Dayes and Age of *Moſes*, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleaſed God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he ſo often appeared; never any man more familiar and converſant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Iſrael*. He was the firſt that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the firſt that left to poſterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Univerſal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the deteſtation of Idolatry, and the puniſhment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moſes* the beloved of God and men, whoſe remembrance is bleſſed. Syrac. 45. 11. *He made him* (ſaith the ſame Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the ſight of Kings, ſhewed him his glory, cauſed him to hear his voyce, ſanctified him with faithfulneſs and meekneſs, and choſe him out of all men.*

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megaſtenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian.* The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moſes*, *Eſtieus, Hieronymus, Ægyptius, Hecatæus, Elanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Hiſtorian*, confirm. The univerſal flood which God revealed unto *Moſes*, *Beroſus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and others, have teſtified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eſtieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham. Hecatæus* wrote a book of him. *Damaſcenus* before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abrahams* paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moſes*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham*, which *Moſes* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he ſaith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wiſdom: and by whom the Aſtrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is juſtitia pietateque ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame Author) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phœniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit*; *For his juſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus* in his ſecond Book and fifth Chapter, ſpeaketh reverently of *Moſes*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moſes*, as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Goſpel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words: Moſes *enim affirmavit*, Strabo. l. *docebatque Ægyptios non recte ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Afros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod cœlum, & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem nemo ſanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum*: Moſes *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiſs, which attributed unto God the images of beaſts and cattel: Alſo that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the ſhapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and ſea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whoſe image, doubtleſs, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out unto the likeneſs of thoſe things, which are amongſt us. That therefore (all deviſing of Idols caſt aſide) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.*

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wiſdom, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended Acts. 7. 23. *Moſes*, ſaying, *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the ſame is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is diſtinguiſh'd into *Geometry*, *Aſtronomy*, *Arithmetick*, and *Muſick*, the antient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, Meaſuring of grounds, was uſeful unto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflown and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomy*, the ſite of the Countrey being a level and ſpacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with eaſe, in obſerving and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick alſo, which is the knowledg of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſick* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledg, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerve and magnifie their gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wiſdom, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetical Philoſophy*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the Planets have their proper ſouls, &c.

The Divine part of this wiſdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt original in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperateneſs of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offenſive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth in thoſe places: That the ſoul is immortal, and hath tranſmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the eſtate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits beſtowed on mankind, have been Deified; that thoſe beaſts, whoſe Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: becauſe under thoſe Enſigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, myſtical, and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their Religion and worſhip of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

Clem. Stron l. 5. *Clemens* diſtributeth the whole ſum of this later *Egyptian* learning into three ſeveral ſorts, *viz. Epiſtolar*, which is uſed in writing common Epiſtles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Prieſts; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expreſſed by letters Alphabetical in obſcure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: becauſe Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other ſymbolical, or by ſignatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Ænygmatical: Imitative, which deſigneth things by characters, like to the things ſignified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it ſelf: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to ſignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawke ſignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet ſignifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* ſignifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence, and Skilfulneſs: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horſe, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fiſh, Hatred is to be underſtood: Ænigmatical is a compoſition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which ſence, the monſtrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to ſignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmatical and obſcure. So the Image of the Sun ſet on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expreſſeth, that the Sun nouriſheth Meteors in the Air, aſwell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, ſignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and deſtruction of his Kingdom, unleſs he would acknowledge ſubjection: *Idanthura* returned to him, a Mouſe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-ſhare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to ſignifie, that by the Mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were ſignified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraign Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creep into holes as a Mouſe, or run into the waters which they had paſſed as a Frog, they ſhould not eſcape his arms, but either be ſlain, or, being made Captives, till his grounds. The ſame Hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus.* *Herod. l. 4.*

The fourth and laſt part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain eſpecially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus* deviſed: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aſwell (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis* of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Chriſt*, as of the laſt and fearfull day of *Judgment:* that (as ſaith the ſame Author, the opinion being alſo antient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philoſopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Myſteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very antient Hiſtorians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wiſdom of the Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeſtial a thouſand; which becauſe they were out of the *Egyptians* language converted by certain learned Philoſophers into natural *Greek*, they ſeemed to have been firſt written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* *Clem. St l. 6.*

writeth,

writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wiſdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Phyſick*, ſix Books; of the orders of *Prieſts*, ten; and of *Aſtrology*, four.

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§. VIII.

A Brief of the Hiſtory of Joſua; *and of the ſpace between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of ſome Contemporaries to* Joſua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

After the death of *Moſes*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egreſſion, in the firſt moneth called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Joſua*, the ſon of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wiſdom, took on him the government of *Iſrael:* God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to paſs the River of *Jordan*, and to poſſeſs and divide among the *Iſraelites*, the land promiſed.

The beginning of *Joſua's* rule, Saint *Auguſtine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Ericthonius*, *Athens*. *Lib 18. de Civit. Dei. c. 11.*

Joſ. 2. 1. *Joſua* imitating in all things his Predeceſſor, ſent over *Jordan* certain diſcoverers to view the ſeat and ſtrength of *Jerico*, the next City unto him on the other ſide of the River, which he was to paſs over. Which diſcoverers being ſaved, and ſent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, becauſe ſhe kept a Tavern or Victualling-houſe, made *Joſua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jerico*, and *Joſ. 2. 11.* thoſe of the Country about it, hearing of the approach of *Iſrael*, had loſt courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the ſixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egreſſion, *Joſua* removed *Joſ. 3. 1.* from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themſelves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, *Joſ. 3. 3.* when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River, giving them withal this forcible encouragement, That they ſhould thereby aſſure themſelves of his favour and preſence, *Joſ. 3. 13.* who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* ſhould be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above ſhould ſtand ſtill in a heap, whereby thoſe below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting ſupply, they might paſs over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

Joſ. 1. 12. He alſo commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*, to prepare themſelves (according to their Covenant made with *Moſes*) to march in the head of the reſt, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vauntguard, which through all the Deſarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, thoſe of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For theſe Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the *Amorites* by the help of the reſt, conquered for them: it agreed with juſtice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manaſſe* ſhould alſo aſſiſt their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies poſſeſſion.

On the banks of *Jordan* they reſted themſelves from the ſixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the firſt moneth *Niſan*, or *March*, they paſs'd over to the other ſide, taking with them twelve ſtones from the dry ground in the midſt of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they ſet up at *Gilgal*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the city of *Jerico*, where they incamped the firſt night. *Joſ. 4. 19.* At which place *Joſua* gave commandment, that all born in the laſt fortieth year in the Deſarts ſhould be circumciſed, *Joſ. 5. 2.* which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Auguſtine* giveth for cauſe, The peoples contempt of their Superiours. *Aug. q. 3. in Joſ.* *Thomas* excuſeth it in this ſort; That the *Iſraelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Thom. part. 3. quæſt 70. art. 4. ad. 3.* *Damaſcen*, That it was not needfull by circumciſion to diſtinguiſh them from other Nations, at ſuch times as they lived by themſelves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the ſame moneth, the children of *Iſrael* celebrated the *Paſſover* now the third time; firſt, at their leaving *Egypt*; ſecondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal.* *Joſ. 5. 10.* After which, being deſirous to taſte of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, ſurfetted on *Manna*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet full ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moſes* began to diſtribute thoſe Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Baſan*, and *Sehon* held, ſo did *Joſua* perform the reſt; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and diſtribution was not done at once, but at three ſeveral times; firſt, by *Moſes* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half *Joſ. 14. 3.* Tribe of *Manaſſe*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; ſecondly, by *Joſua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manaſſe*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in the 14. of *Joſua. v.* 10. and a third diviſion was made to the other ſeven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Joſua* ſeated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation.* *Joſ. 18.*

The victories of *Joſua* againſt the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are ſo particularly ſet down in his own books, as I ſhall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whoſe Story I chiefly note theſe particulars. Firſt, how in the beginning of the war, thoſe little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not ſo much underſtanding, as to unite themſelves together againſt the *Iſraelites*; but according to the cuſtom of thoſe eſtates, from whoſe Governours God hath taken away all wiſdom and foreſight, they left thoſe of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themſelvs, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled ſomewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could ſpread it ſelf ſo far as their own Territories and Cities. But after ſuch time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities conſumed; five of thoſe 31 Kings (all which at length periſhed in that war) joyned themſelves together, firſt attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themſelves to *Joſua*. Onely five (the reſt looking on to the ſucceſs) namely, the King of the *Jebuſites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hieruſalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addreſt themſelves for reſiſtance: whoſe Army being by *Joſua* ſurprized and broken, themſelves deſpairing to eſcape by flight, and hopeleſs of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Joſua* drawn forth and hanged. In the proſecution of which victory he alſo took Joſ. 10 *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* haſtened, Joſ. 10. and periſhed. After which *Joſua* poſſeſt himſelf of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, deſtroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were poſſeſt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duſt: the reſt of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counſels of neceſſity, united themſelves, to make one groſs ſtrength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practiſed and gathered together, by *Joſua* diſcovered, as the ſame reſted neer the Lake of *Merom*, he uſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining abſolute victory over them, he proſecuted the ſame to the utmoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* onely, reſerving the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Joſua* ſhewed himſelf a skilful man of War, for that in thoſe antient times he uſed the ſtratagem of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the firſt five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurpriſe. For he marched all night from his Camp at Joſ. 10. *Gilgal*, and ſet on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great City of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable as the ſtay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, ſo as the Army of *Iſrael* paſt it with a dry Joſ 3. 13. foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the ſound of the c. 10. v. 11. Horns; the ſhowers of Hale-ſtones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, wherby more of them periſhed than by the ſword of *Iſrael*: again, the arreſt of the Sun in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lightened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage between *Joſua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evaſion, it admitteth no intruſion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. Joſ. 9. 1. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithſtanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Joſua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by feigning to be ſent as Embaſſadours from a far Country, in which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newneſs when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their ſhoos patch'd; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Joſ. 9. from the 5. to the 13. Yet *Joſua* having ſworn unto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, he durſt not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he ſpared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Joſua* had it. For firſt, the commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might juſtly have put theſe men to the ſword, and have ſack'd their Cities, if there be any evaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the living God is called to witneſs. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, becauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of Joſ. 9. 7. the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done Joſ 9. 14. in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had ſaid, *and counſelled not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, theſe men who were known Idolaters, and ſerved thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſs of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelf by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Joſua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the help of *Æquivocation* or *Mental Reſervation*. For what he ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſs ſubtilty of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithſtanding that they, to whom he had ſworn it, were worſhippers of the Devil.

For it is not, as faithleſs men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promiſe in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught, and defie him. If he that without reſervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himſelf, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his Name, and makes him a witneſs of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a Son to break the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break thoſe Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For though it were 400 years after *Joſua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion; ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Sauls* ſons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this; That he that ſweareth by the Name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witneſs, and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the beſt anſwer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely looſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Biſhop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their aid: whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Croſs (the very *Croſs*, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge, ſeeing they had forſworn themſelves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from

Pſal 5.6. Wiſd.1.11. the Holy Ghoſt, *That he that ſpeaketh lies, ſhall be deſtroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, ſlayeth the ſoul*: how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater than to deſtroy the ſoul) to ſwear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perſuaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the ſaid King had compelled him to peace, the moſt advantagious that ever was made for the Chriſtians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the war. And though the ſaid King was far ſtronger in the field than ever; yet he loſt the battel with 30000. *Chriſtians*, and his own life. But I will ſtay my hand: For this firſt volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers; be it againſt *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Chriſtians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of cuſtom, than of conſcience.

It is alſo very remarkable, That it pleaſed God to leave ſo many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Iſrael*, to ſcourge and afflict them, by fore-ſeeing their Idolatry, and, as it is ſaid in the Scriptures, *To be thorns* Joſ. 23. Judg 1. & Judg.3.2. *in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For theſe Cities hereafter named did not onely remain in the *Canaanites* poſſeſſion all the time of *Joſua*; but ſoon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardeſt acceſs. And thoſe of *Juda* were not able to be maſters of their own Vallies; becauſe as it is written in the *Judges*, The Judg 1.34 *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And thoſe Judg 1.19 principal Cities which ſtood on the Sea-ſide, adjoyning unto *Juda*, were ſtill held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philiſtims*: as Joſ.11.19 *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*; out of one of which 1 Sam.17.4. Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan* expel the *Geſhurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Baſan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* poſſeſs themſelves of *Bethſhemiſh*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc'd thoſe *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Joſ.13.13 Neither did *Aſher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor Judg.1.31 thoſe of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor inforc'd them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and Joſ.16.10. *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Alſo the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* Jud.2.27. held *Bethſhean*, *Taacnah*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Hieruſalem* it ſelf did the *Jebuſites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David*'s time.

Now *Joſua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Iſrael*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expreſſed in the Scriptures, which cauſeth divers to conjecture diverſly of the continuance. *Joſephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twenty; and *Maſſius* ſix and twenty: *Maimonius* cited by *Maſſius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, ſeventeen: *Cajetanus*, ten: *Euſebius* giveth him ſeven and twenty: and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there paſſed 480. years from the delivery of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is neceſſary that we allow to *Joſua* onely eighteen of them; as finding the reſt ſupplyed otherwiſe, which to me ſeems the moſt likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The ſame neceſſity of retaining preciſely 480. years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, ſuch as have inſerted years between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Euſebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* Euſeb. Præp. Evang. adhereth; and for which he giveth his reaſon in his four and twentieth and laſt Chapters upon *Joſua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years: *Bucolzer* and *Reuſner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no leſs than three and thirty: whereas following the ſure direction of theſe 480. years, there can be no void years found between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, unleſs they be taken out of thoſe eighteen aſcribed unto *Joſua* by the account already ſpecified. The praiſes and acts of *Joſua* are briefly written in the ſix and fortieth Chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where among many other things it is ſaid of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becauſe it is ſaid in the laſt Chapter, *verſe* 26. *And* Joſua *wrote theſe words in the book of the Law of God*: which ſeemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Joſua* made with *Iſrael* in *Sichem*, where they all promiſed to ſerve and obey the Lord: which promiſe *Joſua* cauſed to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenſis*: *Theodoret* doth likewiſe conceive, that the book of *Joſua* was collected out of an antient Volume, intituled *Liber Juſtorum*, remembred by *Joſua* himſelf; and others, that it was the work of 1 Sam. 10. 13. *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon theſe words of the 26 Joſ.5.24, 26. Verſe, *And* Joſua *wrote theſe words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had anſwered *Joſua*; *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voyce will we obey*, it followeth that *Joſua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the ſame in the book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Joſua*, *Ericthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: And about the ſame time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fifty ſons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who ſucceeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived alſo with *Joſua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neer the end of *Joſua*'s life, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have raviſhed *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix* (afterward married to *Aſterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Auguſtine* reports this raviſhment to be Lib. 18 c. 12. De Civ. Dei committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But Homer Odyſſ. & Iliad. it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, Hom. Iliad. 1. who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame *Trojan* war. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon up in the Councel of the *Greeks*, *Theſeus* and *Peritheus* for men of Antiquity and of Ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more antient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Chap. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael *that were planted in the borders of* Phœnicia, *with ſundry Stories depending upon thoſe places.*

§. I.

The Proœme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an Expoſition of the name of* Syria.

The Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joſua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better underſtanding of both) to make a *Geographical* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be underſtood, and conceived. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have beſtowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeveritatem, ne æternam juſtè inferat ultionem; The divine goodneſs is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully uſe temporal ſeverity, that it may not juſtly bring upon us eternal vengeance.*

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I have added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my ſelf herein, I have peruſed divers of the beſt Authors upon this ſubject: among whom, becauſe I find ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I have rather in ſuch caſes adventured to follow mine own reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Paleſtina* of the *Philiſtims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but ſmall Provinces of *Syria*: it ſhall be neceſſary, firſt to divide and bound the general, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Ptol. Aſiæ. tab 4. Ptol 5. Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largeſt deſcription, and as it was antiently taken, imbraced all thoſe Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucoſyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it ſhorter, and from the coaſt of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa*, towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sun-riſing, and the *Mediterran Sea* Weſtward: it then containeth beſides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Deſart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region alſo which the *Greeks* call *Meſopotamia*, the *Hebrews Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for ſo *Aran Naharajim* is expounded: alſo *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, becauſe the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Aurogallus *Edeſſa*, ſometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many ſmall Provinces, as *Cœloſyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, becauſe it lay in that fruitfull Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus*, and *Antilybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others, were ſeated. Then *Damaſcena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damaſcus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the 1 Kings 11. Regal ſeat of the *Adades*, the firſt Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomon*'s Herod. in Pelim Dio. l. 27. time. Then *Phœnicia*, and the people *Syraphœnicies*: and laſtly, *Syria Palæſtina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judæa* alſo a part: and to that Province which Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 4. *Moſes* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syrea Judæa*.

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§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promiſes touching this Land.

BUt that Land which was antiently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and ſtretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Deſarts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the Weſt, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the Eaſt: the ſame Hills which Strab. l. 10. *Strabo* calleth *Traconi*, or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemie*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*: *Et lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was alſo called* Canaan, ſaith *Montanus*: and after Caleb. f. 62. *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*: who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to Saint *Auguſtine*. But *Arias Montanus* not ſo well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all thoſe of *Noah's* Sons, who paſt over *Euphrates* towards the Weſt Sea. For the word *Heber*, ſaith he, is as much as *tranſiens*, or *tranſmittens of going*, or *paſſing over*. And becauſe the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were paſſengers, which is alſo the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Euſebius* long before them both. It Euſeb præp. Evang l. 7. c. 3. had alſo the name of *Judæa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, becauſe therein our *Saviour Chriſt* was Born, and Buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwiſe *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *ſuperiour* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are diſtinguiſhed, it is plain in the *Evangeliſts*, though both Matth. 1. Luke 1. John 4. of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Now beſides theſe Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; ſaving that *Phœnicia* ſtretcheth a little more Eaſterly towards *Damaſcus*) that part alſo of the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwiſe *Traconi*, fell to the poſſeſſion of half *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* alſo: as well becauſe antiently poſſeſt by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Iſraelites*; which Eaſtermoſt parts are again divided into *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Geſſuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Coſmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria Batanea*, &c. of which I will ſpeak in their proper places.

But where *Moſes* deſcribeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Geneſis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for theſe be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comeſt to Gerar untill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goeſt unto Sodom and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, even unto Laſha*: by which words *Moſes* ſeteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomy* it ſeemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; Deut. 11. 24. *All the places whereon the ſoal of your feet ſhall tread, ſhall be yours: your coaſt ſhall be from the Wilderneſs,*

and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermoſt Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this diſcription agreeth with the former: onely *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the *Wilderneſs* for *Gerar* and *Azza*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent Eaſt and Weſt, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promiſed ſtretcheth it ſelf both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Iſraelites* never poſſeſt; nor at any time did ſo much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of Joſ. 23. 4. *Joſua*: *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot theſe Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have deſtroyed, even unto the great Sea Weſtward.*

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land*: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the Vadian. Epitom. tium ter. partium t. Palæſtin. former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per in gentes amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter ſo far to the Eaſt as *Aſſyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not poſſeſſing of all theſe Countries give advantage to thoſe that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promiſe of God to the *Iſraelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magiſtrates, and People, fell from his worſhip and ſervice, it pleaſed him not onely to incloſe them within that Territory, which was for ſo many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elſewhere to ſubject them unto thoſe Idolatrous Nations, whoſe falſe and fooliſh gods themſelves alſo ſerved and obeyed. And ſure the promiſe by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the laſting enjoy- Deut. 11. 21. ing thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to thoſe conditions, both in the Verſes preceeding, and ſubſequent; which the *Iſraelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all ſorts of comforts from the merciful goodneſs of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, then while we perſevere in his love, ſervice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verſe of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the proſperity of *Iſrael*. For therein it is written; *Therefore* Deut. 11. *ſhall ye keep all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be ſtrong, and go in, and poſſeſs the Land, whither ye go to poſſeſs it. Alſo that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord ſware unto your fathers, &c.*

The like condition was alſo annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the poſſeſſion thereof, ſo long as the heavens were above the earth. *For if ye keep dili-* Deut. 11. *gently*, ſaith he, *all theſe commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord caſt out all theſe Nations before you, and ye ſhall poſſeſs great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifeſt, that by reaſon of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worſhip of his allpowerfull Majeſtie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promiſes of God were abſolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot miſlike that expoſition of *Melancthon*: *For*, ſaith he, *Oſtendit promiſſionem præcipuam non eſſe de hoc politico Regno*; *He ſheweth that his chief promiſe is not of a civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that anſwer which S. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretick in his Epiſtle *ad Dardanum*, who accuſed S. *Hierome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in queſtion, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis eſt*; (that is) *Onely to that land of the living which is in heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo anguſta ſit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat* 160. *milliarium, latitudinem verò* 40. *& in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida ſunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, ſed tantùm divina pollicitatione promiſſa*; *Becauſe the whole Countrey of the Jews is ſo narrow in compaſs, that it ſcarce hath* 160. *miles in length, and* 40. *miles in breadth, and in theſe are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the Jews never poſſeſt, but were onely granted by divine promiſe.* In like manner the ſame Father ſpeaketh upon *Eſay*, touching the bleſſings promiſed unto *Hieruſalem*, where he hath theſe words: Sap 49 14. *De quo diſcimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæſtinæ regione petendam, qua totius Provinciæ, deterrima eſt: & ſaxoſis montibus aſperatur, & penuriam patitur ſitis: ita ut cœleſtibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium ciſternarum extructione ſoletur: ſed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, feſtinaverunt ſtructores tui*; *From whence*, ſaith he, *we learn, that Hieruſalem is not to be ſought in that region of Palæſtina, which is the worſt of the whole Province, and ragged with craggie mountains, and ſuffereth the penury of thirſt: ſo as it preſerveth rain water, and ſupplieth the ſcarſity of Wells by building of ciſterns; but this Hieru-*

ſalem is in Gods hands, to which it is ſaid, Thy builders have haſtened: ſo far St. *Hierome*; where alſo to prevent miſtaking, he thus expoundeth himſelf: *Neque hoc dico in ſuggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiſtoriæ veritatem, quæ fundamentum eſt intelligentiæ ſpiritualis: ſed ut decutiam ſupercilium Judæorum, qui Synagogæ anguſtias latitudini Eccleſiæ præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum ſequuntur literam, & non ſpiritum vivificantem, oſtendant terram promiſſionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (ſaith he) *ſay I this to diſgrace the land of Judæa, as the heretical Sycophant doth belie me: or to take away the truth of the hiſtory, which is the foundation of ſpiritual underſtanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the ſtraits of the Synogogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening ſpirit, let them ſhew the Land of promiſe, flowing with Milk and Honey.*

By this it may alſo be gathered, howſoever it be unlikely (ſeeing the Weſt-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the litteral ſenſe, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the Eaſt-bound, ſhould be taken only in a ſpiritual ſenſe) yet nevertheleſs that *Hierom*'s opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be underſtood for *Euphrates*, and that the promiſe it ſelf was never ſo large: much leſs the plantation and conqueſt of *Iſrael*.

And now for a more particular deſcription of this *Holy Land*, becauſe *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northermoſt part, and were ſeated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with theſe three, taking *Aſher* for the firſt: of which Tribe yet before I ſpake, I muſt admoniſh the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reaſon of the divers fancies of Tranſlators, are diverſly expreſſed, ſo that to the unſkilfull they may ſeem divers, when they are one and the ſame: the reaſon of this diverſity (as by thoſe learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly becauſe the antient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Tranſlators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, becauſe the Antient expreſſed or omitted divers conſonants, otherwiſe than the later do think fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

||. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Aſher.

THe *Aſherites* deſcended of *Aſher* the ſon of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increaſed while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odd perſons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were muſtered by *Moſes* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number periſhing in the Deſarts, there remained of their iſſues, beſides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which paſt the river of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, and after the conqueſt of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, containing thirty Engliſh miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the Eaſt border ſome twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it ſome what larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, beſides the *Balſamum*, with other pleaſant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, Aſer *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Aſſer*, his bread ſhall be fat: *And he ſhall give pleaſures for a King.*

Ant: Itin.

Gen. 40.

||. II.

Of Zidon.

THe firſt City ſeated on the North border of the Territory of *Aſſer*, was *Zidon*, which *Joſua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for ſtrength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Juſtine* derives the name from the abundance of fiſh found on thoſe ſhores: whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more antient, *Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Joſephus* witneſs, the ſame being founded by *Zidon* the eldeſt of *Canaan*'s ſons: and ſo ſtrong it was in *Joſua*'s time, as neither did himſelf attempt it, neither could the *Aſſerites*, or any of their ſucceſſours maſter it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Chriſt*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magiſtrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies Sword, and by the Peſtilence.

Juſtin. l. 18.

Gen. 10. Joſeph.

Eſa. 23. Hier. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zac. 9.

Zidon is ſeated on the very waſh of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or *Mid-land Sea*. It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which ſtandeth between it and *Tyre*: the diſtance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thouſand paces, ſaith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and ſo doth *Weiſſinburie* in his deſcription of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of diſtance as well between theſe two known Cities, as all the reſt, make it over-difficult to diviſe any new Scale to the Map and Deſcription of the Holy Land.

Paleſt. Seig. f. 19. Vadian Phen. f. 178. Strabo. l. 16.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the ſtory which *Zeno* the Philoſopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and loſt. It ſeemeth to be more antient than *Tyre*; which was alſo built by the *Zidonians*. For as * *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, becauſe it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City ſubject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and ſtrong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flouriſhed in all ſorts of learning, ſo did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wiſe Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding ſtrong, having a Caſtle or Citadell on the North-ſide, ſtanding upon an unacceſſible Rock, and compaſſed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Chriſtians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch* Order: and another Caſtle it hath on the South-ſide by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It alſo ſent many other *Colonies* beſide that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glaſs, which they uſed to make of thoſe Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran Sea*, neer *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of thoſe cleer Glaſſes which they make at *Murana*: of which St. *Hierom* and *Pliny*: Zidon *inſignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glaſs-maker, or a skilful worker in Glaſs-houſes.*

* Strabo, l. 16. Zach. 9. 2. Herod. l. 5. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

* It ſeems that even in *Joſua*'s time they practiſed glaſs-making, whence *Junius* for *Miſphreboth majim* which *ad verbum* is as much as *combuſtiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarias*, *Joſ.* 11. 8. as it ſeems becauſe thoſe fornaces were where there was ſtore of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other neceſſary uſes. But there are others that take them for ſalt-pits, and others again for hot baths.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reſt of the *Canaanites*) worſhippers of *Baal* and *Aſtaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judg.* 10. 6.) yet eſpecially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Reg.* 11. 5. in the ſtory of *Solomons* Idolatry: where *Aſtaroth* is called the god of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the ſtory of *Achab*, the chief worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid, that he marrying *Jezabel* the daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worſhipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Aſtaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim*, and *Aſtaroth*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 10. and elſewhere: for even the name *Aſtaroth*, as I am informed by a ſkillful *Hebritian*, is plural; the ſingular being *Aſtoreth*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀςάρταις· *They worſhipped the Aſtarties.* The occaſion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Aſtoreths*, may be diverſly underſtood: either in reſpect of the diverſity of the forms of the Images, or of the worſhip in divers places, or of the ſtories depending upon them: which (as fables uſe to be) were doubtleſs in divers Cities divers. *Auguſtine quæſt.* 19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by ſuch a name as *Aſtarte*. *Tully, lib.* 3. *de Nat. Dearum*, making divers *Goddeſſes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Aſtarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife of *Adonis*: as alſo *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. ſayes, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may ſeem that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her huſband *Adonis*: as alſo the *Grecians* did in their ſongs of *Adonis*: *Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifice of *Iſis*: whoſe loſs of her Huſband *Oſiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* loſs of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*; that *Oſiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may ſeem to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howſoever theſe *Zidonians* were thus antiently foſtered with the milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine

The form of *Aſtoreth* (or *Aſtarte*) ſeemeth to have been a ſheep, for *Deut.* 7. 13. the word in the plural number ſignifieth ſheep and this may confirm *Auguſtines* opinion, that *Aſtarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her huſband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

Κλαίετο καλὸς Ἀδωνιν.

of the Goſpel of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo many years, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: Mat. 11. 21 *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I ſay unto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*. But in the year of our Redemption Tyr. 15. Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c. 27. 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Hieruſalem*: in the year 1111. by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleet to viſit the *Holy Land*, and took Port at *Joppa*, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Euſtace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250. it was re-edified and ſtrengthened by *Lodowick* the French King: while he ſpent four year in the War of the *Holy Land*. Laſtly, Niger. Poſtellus. in the year 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

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§. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief Hiſtory of Tyre in the ſame Coaſt.

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano *palmite miſſa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This City had alſo a *Biſhop*, of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the reſt: and is now called *Saphet*, ſaith *Poſtellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta* was ſcituate that ſometime famous City of *Tyre*, whoſe fleets of ſhips commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatneſs and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, Virgil. l. 1. and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quaſi Phœnicum*, a *Colony* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*: in *Aſia* the leſs *Dromos Achillis*, Plin. l. 5. c. 19. Marcellin. l. 22. which City the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth neer the River *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*.

It had antiently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and ſo it is written in *Joſua* the 19. taking name from the ſcituation; becauſe built on a high Rock, ſharp at one end. The *Latines*, Gellius l. 4. c. 6. as it ſeems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oſtrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day; the place being ſtill known by the name of the antient *Tyre*: and becauſe it was a *Colony* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Eſay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth, though *Beroſus* by Cap. 23. affinity of name makes *Thiras* the ſon of *Japhet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very antient (for ſo much the Prophet *Eſay* alſo witneſſeth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whoſe antiquity is of antient days?*) Cap. 23. yet that *Thiras* the ſon of Japhet ſet himſelf in the boſom of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I ſee nothing to perſuade me.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times ſo renowned, Juſtin l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euſeb. in Chron. Joſeph. ant. l. 8. cap. 1. Cedren. p. 27. ſeemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* make this City elder than *Solomon*'s Temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361. who alſo addeth, that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will ſpeak more at large in the ſtory of their Kings.

For ſtrength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iſland 700. paces from the Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth Ezek. 28. 17. verſ. 3 it in the middeſt of the Seas, as ſome read, or as others, in the inner-moſt part of the Sea, whence he called it *ſcituate at the entry of the Sea*, as alſo the ſame Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Iſles*: and *Eſay*, Eſay 23. 17. 8. *a Mart of the Nations*: and ſo proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Eſay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufacture: eſpecially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, ſaith *Julius Pollux*, was firſt found out by *Hercules* Dog, who paſſing along the Sea-coaſt, and eating of the Fiſh *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worſhipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: ſaving that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* preſented him with a Crown of gold, and other gifts, deſiring to remain his friends and allies, anſwered them, that he had vowed a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defendor of their City, and the Anceſtor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and muſt therefore enter it. Whereupon they ſent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not ſo ſuperſtitious, as ambitious; he deſired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ſhips as he could, and brought from *Libanus* ſo great a number of *Cedars*, & ſo many weighty ſtones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as notwithſtanding that his materials were often waſht away with the ſtrength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never reſted, till he had made a foot-paſſage from the Continent to the Iſland: and having once approached their walls, he overtopt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving ſpirit of reſolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that reſiſted; after which, he cauſed 2000. more to be hung up in a rank all alongſt the Sea-ſhore: which execution upon cold bloud he performed (as ſome Authors affirm) upon the iſſues of thoſe ſlaves which had formerly ſlain all their Maſters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themſelves. This victory of *Alexander* over the Joſeph. ant. Jud. l. 11. c. 8. *Tyrians*, *Joſephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the laſt *Satrapa* or Provincial Governour, which *Darius* ſeated in *Samaria*: the ſame who having married his Daughter to *Manaſſe*, brother to *Jaddas* the high Prieſt of *Hieruſalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Prieſthood he beſtowed on his ſon in law *Manaſſe*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, De bell. Sacr. l. 13. c. 4. for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* beſieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* called *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this deſolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanaſſer* the *Aſſyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Aſſyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reſt of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He beſieged it both on the Land-ſide, and with threeſcore ſhips of war held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any ſupply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with Joſeph ant. lib. 9. c. 14. twelve ſail ſcattered that fleet, and took 500. priſoners of the *Aſſyrians*: notwithſtanding, the *Aſſyrian* continued his reſolution, and lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, but with ill ſucceſs. And this ſiege *Menander Epheſius*, cited by *Joſephus*, made report Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. 13. 14. Joſeph ant. lib. 9. c. 15. of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaid *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Heliſæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the ſame ſix and twenty years. Soon after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſer*; and about 200. years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Hieruſalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairful work, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the ſtrength of the Sea, the ſame cawſey and paſſage was again broken down, and demoliſhed.

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, for many years, the *Tyrians* defended themſelves: for ſo long did thoſe *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder made bare*, Eze. 29. 18. Iſa. 23. &c. ſaith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Eſay* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 13. years ſiege or more, the *Tyrians* deſpoyled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ſhips, abandoned their City, tranſporting with themſelvs the ableſt of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, ſayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to ſatisfie ſo many labours and perils, or any perſon upon whom to avenge themſelves for the loſs of ſo many bodies in that War: It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: Eze. 29. 19 and gave him that Kingdom and the ſpoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action,to attain unto that eternal happineſs reſerved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet ſuch is the boundleſs goodneſs of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal bleſsings.

Joſeph. ant l.10. c.13.

Now of this enterpriſe of *Nabuchodonoſor's* againſt *Tyre*, prophane Hiſtorians have not been ſilent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philoſtratus* (as *Joſephus* citeth them) the one in his ſecond Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Hiſtories remember it.

After theſe two great *Vaſtations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it ſelf again: and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Chriſt*: and after him flouriſhed in the *Chriſtian* Faith neer 600. years: the *Archbiſhop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Hieruſalem* onely, who within his own Dioceſs had fourteen great Cities,with their Biſhops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwiſe *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæſarea Philippi*, *Berytus*. *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthoſia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortoſa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636. it was with the reſt of that beautiful Region of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*, ſubjected to the cruel and faithleſs *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whoſe tyranny it ſuffered, with the other *Paleſtine* Cities, 488. years.

Guil. Tyr. bell. ſac.

Guil.Tyr. 11. Bell: ſacr. 17.

In the year 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hieruſalem*; but in vain: yet in the year 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarch* of *Hieruſalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the ſecond, with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered,and ſubjected to the Kings of *Hieruſalem*, and ſo it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189. *Saladine* having firſt taken *Hieruſalem*, removed his whole Army, and ſate down before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The Citizens finding themſelves reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and ſallyed out reſolvedly upon his Army, ſlew ſo great numbers of them; and followed their victory with ſuch fury, as that the Saracens forſaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two years after which victory the body of that famous *Frederick Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Chriſtians* enemies over a River unfoordable periſhed by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral* Church of *Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. years before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth ſubject to the *Turks*.

||. IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongſt the coaſt of the Sea, which the *Aſſerites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Aſſer* was *Acho*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwiſe the Colony of *Claudius*. It had alſo the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

Plin.l.5. c.19.In de ſcrip.terr. ſanct.

But laſtly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies*: which City alſo, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliouſly wreſted from his ſon in law *Alexander*, which called himſelf the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the ſame *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the ſaid *Ptolomie*, not long before. Therein alſo was *Jonathan Machabæus* treacherouſly ſurpriſed and ſlain, as it is 1 *Mac.*12. 48. by the perfidiouſneſs of *Tryphon*, whom ſoon after *Antiochus* purſued, as it is in the Story enſuing: and, by like reaſon, about the ſame time was the aforeſaid *Alexander* in the war againſt *Demetrius*, one of the ſons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned, overthrown and treacherouſly murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for ſuccour: and his head preſented unto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treaſon above three daies, for God ſtruck him by death.

Ptolomeus Philometer.

1 Mac. 10.

1 Mac. 18.

For the beauty and ſtrength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regal ſeat; two parts of the ſame being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for ſafety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is diſtant from *Hieruſalem* ſome four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Caſtrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. In the middeſt of the City there was a Tower of great ſtrength, ſometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub*: and therefore called the *Caſtle of Flies*, on the top whereof there was mantained a perpetual light like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt*: to give comfort in the night to thoſe ſhips which came neer and ſought that part. It had in it a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*, after it became *Chriſtian*: but in the year 636. (a fatal year to the *Chriſtians* in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the firſt, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thouſand one hundred fourſcore and ſeven, *Saladine* King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of Chriſt, one thouſand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repoſſeſſed and redelivered to the *Chriſtians*. Laſtly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury of the *Saracens* beſieged with an Army of 150000. entered, ſack'd, and utterly demoliſhed: though in ſome ſort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkiſh*.

Ant. Itin.

Herold.

G. Tyr. bell. ſacr. lib.10.cap. 28.Herold. l.1.bell. ſacr.tit.7. & l.2.c.2. & alibi.

||. V.

Of the Caſtle of Saint George.

Broch.

FIve miles from *Ptolomais* towards the Eaſt, is a Caſtle of St. *George* ſeated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoyning bearing the ſame name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ſtrange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Succeſſors royally have continued, ſhould have born his name, ſeeing the World had not that ſcarcity of Saints in thoſe daies, as that the *Engliſh* were driven to make ſuch an erection upon a fable, or perſon feigned. The place is deſcribed by *Adricomius* in his deſcription of *Aſſer*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his own words are theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immaniſſimo Dracone aſſervâſſe: eamque mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cujus rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata*; *In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt, Saint* George, *did reſcue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beaſt, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there*: Thus far *Adricomius*. His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l.1.c.3.* and *Bridenbach Itin.5.* The Valley under this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George*. If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of *Chriſt*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

4. Of the place and memory of his death. See ch.9. ſect. 2.

||. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, was the ſtrong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S. *Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Joſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites*. *Belforreſt* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moſes* ſent from *Cadesbarn*, travelled as far to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, which *Rechob*, as alſo *Berothæ*, which by *Ezechiel*, *cap.*47.*ver.*16. is placed in theſe North borders, belonging in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the ſecond of *Samuel*, *chap.* 8. *ver.* 8. and *chap.* 10. *ver.* 6. and it defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

Hieron de Locis Hebr.

Joſ. Bell. Jud. l.1. c.11.

Plin. l.5. c.19.

This *Aphek* it was, whoſe wall falling down, ſlew ſeven and twenty thouſand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had been ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philiſtims* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the firſt of *Samuel* the 9. & 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda*. Of which *Joſ.*15. and 53. & in the ſecond of *Kings* 13.17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others covert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

1 King.20 29.

1 Sam.29. 1.

The next place alongſt the coaſt is *Sandalium*, firſt called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he beſieged *Tyre*: and ſet it on a point of Land which extendeth it ſelf into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre:* which Caſtle *Baldwine* the firſt rebuilt and fortified; in the year of *Chriſt* 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this Caſtle, there ariſeth that moſt plentiful Spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Water:* from whence not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the ſame Spring, which hath not above a bow-ſhot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth ſix great Mills in that ſhort paſſage, ſaith *Brochard*.

Cant. 4.
Itin. 1.

Within the Land, and to the Eaſt of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, ſtandeth *Hoſa:* and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achſaph*, or *Axab*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Aciſap*, a City of great ſtrength, whoſe King, amongſt the reſt, was ſlain by *Joſua*, at the waters of *Merom*.

Joſ. 12. 20

§. VII.

Of Thoron, Giſcala, and ſome other places.

Further into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was ſeated the Caſtle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eaſtermoſt hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107. thereby to reſtrain the excurſions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* againſt the *Chriſtians:* the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleaſant. From this Caſtle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the ſtory of the Wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the bleſſed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Conſtable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of *Hieruſalem*, lieth buried: There were five Caſtles beſides this within the Territory of *Aſſer:* whereof four are ſeated almoſt of equal diſtance from each other: to wit, *Caſtrum*, *Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Caſtrum Regium* and *Belfort:* the firſt neer the Sea under the hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, ſtand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowſhip of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themſelves, and gave ſuccour to other Chriſtians at ſuch time as the *Saracens* poſſeſt the beſt part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Achon*. The firſt fortreſs was for beauty and ſtrength called *Belfort*, ſeated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, neer the City *Rama:* of which in this Tribe *Joſ.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma:* making the article a part of the word, and miſtaking the vowels: from the ſiege of this Caſtle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Chriſtians Army raiſed, and with great loſs and diſhonour repulſed.

Herold. l. c. 4. Continuationis, l. l. &c.

To the Eaſt of *Belfort*, is the ſtrong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of thoſe that defended themſelves againſt *Aſſer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod* ſurnamed the *Aſcalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua diſpicere ſignificat* (ſaith *Weiſhenburg*) ſo called, becauſe *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleaſed with thoſe twenty Cities, ſeated hereabout, which *Solomon* preſented unto him in recompence of thoſe proviſions ſent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Chabol* (or *Cabul*) containing a circuit of thoſe twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compaſs of the Holy Land, though bordering *Aſher* on the North ſide: as it is ſaid, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis:* that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, ſay they, to give to ſtrangers any part of the poſſeſſions allotted to the *Iſraelites:* howſoever, that after *Hiram* had refuſed them, they were peopled by the *Iſraelites*, it appears, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it ſeems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whoſe City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in theſe parts.

Joſeph. ant. 19. 21 & 15. 10.
Jun. annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.
2 Sam. 10. 6.

Almoſt of equal diſtance from the Caſtle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giſcala*, and *Gadara:* of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan:* *Giſcala* was made famous by *John* the ſon of *Levi*, who from a mean eſtate gathering together four hundred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*, at ſuch time as the *Romans* attempted the conqueſt of *Judæa:* by whoſe practice *Joſephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himſelf hath written at large, in his ſecond Book of thoſe Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Giſcala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State:* and finding a reſiſtance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to ſurprize it: who at the ſame time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Joſephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by compoſition. They finde alſo the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cadeſſa*) of

Cap. 16.
* See deſc. in Nephthali. Matth. Mark 1. Macca. 73. Joſeph. Antiq. c. 8.

the firſt was that *Syro-phœnician*, whoſe Daughter *Chriſt* delivered of the evil ſpirit. Neer the other, they ſay, it was that *Jonathas Machabeus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

There are, beſides theſe fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of *Aſſer*, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, *Meſall*, or *Miſheall:* within the Land (*a*) *Beſara*, (*b*) *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, ſtanding on the South border between *Aſher* and *Zabulon:* on the North ſide joyning to *Syrophœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmoſt of the *Holy Land* that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Chali*, and then (*c*) *Enoch*, ſuppoſed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his ſon *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others alſo beſides theſe, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 28. where alſo we read of *Nehiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beron:* the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Miſheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Aſſerites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Judg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Joſua* we may add *Ebron*, *Ambad*, and others, on which no ſtory dependeth; and therefore I will not peſter the deſcription with them.

(a) Of which Joſephus in vita ſua.
(b) Of both which Joſ. 19. 27. Ezek. 47. 15.
(c) Or Enoſia, Joſeph. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Joſ. 21. 30.

§. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Aſſer.

The Rivers to the North of *Aſſer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joyneth *Lycus;* *Ptolomy*, *Leontis:* both which fall into the Sea neer *Berytus:* which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws neer unto *Zidon:* finding his head notwithſtanding where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath alſo a River called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus:* for which he alſo citeth *Pliny*, and the firſt of *Machabees* the eleventh Chapter; but neither of thoſe authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Aſſer:* for this River falleth into the Sea at the Iſle of *Aradus:* not far from *Balanæa*, witneſs *Ptolomy:* and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Poſtellus*, *Velana;* which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-ſide: to which *Strabo* alſo agreeth: but this principal River of *Aſſer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Chriſtianus Chrot* out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicſtan* (which *Laicſtan* in this our age both viewed and deſcribed the Holy Land) calleth the main River *Fons hortorum Libani:* and one of the ſtreams which runneth into it from the North-ſide, *Naar*, and another from the South-weſt, *Chabul:* of the city adjoyning of the ſame name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is alſo another River deſcribed by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he citeth *Joſ.* 19. but the word [a] *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is alſo found in *Aſſer* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Tacitus*, which is alſo called *Pagidas*, ſaith * *Pliny:* out of the ſands of this River are made the beſt Glaſs, which ſometimes the *Zidonians* practiſed: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumint*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Coſmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into thoſe parts witneſs. It is true that the River of *Chiſon* taketh water from *Chedumim*, but not in that faſhion which *Montanus* hath deſcribed it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus* but farther to the South between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witneſs *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Aſiæ tab. 4
Plin. l. 9. Aſiæ tab. 4. Poſt Orthoſian & Eleutherum eſt Tripolis.
Joſeph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3.
* L. 5. c. 19
In Joſ. c. 19. v. 26.

Beſides theſe Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living waters adjoyning to *Tyre:* and [b] *Maſerephot*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Maſerephotmaim*, whoſe Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoyning (they ſay) the Inhabitants by ſeething the water make ſalt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

The Mountains which bound *Aſſer* on the North, are thoſe of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœloſyria:* two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themſelves far into the Land Eaſtward, 400. ſtadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo:* for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœloſyria*, which thoſe Mountains incloſe: but *Pliny* gives them 1500. furlongs in length from the Weſt (where they begin at *Theipſophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis* to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damaſcus:* where *Anti-Libanus* turneth towards the South. Theſe ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Baſan*, from the Deſart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon:* which *Moſes* alſo nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion;* and the *Amorites*, *Sanir;* neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead:* the ſame being ſtill a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet

Strab. l. 10. Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 48. Strab. l. 10. Pto. Aſiæ tab. 4. Sueton. Nig. pag. 503.

[a] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Geſtemanim*, it is called *Sichor*, of which name many underſtand another ſtream *Joſ.* 13. 3. which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promiſed Land, whereabout they place *Rhinocorura*, for which city *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Joſua:* but howſoever whether this *Sichor*, *Joſ.* 13. 3. be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Joſ.* 19. 26 and in the South bound, *Joſ.* 13. 3.

[b] See the marginal note above in the ſecond ſection of this Paragraph.

Hieremy proveth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth theſe Mountains bordering *Aſſer*; *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giveth no reaſon of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe (according to *Tacitus*) the higheſt of them are covered with ſnow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos*, (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſs. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which thoſe Trees yeild: becauſe λίβανος is alſo the *Greek* word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* beſtoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chryſorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The reſt of the Mountains of *Aſſer*, are thoſe Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful: but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moſes* beheld *Libanus* threeſcore miles diſtant.

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§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

||. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, *and of Heliopolis, and Abila.*

THe next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Aſher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the ſon of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increaſed to the number of 53400. perſons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons, 45400. beſides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoyning, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the Weſt by *Aſher*, and on the Eaſt and South-Eaſt by *Jordan*.

On the North-ſide of *Libanus*, and adjoyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) alſo inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Monntains adjoyning ſhadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Poſtellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. ſacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. hiſt. Eccleſ. aſt. Mela l. 3. c. 9. Juſtin. Geſtel. in itiner. Joſeph. in plur. locis, Euſeb. 8. Demonſt. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt*: the firſt called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*; otherwiſe *Bethſemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sun*: into which, ſaith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman Emperour* ſent a *Colony*: the other *Geſtelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* alſo findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is alſo in the ſame Valley adjoyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis* of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila alſo gave name to the region adjoyning, of which *Lyſanius* the ſon of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lyſanii*, and called it *Abila Lyſanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophiſter* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Apuleius*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Chriſtian Faith, *Priſcillinus* became the Biſhop thereof: ſlain afterward by our *Brittiſh Maximus* at *Trever*. For diſtinction of this city (if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manaſſe*, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the ſame name, ſaving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. chapter of the ſecond of *Samuel*. The ſame *Joſephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for diſtinction ſake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca* the wife of *Macir*, the ſon of *Manaſſe*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* beſieged, becauſe *Seba* the ſon of *Bichri*, who rebelled againſt *David*, fled thereinto for ſuccour: but a certain wiſe woman of the city perſwading the people to caſt *Seba* his head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The ſame city was afterward taken by the King of *Damaſcus*, *Ben-adad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalaſar*.

[a] Alſo a third in Ephraim, called Abel-Mechola and a 4th in Reuben, called Abel-Sittim, alſo Abel-Miſraim, at the Foord of Jordan, and (as it ſeems) in the ſame Tribe of Reuben, of all which in that which follows: to which all we may add Abel-Mognum, the name, as ſome think, of a city, otherwiſe called Bethſhemeſ near the border of the Philiſtims, or according to others of the great ſte in the border.

1 Sam. 6. Joſeph. 17. cap. 2 Sam. 1 King. 2 King.

The

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to ſignifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvel that many Towns (with ſome addition for diſtinction ſake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Judg.* 2. 4. and ſo doutleſs * *Abel-Miſraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and ſo perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Eliſha* the Prophet: alſo *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephta* purſued them.

* And Abel Magnum. 1 Sam. 6. 18 Judg. 7. 24 & 1 Reg. 19. 15. Judg. 11. 33.

||. II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joſua's* time called *Aſor*, (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*, *Haſzor*) by *Joſephus*, *Aſora*; by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laicſtan* names *Heſron*; the Regal City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: ſeated in the Weſt part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Aſher*. In this city was that great Rendevous and Aſſembly of thoſe four and twenty Kings againſt *Joſua*: who being all overthrown, ſlain, and ſcattered, this their powerful city was by *Joſua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſs of time the ſame being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond King *Iabin*, 137. years after the death of this firſt *Ialin*, invaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he prevailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſervitude 20. years; till *Debora* the Propheteſs overthrew *Siſera*, *Iabins* Lievtenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with [c] *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260. years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adricomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, ſaith [d] *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in Juda, ſee c. 9. ſect. 1. Of a 4th in Benjamin, ſee that which follows in this place: of a fifth in this Tribe of Nephtalim, called Hen-Chatſor, we read Joſ. 19. 27. whereto we may add Chatſor-Henan, in the uttermoſt North-eaſt of Manaſſe, over Jordan, Eze. 47 Num. 34. 8. Alſo in Simeon, Chatſor-Suſima, of which 1 Chron. 4. 31. which alſo is called Chatſar Sula, and Chatſar-Gaddæ, and laſtly, Chatſar-Shuleb, another city of Simeon, Joſ. 19. 3.

[c] 1 King 9

[d] Hieron. loc. Hebr. l. 4. out of Neh. 11. 33. as it ſeems.

||. III.

Of Cæſarea Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Lais*, or *Lajiſch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which city the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and maſtered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Geneſ.* 14. at which place *Abraham* ſurpriſed *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diviſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneva*, *Laiſh*; Joſephus, *Dana*, Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſs *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this city to be the ſame, which in *Matth.* 15. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in S. *Mark*, ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg.* 18. *And there was none to help, becauſe Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no buſineſs with other men*: for it was above thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Judg 18. 27 Joſ. 19. 47. Judg. 18. Chap. 8. 10. Verſe 28. Plin. l. 5. c. 15.

In after-times when theſe regions became ſubject to the ſtate of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoyning ſo called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæſarea Paniæ*. *Hegeſippus* calls it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegeſippus*, ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſon of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, ſometime *Baſan*: this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tyberius Cæſar*, he called it * *Cæſarea Philippi*: and ſo it became the *Metropolis*, and head city of *Traconitis*, and one of the firſt cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the ſucceeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in S. *Hieroms* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloody iſſue, by touching the hem of his garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward,

Heg. l. 1. c. 35.

* Of another Cæſaria (or Cæſarea) called Cæſarea Paleſtinæ: ſee hereafter in the former part of Manaſſe. Of Diocæſaria, ſee Sephoris in Zabulon.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 25.

ward, as ſhe was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodneſs, and no leſs grateful for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt as near as it could be moulded*: the other made like her ſelf, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. Theſe ſhe mounted upon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame metal, which ſhe placed by a Fountain near her own houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, even to his own time: which himſelf had ſeen, who lived in the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the year after Chriſt 363. that Monſter *Julian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt down and defaced: ſetting up the like of his own in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joyning together of thoſe two Rivers, which ariſing from the ſprings of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a ſoil exceeding fruitful and pleaſant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world*. In the fields belonging to this City it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged Chriſt to be the Son of God: whereupon it was anſwered, *Tu es* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat: and it ran the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and re-taken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them again it was recovered. Laſtly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World ſubjected to the *Turk*.

‖. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Caphernaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Evangeliſts*. This City had the honour of Chriſts preſence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the doctrine of our ſalvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſs have ſeen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined.*

Caphernaum was ſeated on *Iordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich ſoil: of whoſe deſtruction Chriſt himſelf propheſied in theſe words, *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, ſhalt be brought down to hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſs of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome marks of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieroms* time, as himſelf confeſſeth; it being then a reaſonable Burge or Town: yet thoſe that have ſince, and long ſince ſeen it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirm, that it then conſiſted but of ſix poor Fiſhermens houſes.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* alſo remembred; but I find no agreement between the *Coſmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Pliny* himſelf confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger*, ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Caſius* in *Caſiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœloſyria*, all *Paleſtina*, and *Iudæa*.

Pliny alſo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſs, *Amona* rather, becauſe it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, ſometime *Niſa*, built (as is ſaid) by *Baccus*, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixth he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœloſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleuſia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the ſame Sea betwen *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeventh he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colony* of Horſmen there garriſon'd

[a] *Joſephus* in the book of the Jewiſh war, ch. 18. ſaith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* caſt chaffe into a Fountain called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North eaſt from *Cæſarea*, which chaffe being carried under ground, was caſt up again at *Panium* or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured, that the firſt Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

Math. 4. Mark 7. Luke 6.

Niger. comment. Aſiæ 4. f. 503.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

Opotos a City ſtanding in the Valley of Cæloſyria, watered by Chryſoros, as Damaſcus is.

Plin. l. 5.

* Pliny hath Hippion Dion, for which Volaterran reads Hippidion. Ortelius takes these for two Cities.

by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Galilean Sea*, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Joſephus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Cœloſyra* by *Joſephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* over *Jordan*, ſo called, becauſe thoſe two Hills on which it is ſeated, have the ſhape of a Camel. But the Collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be theſe; *Cæſarea Philippi*, and *Aſor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authors diſagree herein, and give no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Evangeliſt* S. *Mathew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middeſt of the coaſts of Decapolis*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the Weſt: by the Hils of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neer the ſame diſtance, which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

‖. V.

Of Hamath.

But to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neer the foot thereof the City of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Country adjoyning taketh name: the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: [a] *Jacobus Zeigler, Itureæa. Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum uſque Trachones.* The Country of *Ituræa*, ſaith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Ituræa*, he miſtakes the ſeat of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelf is far more to the Eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæſarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is ſeated under *Cæſarea*, towards the Sea Weſt-ward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœloſyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. is ſet far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Sóba*) is remembred in *Numb*. 24. 8. & *Num*. 13. 22. & in *Ezek*. 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In the ſecond place thus: *So they went up, and ſearched out the Land from the Wilderneſs of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath*: Then in *Ezekiel*; *The Weſt part alſo ſhall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over againſt Hamath*: that is, the coaſt of the Sea ſhall be the Weſt border from the Southermoſt part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over againſt *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is the [c] Northweſt corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moſes* alſo made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the Weſt Sea, and the City of [d] *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the

The Sep- agint ite it Ammath, Hierome math, ſephus math: ſ 19.35. ammath, *cap*. 21. *ver*. 32. *Chammath-Dor*, in the firſt of *Chron. cap* 6 *ver*. 76. ammon, 2 *Kings* 14. 8. *Chammath-Ichudæ*, as *Junius* reads it, whereas o for further diſtinction there is added [in Iſrael] to note, that it was old belonging to *Juda*, though ſeated in *Iſrael*; that is, in the Kingdom the ten Tribes: the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*. a *Zeigler* in phtal,

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it ſeems for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Mat Beroaldus*, rejecting *Hierome*, rather follows the opinion of *Zeigler* above mentioned, as indeed it cannot eaſily be juſtified that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which in *Joſhua* 19 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may be gathered, partly becauſe the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chamath Tſeba*, as this (as it may ſeem by *Joſ*. 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*, and *Chamath Judæ*, as we have noted, 2 *Reg*. 24. Secondly, becauſe *Numbers* 34. 8. and alſo *Ezek* 47. 10. *Chamath* in the North ſide of the Holy Land is placed too neer the Weſt corner, to be that *Chamath Tſoba*: for in the line which ſhould make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moſes* to name never a place Eaſt-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermon* (for ſo they expound Mount *Hor*. *Num*. 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermon* Eaſt-ward in this North ſide, they make him to name divers Towns, firſt *Chamath*, then *Tſeda*, then *Ziphron*, and laſtly, *Chatſar-henan*, a thing moſt unlikely: ſeeing *Iſrael* had little or nothing Eaſt-ward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we muſt needs expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neer *Sidon*, and ſo thoſe Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North ſide of *Aſher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manaſſes*: and in like manner thoſe in *Ezekiel*, firſt, *Checlon*, then *Chamath*, and ſo in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tſedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatſar-henan*.

[c] Of which *Joſh*. 19. 35.

[d] Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Joſ*. 19. 28, is placed in *Aſher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* ever had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Iturǽa*, witneſs [e] *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephthalim*, where [f] *Jonathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night,

[e] *Tilemannus Stella* and Peter *Laicſtan* in their tables of the Holy land.

[f] *Joſ ant.* 13. 8.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Iturǽa* (and therefore it is ſaid to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Iturǽa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrach*, or *Preſident*, both of *Iturǽa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the Eaſt. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Country *Iturǽa* was ſo called of *Jethur*, one of the ſons of *Iſmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœloſyria*, and *Arabia* * the Deſart.

The people *Iturǽi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil*:

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Iturǽans* bows were made.

* That it doth properly belong to *Arabia*, the name of *Jethur Iſmaels* ſon, whoſe iſſue ſetled in the *Arabia's*, may in part give witneſs. Alſo the place of the 1 *Chr.* 5.19 confirms it, where *Jethur* is named among the *Hagarens*, againſt whom the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* made war, and whoſe country they poſſeſt in the time of *Jeroboam*. as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conqueſt of the *Amalekites*. 1 *Chron* 5 10 where the country is placed at the Eaſt of *Gilead*.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, ſeems to have been as ancient as the other in *Iturǽa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleventh ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damaſcus*: of whoſe ſubjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, becauſe *Hadadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs.

But it ſeemeth that *David* in ſuch great ſucceſs would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*: which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himſelf Maſter of, as a part of the lands (*a* in the larger and conditional promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

a Of the larger promiſe expreſt, *Deut.* 1.7 where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds: See *chap* 7 *ſect.* 2.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been ſaid, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

Hieron. de locis Hebr.

While S. *Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

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§. VI.

Of Reblatha & Rama, and divers other Towns.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, ſtandeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*: which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought priſoner, after his ſurprize in the fields of *Jericho*: & delivered to *Nebuchodonoſor*: who to be avenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, firſt cauſed the Princes his children to be ſlain in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: & binding him in Iron chains, he was led a ſlave to *Babylon*, in which ſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldom exampled calamity, though not in expreſs words, *Jeremy* the Prophet foretold him in *Hieruſalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly ſpeaking in the perſon of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die therein.*

Hierom 51 11, &c. *Ezek* 21. 52.

There are, beſides theſe before remembred, many other ſtrong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called (*a*) *Cedes*; there are two other of the ſame name, one in (*b*) *Iſſachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15.23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is known by the addition of (*c*) *Nephtalim*, as *Jud.* 4. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Joſ.* 20.7. *Kedeſh in Galilea in monte Nephtali*: *Joſephus* calls it *Cedeſis*, and in S. *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidiſſus*. *Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Deſart of *Pharan*.

a Or, *Kediſh*, *Joſ.* 19.37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. *item Jud.* 4 6.

b 1 *Chron.* 6. 72. which *Joſ.* 19 20. is called *Kiſhion*.

c Sometime *Kedeſh* in *Galilea*, 1 *Chro* 6 76. *Joſ.* 12.22. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, periſhed by the hand of *Joſua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the ſecond *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was ſometime poſſeſt by *Teglatphalaſſer*, when he waſted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat, but in time it fell with the reſt into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demoliſhed.

From *Cedes* ſome four *Italian* miles towards the South-weſt, ſtandeth *Sephet*, otherwiſe *Zephet*, which was alſo one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding ſtrong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortreſs of the *Chriſtians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of thoſe Regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, ſeated Northward neer *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in *Palæſtine*, all ſcituate on hils: and thereſore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelſum*; *Ramath with the Hebrews is high.*) Alſo that from this *Rama*, *Joſ.* 19.36. they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence caſting away the aſpiration, they read *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the Weſt, they place * *Bethſemes*, of which *Joſ* 19.38. which defended it ſelf againſt *Nephtalim*, *Jud.* 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other ſide of *Sephet*, towards the Eaſt, was *Bethanath*, who alſo kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

() See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim*.

* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus ſolis*) as that in *Juda*, 2 *Kin.* 14. 15. where *Jo-* ſh King of the ten Tribes overcame *Amaſia* of *Juda*, of which alſo underſtand (the place, *Joſ.* 21.16. & 1 *Sam.* 6. 14. & 2 *Chro.* 29. 18. A third, as it ſeems was in *Dan.* Kin. 4.9. which *Joſ.* 19.41. is written *Hirſhemes*, which is as much as *Civitas ſolis*. *Jud.* .31.

Adjoyning to which ſtandeth *Carthan*, (*d*) or *Kiriathajim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain out of which the ſprings of *Capharnaum* ariſe, called *Mons Chriſti*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as alſo then when calling his Diſciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apoſtles or Meſſengers: of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the (*e*) *Evangeliſts*.

Adjoyning to theſe are *Magdalel*, a place of ſtrength, (*f*) and *Meſaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the (*g*) *Macchabees*: alſo (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berotha's* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, (*h*) one neer *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47.6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joſeph. ant. l.* 5. *c.* 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neer the waters of *Merom*; becauſe the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* againſt *Joſua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Joſ.* 11.5. are by *Joſephus* ſaid to have encamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedeſa ſuperiour*, which is alſo in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* ſeeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The ſame *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-Beth Mahacah*, we have ſpoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam* 20. 14. where ſome read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Beræi*: for *Shebah* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe alſo there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that City after him.

d So it appeares by compa- ing of the places *Joſ.* 1.31. & Chr. 6. 6. *Adricho-* ius both ere and lſewhere, eceived y the ouble ame, akes o of ne: al-

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* ſtandeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroſeth gentium*, neer the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the City of *Siſara*, Lieutenant of the Army of the ſecond *Jabin*: from whence not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a ſtrong City: beſides many others, whereof I find no particular ſtory of importance: as *Ser* in *Joſ. c.* 19. *v.* 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the firſt of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Aſſedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: alſo *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*, of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the ſtrong City of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the ſame Lake which is alſo called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * 1 *Mac.* 9.2. alſo divers others, named *Joſ.* 19. as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkok Horem* and *Azanothtabor* (which they place towards the Eaſt parts) and out of the ſame place of *Joſua*, Jerzon, *Lakkum* Jepnael, *Heleb*, and (*k*) *Raccath*; which two laſt they place neer *Cæſarea Philippi*: To theſe they add out of Joſhua, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two Junius readeth *Foſſa Adamæi*, making it no Town, but a Ditch caſt by ſome of *Adameth*, as it ſeems; or at leaſt the cuſtody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To theſe out of *Num.* 34. 10. they add *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.* 30. 21. ſeems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47. 16. and the latter out of Joſ. 19.33. it may appear by Junius his Tranſlation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The City of (*l*) *Nephthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naaſon* neer unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Tranſlation, *Tob* 7. 7. but in the *Greek* Text there is no ſign, neither of the one nor of the other.

Aſtroth. Herom Jud. 4. *Lyr.* in *Jud.* 4.

Joſ 19 37.

1 *Reg.* 15. 20.

2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

Mar, 6.53. *Luke* 5. 1.

* This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala*, or *Gilgal*, in *Nephtali*, but may well be underſtood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manaſſe*.

k This *Receath* or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the ſame with *Karthan* (one of theſe being made of the other by tranſpoſition of letters) of which *Karthan* vve have noted already, that it is alſo *Kiria thajim*.

ough I deny not but that there vvas another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of ich *Joſ.* 13 9. *e Mark* 3. *Matth.* 10. *Acts* 1. *Matth.* 5.6,7. *f Joſ.* 19.38 Mac. 9.2. h *Barathena Ptolomeo in fine Arabiæ deſertæ*: *Junio eadem cum* rothai una *civitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.* 8. 8. *Joſ.* 18. 25.

l In the place, 1 *Reg.* 4. it is, which alſo they bring to prove that there vvas a City called *Nephtalim*, as is evident by the following Verſes: the Tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the ſons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, beſides women, children, and aged unable perſons: all which dying in the Deſarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their iſſues 65000. fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Aſher* to the River *Chiſon* South-ward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediteran* Eaſt and Weſt.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Aſher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea ſhore; of which *Joſeph. Ant.* 13. *c.* 19. *Debbaſet*, of* which *Joſ.* 19. 11. *Jekonam*, or *Jockneham* (whoſe King was (*a*) ſlain by *Joſua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the City of Horſemen, of a Regiment there garriſon'd by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *city of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, (*b*) burnt to the ground by *Ceſtius*, Lietvenant of the *Roman* Army. *Adricomius* makes it the birth-City of (*c*) *Elon* Judge of *Iſrael*, becauſe he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the ſame place, he is ſaid to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the Eaſt of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 15. on the border of *Aſher*: and beyond it the leſſer (*d*) *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Chriſt converted water into wine: the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it ſelf againſt *Zabulon*. Then *Berſabe*, which ſtandeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*. Not far from hence ſtandeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neba*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joſeph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the ſame wherein *Elizæas*, beſieged by the *Syrians*, ſtruck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the Eaſt, they imagine (*e*) *Amthar*, or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The laſt of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethſaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, ſcituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the ſprings of *Capharnaum*, the native City of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein Chriſt did many miracles, but theſe people being no leſs incredulous than the *Capharnaims*, and others, received the ſame Curſe of threatned miſeries, as, *Wo be unto thee Bethſaida*, &c.

* *Joſ.* 12. 22.

a *Joſ.* 2. *bel.* 19.

b *Joſ.* 2. *bel.* 22.

c *Judg.* 12. 12.

d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Aſer*. *Joſ.* 22. 2. *Nathaniel* is ſaid to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reads *Mat.* 10. 4. *Simon Cannites*, which word (*Luke* 6.) he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

e The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Anithar*, *Joſ.* 19 13. *Vatablus* expounds, *quæ gyrat*: *Junius* joyns it with the word going before it, & reads *Rimmo-nemo, Methoarum*, *Mat.* 8. 11. *Mark* 1. 6. *Luke* 4. 10

Alongſt the Weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

And beyond it the ſtrong and high ſeated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Joſephus* in the *Roman* war: but in the end, after a long ſiege, ſurpriſed by *Veſpatian*, who ſlaughtered many thouſand of the Citizens, and held 1200. priſoners, whereof *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian was one.

The laſt and greateſt of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth*, within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea alſo changed name, and was called the Sea of the City *Tiberias*, ſo named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæſar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew* from the Toll or Cuſtom-houſe, to be an Apoſtle; and neer unto it raiſed the daughter of *Jairus* from death: it was built (as *Joſephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrach*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, in the moſt fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres*: *Quam juxta noſtras leges* (ſaith he) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our law he ſhould be ſeven daies held as unclean, who inhabited in ſuch a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Joſephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as ſome have thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

* The names of the chief Cities ſeated about this ſea, or lake, thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were Capernaum, *Tyberias*, *Bethſaida*, *Gadara*, *Tariches*, and they add *Cinnereth*, which in fore-times gave name to the Lake and Country.

Matth 9. *Luke* 5.

Joſe. Ant. 18. 3.

Joſeph. 10. 15.

Adrich. in Zab.

Neer unto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Veſpatian* the Emperour encamped againſt *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-weſt, is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtory of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, ſuch as it is. Neer which ſtandeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*: and *Japha*, an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury ſlew 15000 of the Citizens; and carried away above two thouſand priſoners.

Joſ. in vita ſua.

Joſep. 2. *Bel.* 25.

On the South ſide are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Joſephus* in his own life, then *Jafie*, according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Joſ.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we ſpake but now out of *Joſephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it Weſtward, *Legio*, (afterward a Biſhops ſeat) and the City *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Judith* 7. 3. otherwiſe *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth-city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Joſephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, ſaith *Hegeſippus*, and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæſarea*, the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Joſephus* ſpeaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he ſaith, *Urbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* ere he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regal ſeat of the nether *Galilee*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to ſay as Imperial, ſaith *Joſephus*; and it is now but a Caſtle called *Zaphet*.

Joſ. 21. [illegible] otherwiſe *Kiſloth Thabor* as *Junius* thinks upon *Joſ.* 19. 12. whence 1 *Chro.* 6. 77. it is called *Thabor*.

John. de Montevilla, *c.* 4. & 20.

Joſeph. ant. 18. 3. & *in vita ſua.*

To the South-weſt of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæſarea*, was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*; in which he himſelf was conceived: it ſtandeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this city he abode chiefly four and twenty years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Chriſtians* afterward were for many years. It was erected into an *Archbiſhoprick* in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria* (afterward well defended againſt the *Turks*) and *Nabalal*, of which *Ioſ.* 19. 15. and *Iudg.* 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Ioſ.* 21. 35. where it is a city of the *Levites*; near the Sea, adjoyning to the River of *Chiſon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Ioſua* for the uttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In this Territory of *Zabulon* there are divers ſmall Mountains: but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Chriſt* in the preſence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: unto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empreſs *Helen* built a ſumptuous Chappel.

In the chief River of *Zabulon* is *Chiſon*, which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one ſtream Eaſtward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtream Weſtward into the great Sea. This River of *Chiſon* where it riſeth, and ſo far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorſeus*: though others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*. There is a ſecond Torrent or Brook that riſeth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river riſing out of the Fountains of *Caphernaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame Sea, and near *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the city, from which it paſſeth Eaſtward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo joyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Joſua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laiſtans* Map in *Ortelius* *Joſ.* 19. 14.

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§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

THe next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southweſt, was *Iſſachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as appeared by their muſters at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the *Holy Land* 64300.

The firſt city of this Tribe near the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, diſtant from *Tiberias* eight Engliſh miles, or ſomewhat more; a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upſtart, *John* the ſon of *Levi*) took arms againſt *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This city was firſt taken by *Caſſius*, and 3000. *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficulty by *Veſpaſian*, who entred it by the Sea ſide, having firſt beaten the *Jews* in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the ſword all ſorts of people, and of all ages; ſaving that his fury being quenched with the Rivers of blood running through every ſtreet, he reſerved the remainder for ſlaves and bond-men.

Tarichea in Sunon.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceſſion*, or *Ciſhion* of the *Levites*, and then *Iſſachar*, remembred in the firſt of *Kings*, *c.* 4. *v.* 17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Ioſ.* 19. 20. and *Remeth*, of which *Ioſ.* 19. 21. otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 37. or *Iarmuth*, *Ioſ.* 21. 19. this alſo was a city of the *Levites*, from whoſe Territory the Mountains of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themſelves to the *Mediterran* ſea, and towards the Weſt as far as the City of *Iezrael*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the cities of *Bethpheſes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, near which *Saul* ſlew himſelf: under thoſe, *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſſachar*: between which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtims* incamped againſt *Iſrael*, and afterward againſt *Saul*: a Land thirſty of blood,

for

Joſ. 21. 18. *Kiſhion*, which 1 *Chr.* 6. 72. is called *Kedeſh*.

Joſua 19.

1 *Sam.* 4. 1.

1 *Sam.* 3. 19.

1 *Kings* 20. 26.

In the later two places *Junius* makes *Aphec* in *Aſer*, according to *Joſ.* 19. 30. in the firſt he placeth it in *Juda*, out of *Joſ.* 15. 53.

for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrown and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harneſs, boaſt himſelf as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they ſay, adjoyning to this city, was the ſame vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, ſlain: before which overthrow the ſervants and counſellors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the Plains, they ſhould overcome them.*

1 King. 20.

1 Kings 20. 23.

Under *Aphec*, towards the Sea, they ſet the city of *Eſdrelon*, in the Plains of *Galilee*; called alſo the great field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggeddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the cities of *Caſaloth*, of which 1 *Mac.* 9.2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim*, of the *Levites*, and *Sceſima*, or *Shabatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſſachar*, of which *Ioſ.* 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*: a ſtrong Caſtle, invironed with the Sea, ſometime the ſtorehouſe and Magazine of the *Chriſtians*, and built by the Earl of Saint *Giles*, or *Tolouſe*.

Judith 1. 8 & 7. 3.

1 *Chron.* 6. 73.

Joſ. 21. 19.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab*, and the people aſſembled, to make trial whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idol of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them, that their God *was either in purſuit of his enemies, not at leiſure, or perchance aſleep, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many veſſels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the banks of *Chiſon* adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high Prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina*, and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragane* Biſhops ſeat. Returning again from the Sea-coaſt towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon*: a beautiful city while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the widows onely ſon.

Luke 7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion*, named *Ioſ.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchantreſs that undertook to raiſe up the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Ioſ.* 19. *v.* 19, 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Ioſ.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.* 6.71. This city (which ſtretcheth it ſelf over *Chiſon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* ſituate, near the Caves of thoſe two Theeves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one ſide to the Mountain of *Iſachar*, or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jeſrael*: which Valley continueth it ſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon* and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe *Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Midianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

*Called *Campus Magnus.*

1 *Mac.* 11. 49. and *Harbathe* for *Harabath.*

1 *Mac.* 5. 23. & 9. 1.

Judg. 6.

1 *Sam.* 31.

1 *King.* 10.

§. VII.

THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF *MANASSE.*

||. I.

Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.

THe next Tribe which joyneth it ſelf to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the eleventh ſon of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Patriarchs*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being conſumed in the Deſarts, there entred of their iſſues,

52700. bearing arms. The Territory which fell on this one half of *Manaſſe*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Jeſrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The firſt and principal City which ſtood in this Territory was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the leſs, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermoſt of *Cœloſyria*, they built this City a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians*, given by the *Greeks*.

Plin l. 5. c. 18.

Theſe barbarous Northern people conſtrained the *Jews* to fight againſt their own Nation and kinred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victory, they themſelves ſet on the *Jews* which ſerved them, and ſlew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmoſt towards the South of *Cœloſyria*: and *Strabo* joyns it to *Galilee*. It is ſeated between *Jordan* and the Hills of Gilboe, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, ſaith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the Eaſt part of the Valley of *Jeſrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* ſtrengtheneth it ſelf again into a River, leaving the Sea, or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithſtanding *Montanus* deſcribes it far to the Weſt, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicſtan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the beſt Authors. This City was the greateſt of all thoſe of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manaſſe* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy, or *Beth-ſan*, the houſe of an enemy.

Over the walls of this *Beth-ſan* the *Philiſtims* hung the body of *Saul*, and his ſons ſlain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an Archbiſhop, who had nine other Biſhops of his Dioceſs, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Book and 12. Chapter: but the ſame was afterward tranſlated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in thoſe parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that City, goodly pillers, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witneſs the ſtately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and deſolate Village.

Judg. 1. Joſ. 17. e Bell. er.

From *Beth-ſan* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient City called *Salem*, which City the ancient Rabbines, ſaith *Hierome*, do not find to be the ſame with *Hieruſalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and ſince, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *tranſivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* 3. 13. where it is ſaid, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* near *Salem*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *John* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shabalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shubal*: of which we read, 1 *Sam* 13.17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem* near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

erom. in ſt. ad gr. & nc. Heb.

Not far from thence where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*, *Joſephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve *Jabeſh Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite*: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer their right eyes to be thruſt out. Near *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* 7.24. in the ſtory of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to *Baal*, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that ſtone, on which *Abimelech* the Baſtard ſlew his 70. brothers; a Heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the *Turk* to this day: and not far hence, between the Village of *Aſophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, and ſlaughtered, as *Joſephus* numbereth them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomy* paſt by the Villages of the *Jews*, he ſlew all their women, and cauſed the young children to be ſod in great Caldrons, that the reſt of the *Iews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

This City *Bezek*, by the place *Judg.* 1. 3. ſeemeth to have been in *Juda.*

Joſeph. ant. 6. c. 5.

1 *Sam.* c. 11

Joſ. l. 13. c. 21. *ant.*

Towards the Weſt and on the border of *Iſachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* 7.22. placeth in *Ephraim*: it was the habitation of *Heliſæus* the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1 *Reg.* 4.12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*, to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanac* belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Joſua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

* This *Aner Junius* upon 1 *Chr.* 6 70 makes to be the ſame with *Tahanac*, of which *Joſ.* 21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Confederate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. 13. *Joſ.* 12. 17

In the body of this Territory of *Manaſſe*, but ſomewhat nearer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran*

diterran Sea,were three great Cities, to wit, *Therſa*,whoſe King was one of thoſe that *Joſua* ſlew: which the Kings of *Iſrael* uſed for their Regal ſeat, till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam*
1 King 14 went to *Achia* to enquire of her ſons health: who knowing her, though ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her ſons death.

The ſecond was *Thebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Town,whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty ſtone, thrown by a woman over the wall, who deſpairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to ſlay him outright, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he
Judg. 9. 53, 54. periſhed by the ſtroke of a woman. But others ſet this City in *Ephraim* near *Sichem*, or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*,of which the Territory adjoyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*,or governments in *Judæa*)
Hier Mac 1 c. 5. for which *Hierome*, 1 *Mac*.5. reads *Arabathena*: but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Palæſtine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond book of the Jews wars, *c.* 11. 25, 28. and elſewhere.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Toparchy*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Province,and the other for a City with ſome leſſer Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof ſo called.
Plin. l. 5. *Pliny* nameth ſeventeen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and ſo hath the
Euſeb in Chron. Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemſter*, *Vlſter*, *Connath*, and *Munſter*.

To the South-weſt of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam*,or *Bilham*,and *Gethremmon* of the Levites:but Junius out of *Joſ*.21. 25.and 1 *Chron*.6.70. gathers that theſe two are but one; and that *Jiblebam*, *Joſ*. 16. 11. is another name of the ſame City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regal City,ſet at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-weſt: herein Jezabel,by a falſe accuſation, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſs his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his father.

2 Kings 2. *Joram* alſo was caſt unburied into the ſame field: for which his mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whoſe aſcent as *Abaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had ſlain *Joram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 Kings 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Joſias* was ſlain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*,in a war unadviſedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the King thereof,by the commandment of God; whom *Joſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage. It was afterward called *Maximianoplis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whoſe King was ſlain among the reſt Judg 5. 19. Joſ 12. 21 by *Joſua*: yet they defended their City for a long time againſt *Manaſſe*. The River which paſſeth by the Town, may perhaps be the ſame which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorſeus*: and not that of which we have ſpoken in *Zabulon*.For becauſe this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of thoſe that have deſcribed the Holy Land, delineate no ſuch River. *Moore* only ſets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which paſſeth by *Maggeddo*, he underſtandeth to be but a branch,falling thereinto.*Laicſtan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place,agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*:*Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo.* But theſe Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent ſo called.

But ſeeing that ancient *Coſmographers* ſtretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebaſte*,or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it Strab. l. 1 on the Sea-coaſt: And *Joſephus* calls *Cæſaria* Joſeph. l. *Palæſtinæ*,a City of *Phœnicia*: yea,*Laurentius* c 13 Nig *Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Geza*: ſeeing alſo *Ptolomy* ſets down *Chorſeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this river running Eaſt and Weſt parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth,is the ſame which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Aſia*, calleth *Chorſeus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day.

||. II.

Of Ceſaria Palæſtinæ, and ſome other Towns.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the Weſt, and near the *Mediterran Sea*,was that glorions City of *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*:firſt,the Tower of *Straton*:the ſame which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* ſets *Apollonia* elſewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Veſpaſian* gave the name of

Flavia Colonia. It was by *Herod* re-built,who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For beſides,the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and poliſh't marbles,the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and ſtately Towers and Gates:he forced a Harborow of great capacity,being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the ſtrength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with ſuch charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom,nor in any age: which,becauſe the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the ſtones was ſuch, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Joſephus* own words of this work,which are theſe: *Hanc locorum*
Joſeph. l. 15. c. 13. *in commoditatem correcturus, cerculum portus circumduxit,quantum putaret magnæ claſſi recipiendæ ſufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum,prægrandia ſaxa demiſit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novempedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia*; *To mend this inconvenience of place* (ſaith Joſephus) *he compaſt in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great ſtones twenty fadome deep: whereof ſome were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thick: and ſome bigger, ſome leſſer.* To this he added an arm or cawſie of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the reſt he ſtrengthened with a ſtone wall, with divers ſtately Towers thereon builded: of which the moſt magnificent he called *Druſus*, after the name of *Druſus* the ſon in law of *Cæſar*: in whoſe honour he intituled the City it ſelf,*Cæſaria* of *Palæſtine*: all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the firſt of the Eaſtern Cities that received a Biſhop: afterward erected into an Archbiſhoprick,
Lib 4 c. 12 bel. ſacr. commanding twenty others under it, ſaith *Tyrius*.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galaſius*, to have been Biſhops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptiſed by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apoſtle. S. *Paul* was herein two years priſoner,under the *Preſident Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Feſtus*: by whom making his appeal, he was ſent to *Cæſar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was paſſing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was ſtricken with an Angel unto death, ſaith *Joſephus*.

To the North of *Ceſaria* ſtandeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*,as ſome read, *Joſ*. 1. 2. ſo called (ſaith *Adrichomius*) becauſe it joyneth to the Sea, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and ſo the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg*. 4.11. for the like ſpeech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Joſua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Joſ*.12.23. *Judg*. 1. 27.) may ſeem to be *Dor*. It was a ſtrong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of thoſe twelve Principalities, or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc*. 15. 11. placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Cherſeus*: for ſo ſome name the river *Chorſeus*, of which we have ſpoken already.

Into this City,for the ſtrength thereof,*Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, where he was by the ſame *Antiochus* Mac. 1. 13, 15. beſieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. horſe: the ſame perfidious villain that received 200. talents for the ranſom of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then ſlew him: and after him ſlew his own Maſter,uſurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had alſo a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Ceſaria*.

From *Ceſaria* towards the South, they Gul. Tyr. de bell. ſacr. l. 10. c. 6. place the Cities of *Caphernaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for beſides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangeliſts*,they find in theſe parts near the Weſt Sea,another of the ſame name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*,they ſay, it was whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*.

Then *Antipatris*,ſo called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharſalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* over- Mac. 17. 31 threw a part of the Army of *Nicanor*,Lievtenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew,called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Prieſt-hood, firſt under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was Saint *Paul* carried priſoner from *Hieruſalem*,conducted by 470. ſouldiers,to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfrey* of *Bullion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in thoſe dayes with a Biſhops ſeat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Aſſur*, ſaith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three dayes preſerved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæſa-*

ria,ſtandeth Narbata, whereof the Territory taketh name: which Ceſtius the Roman waſted with fire and ſword, becauſe the Jews which dwelt at Cæſaria fled thence,and carried with them the Books of *Moſes*. Neer unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab:* wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himſelf is ſaid to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy alſo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, *and* Founders, *and Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of* Letters *aſcribed to them.*

BEcauſe theſe five Tribes, of *Aſſer*, *Nephtalim*,*Zabulon*,*Iſſachar*, and the half of *Manaſſe*, poſſeſt the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phænicia*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of thoſe Kings which have governed therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to poſterity: and that the reſt periſhed, it is not ſtrange: ſeeing ſo many Volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and revolution, and in ſo many changes of Eſtates,and Conqueſt of Heathen Princes have been torn, caſt away,or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts,are very uncertain: but all *Coſmographers* do in effect agree,that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia*,to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger,as Ptol.4.tab. Aſiæ. reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Iſland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the North of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence alongſt the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorſeus*; which ſeems to be that which the Jews call Plin.l.5. c.19. the Torrent,or River of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phænicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæſtina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (ſaith he) *which now is called Palæſtina of Syria.*

Strab.l.16. Bude. de Aſ.l.4. *Strabo* comprehends in this Country of *Phænicia* all the Sea-ſide of *Judæa*, and *Paleſtina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the firſt Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary,*Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœloſyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my ſelf, I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolomies* deſcription, who was ſeldom deceived in his own art. It had in it theſe famous Maritimate Cities (beſides all thoſe of the Iſlands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*,*Tripolis*,*Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomaïs* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ:* and by reaſon of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eaſtern world: and they were abſolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*.

The ancient Regal Seat of thoſe Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt ſon of *Canaan:* and the people then ſubject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the ſame ſtate continuing even unto *Joſua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia:* which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond Book of *Vandals wars*. But in proceſs of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet,it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built, and peopled. Eſay 2

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Joſua* yet governed *Iſrael*,*Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*,or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his ſons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (ſay *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and poſſeſt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon:* to wit,the new *Tyrus*,and brought into *Phœnicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond ſon) the uſe of Letters: which alſo *Cadmus* in his purſuit after his ſiſter *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*,

when he ſurpriſed *Tyre*,had ſtoln her thence: of which the Poets deviſed the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Succeſſor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it ſeemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune:* becauſe the ſucceſſours of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal:* whoſe memory *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe Verſes.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque popoſcit,
Implevitq; mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *ſoliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious ſtones and maſſie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grandfather to *Agenor*,the matter is not great. But it ſeems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Anceſtor to theſe *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*,the ſon of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the ſon of *Thelegonus*,according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica:* and in the end of *Cecrops* time, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Moſes* left *Egypt:* *Agenors* ſucceſſour living at once with *Joſua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*,I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his ſon. But inſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true,that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation,and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the uſe of Letters (*Egypt* flouriſhed in all kind of learning in *Moſes* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to ſave his own Territory; or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan* from the *Iſraelites:* who were by *Moſes* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loſs and diſhonour of that Nation: and by *Joſhua* conducted over *Jordan*,to conquer and poſſeſs the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reaſon of the loſs which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the male children at the ſame time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land: which alſo they knew had ſo many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Deſarts* inter-jacent, and the ſtrong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having ſuch Veſſels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in uſe, did not in all probability neglect to garriſon the Sea-coaſt,or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces as they had to ſpare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philiſtims*, which held the ſhores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtory,thoſe Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended againſt *Joſua*, and againſt the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, Chap.19. 29. by *Joſua* called the ſtrong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomaïs*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in thoſe daies.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, eſpecially by Sea, it appears, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: ſecondly,by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not maſter them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly,that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it ſelf 13. years againſt a King of Kings, *Nebuchadonoſor:* and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, ſeemed unreſiſtable) ſpent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*,than in the conqueſt of all the Cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the ſon of *Japhet*. And for the Region it ſelf, though *Caliſthenes* derive it,*ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos*, of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phœnicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelf, I take it that *Phœnix* the ſon of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſon in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm,that *Atlas*,*Orion*,*Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterwards profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelf was inſtructed by the *Lybians:* to wit, from the South and ſuperiour *Egyptians:* from whom thoſe which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Divinity and Philoſophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his ſons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Lucan. l 5. 3.

Phœnices *primi* (*famæ ſi creditur*) *auſi*
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

Phœnicians firſt (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the ſon of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that anſwer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Athen 1. Dipnoſ.

Si patria eſt Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus *& ipſe*
Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Joſeph. contra Appianem.

Our of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports: but affirm conſtantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flouriſhed among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the French do not bluſh to maintain, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greeks* the uſe of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as thoſe *Gaules*, and that they ſent their ſons hither to be by them inſtructed in all kind of learning?

Laſtly, whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*, the ſame hath no probability at all; for he lived at ſuch time as Learning and Arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelf was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by thoſe excellent Spirits of the firſt age, and before the general Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knows; from whom all wiſdom and underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his Creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there was found written Books after the manner of thoſe *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently uſed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and ſo had thoſe *Americans* a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto thoſe uſed by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Natural laws are common, and general.*

Juriſcon.

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§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatſoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaſeas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the ſame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Joſua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and ſo far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at ſuch time as the *Grecians* beſieged *Troy*, *Phaſis* governed *Phœnicia*.

Cap.17

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremy* ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, *&c.* as of ſeveral Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramneſtus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as ſome Writers affirm, *Xerxes* Fleet, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, thoſe 300. Gallies, which himſelf brought to his aid: for at this time it ſeemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Perſian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were ſubjected by *Nabuchodonoſor*; of whoſe conqueſts in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* propheſied.

Tennes, though not immediately, ſucceeded *Tetramneſtus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Book.

Lib 4.

Strato, his ſucceſſor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, becauſe of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his Predeceſſors had ſerved the Eaſt Empire againſt the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conſumed 130. years and ſomewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* eſteemed the more unworthy of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) he rather ſubmitted himſelf by the inſtigation of his ſubjects (who foreſaw their utter ruine by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Athen l. 12.c.13.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers, and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perſians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhearing to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himſelf, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the Sword out of his hand, and ſlew him: which done, ſhe alſo therewith pierced her own body, and died.

Hieron. l. 1. com. Jovin.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Hephæſtion* to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen, no leſs vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this honour might be conferred on ſome one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Juſtine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Eſtate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, ſetting herbs and roots, for his relief and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man, and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterwards changed into Popular or *Ariſtocratical*: and by times and turns ſubjected to the Emperours of the Eaſt, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he garniſhed his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*; but theſe Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Epheſius*, do in no ſort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Cap.46.

Abibalus is the firſt King of the *Tyrians*, that *Joſephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſon of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

Præp. Evang l.9. c.4.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *David* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *David* complaineth, *Pſal.* 83.

2 Sam.5. &c.
2 Sam.c.5
2 Kin.1.9 19.
1 Chro.14.
2 Chr.2.8, 9.

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieronimus*, ſometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and ſent him Cedars, with Maſons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Hieruſalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebuſites*. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Solomon*: whom he not only furniſhed with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſums of money, but alſo he joyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Solomon* with Marriners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the moſt excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not onely mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Joſephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the *Greeks*: and in *Sonaras*, Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, he deſpiſed the 20. Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himſelf againſt that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſtaroth*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53. years.

1 Kin. 11.
Theoph.17. years.

Baleaſtartus, whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. years, according to *Joſephus*.

Abdaſtartus the eldeſt ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. years, according to *Joſephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who being ſlain by the four ſons of his own Nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the Kingdom 12. years.

Aſtartus brother to *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Uſurper, and reigned 12. years.

Joſeph.54.
Theoph.58

Aſtarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother, followed *Aſtartus*, and ruled 9. years, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, and Theoph. brother to the three former Kings, ſlew *Aſtarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. years.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) ſon to the third brother *Aſtarimus*, who was the chief Prieſt of the *Goddeſs Aſtarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and ſlaughtered his Joſeph.32 Theoph.12. Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. years; the ſame which in the firſt of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whoſe daughter Jezebel *Achab* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the ſon of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, ſucceeded his 1 Kings 16 31. Joſeph.6. years Theoph.26. Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in all 45.

Mettimus ſucceeded *Badezor*, and reigned Joſeph. Theoph. 9 but 9. years(ſaith *Joſephus*) he had two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the ſeventh year of whoſe reign, *Eliſa* ſailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. years and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our accompt was 289. years after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* muſt be far out of ſquare. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, ſlew him traiterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe Juſtin.l.11 Virgil.l,1. *Juſtine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Eliſa* fearing to be diſpoiled of her husbands treaſure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his ſiſter, and aſſiſted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him ſprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race deſcended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a ſurname of *Solomon*.

Eluleus ſucceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. years: the ſame that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmanaſſer*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithſtanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelf to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter; out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was ſlain in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonoſor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonoſor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, ſucceeding each other: Firſt by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome 7. years, and odd moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one year: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon*, 4. years: after him *Irom*, ſent thence alſo, 20. years. In the 17. of whoſe reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perſia*.

§. III.

Of Bozius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumæans*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacobs* brother: firſt, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any ſort truly devout and religious. But to this Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7. end (beſides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the ſtrongeſt is their pedigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weak reaſons, painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witneſs, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongabar*; or under the *Amalekites*, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an Univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himſelf was a profane man, and diſavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his Poſterity were Idolaters is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* and ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? ſurely, it was not any argument of Kinred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own dayes found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Such* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom; all the people of the Eaſt; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſons, I no where find. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battel to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly believe that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberleſs muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been ſo great? ſurely Mount Seir and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſs was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongabar* on the *Red Sea* ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſs all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſs in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Pſalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians* being one people, as all good Authors ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aſer*, *Joſ.* 29. becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed be God that hath ſent King David a wiſe ſon*: we cannot infer that he was of *Davids* Religion. The *Turk* hath ſaid as much of *Chriſtian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sydonians* then worſhipped *Aſtaroth*; and drew *Solomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great proviſion of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yeild ſilks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Solomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiſer; who having got the Gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorow which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſs, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philiſtims*, might have greatly diſtreſſed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into ſubjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treaſure in magnificent Works, than in purſuing the conqueſt of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and ſent him cunning workmen, to increaſe his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and inſtruments of pleaſure.

As theſe paſſages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: ſo thoſe other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It ſeems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchaſed divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his houſe obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle examples: Every ſalvage Nation hath ſome wiſdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wiſdom of theſe men expreſs any true knowledge of the true God. Onely they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Ʋtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Iſlands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their firſt beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their Idolatry from *Solomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a ſtrange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtileth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honeſty, with temporal happineſs. Doubtleſs, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Aſſyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all thoſe Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neareſt unto the true Religion: what may be ſaid of the foul Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as faſt as *Rome* it ſelf grew: and was enlarged with ſome new ſuperſtition, almoſt upon every new victory? How few great battels did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to ſome new god, or ſome new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, ſave onely that of the *Jews*, was ſubdued by them, whoſe Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majeſty: ſhall we hereupon enforce the lewd and fooliſh concluſion which Heathen Writers uſed againſt the Chriſtians in the *Primitive Church*: That ſuch Idolatry had cauſed the City of *Rome* to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperity were a ſign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſly terms impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly faſhioned in their own brains any ſtrange *Chimera*'s of Divinity, condemn all ſuch in the pride of their zeal, as Atheiſts and Infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that ſuch mad dogs are oftentimes incouraged by thoſe, who having the command of many tongues, when they themſelves cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, *and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whoſe head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

Pſal.59.78 108.Par. 35.

HAving now paſt over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoyning, which is that of *Ephraim*: ſometimes taken *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſon of *Joſeph*, whoſe iſſues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deſarts*, (*Joſua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children grown to be able men, 32500. who ſate down on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*; between *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the Eaſt and Weſt.

The firſt and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and ſeated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coaſt. It was afterward called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſt. Cæſar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerveth, the ruines which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood upright: for to this day there are found great ſtore of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved ſtone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſons of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod* the ſon of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæſar* called it *Sebaſte*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliſæus* and *Abdias* buried: and ſo was *John Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worſhipped: with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites*.

In ſight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napoluſa*: It was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the raviſhment of their ſiſter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the ſoil. *Jeroboam* raiſed it up again: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it down. *Sichar. Joh. 4, 5. Mahorthan. Joſeph.11. ant. 1.*

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judge of *Iſrael*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lievtenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified. *Judg.12.15 2 King.13.*

Betweeen *Bethoron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Joſ.* 10. and *Saron*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh *Joſ.12.18.*

keth name, which beginning at *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ*, extendeth it ſelf alongſt the coaſt as far as *Joppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not onely this Valley is ſo called, to wit, between *Cæſarea* and *Joppæ*, but that alſo between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for ſo S. *Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Eſay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and ſo doth the ſame Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Aſſaron*: underſtanding thereby a Plaine neer *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dioſpolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fift in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non ſua, ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, thoſe Ravens and ſpoilers of all Eſtates, diſturbers of Common-weales, uſurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other reſpect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themſelves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the moſt and ſavage barbarous Nations.

Acts 6. Luke 13. Niger com. 4 Aſiæ, fol. 503. 14.

In *Diaſpolis* (ſaith *Wil.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whoſe honour and memory *Juſtinian* the Emperor cauſed a fair Church to be built over his Tombe; theſe be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *uſque hodie Sepulchrum oſtenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Eccleſiam quum ad honorem ejuſdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Auguſtus Juſtinianus *multo ſtudio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (ſaith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns,* Antipatris *and* Joppe, *paſſing over the great open Plain of* Elutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Dioſpolis: *where the ſumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day ſhewed; whoſe Church when the godly and Orthodox Prince of the Roman, High and mighty* Juſtinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earneſtneſs and preſent devotion, &c.* **Thus far** ***Tyrius***: by whoſe teſtimony we may conjecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; but rather ſome better *Chriſtian*: for this of *Alexandria* was ſlain there in an uprore of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Chriſtian* than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long ſhall this Sepulchre ſtand?* occaſioned the uprore of the people againſt him: as fearing leaſt he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who though he ſay that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the *Chriſtians*, who elſe might have reſcued him: yet he addeth, that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whoſe name lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* abovecited witneſſeth to have been buried at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vitriac*. S. *Hierome* affirms that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Chriſtians* inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a Biſhop *Suffragan*.

Of this St George ſee more above in this 2. Book, ch. 7 ſect. 3. ‖ 5.

Lib. 2. c. 11

Salig. tom. 6 c 4.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diaſpolis* ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joſeph*, which buried the body of *Chriſt*. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*; one they ſet in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they ſay, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *cap.* 11. *ſect.* 1.

1 *Sam.* 25. 1.

From hence to the North alongſt the coaſt are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 *Chron.* 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Joſephus* in his Antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg.* 4.42. reads *planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we read of the Land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

Ant 13. 11. *de bel. Jud* 1.1

On the other ſide of the Mountains of *Ephraim* ſtandeth *Goſna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the ſecond in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-ſarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one alſo of the ten *Toparchies*, or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*, a goodly City, and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Iſrael* gave unto their Leader *Joſua*; who alſo amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that greateſt of wonders which God wrought in *Joſua's* time.

Judg 19. It is called *Thimnath Chores*. *Joſ.* 9 50.

Hieron [illegible]

In the places adjoyning ſtandeth *Adarſa*, or *Adaſa*; where *Judas Machabæus* with three thouſand Jews overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gaſer*, or *Gezer*, which *Joſua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all ſlain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

ac. 1.7. 40.

To the Eaſt of this place is the Frontier City of *Jefleti*, of which *Joſ.* 16.3. otherwiſe *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept ſo many years, till the *Philiſtims* got it.

To this they joyn the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Machabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hieruſalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

ein Benjamin.

Kings 4. and ſee Rama in Benjamin.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* propheſied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of thoſe Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kimbtſaim*, of the Levites, of which *Joſ.* 21.22. which *Junius* thinks to be the ſame with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chro.* 6.28. As for *Abſaloms Baalaſor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it, in the Plain of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Joſ.* 15. we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedeſh*, *ver.* 23. and the other the ſame as *Chetzron*, *ver* 25.

In this Tribe alſo they find the City of *Mello*; whoſe Citizens, they ſay, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Baſtard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raiſed a Tribute upon the people. But it ſeems that *Mello*, or *Millo* is a common name of a ſtrong Fort or Cittadel: and ſo *Junius*, for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Solomo ædificavit Millo*, he reads *ædificabat munitionem*, and ſo the *Septuagint* read it τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hieruſalem*.

ud. 9.6. 20. Reg. 11. 27. *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place *locum publicum neceſſarium civibus Hieroſolymitanis, que, Iſraelites.*

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, ſpoiled by *Teglatphalaſſar*: *Pekah* then governing *Iſrael*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* ſometime ſignifie the greateſt part of the Land of the ſons of *Joſeph*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*: ſeveral parts whereof are the Hill of *Samrom*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* 16.24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Judg.* 2.9. the Hill of *Tſalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.* 9.48. the Hills of the Region of *Tſuph*, or *Tſophim*, *Judg.* 9. 5. where *Rama-Tſophim* ſtood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

King. 15 29.

Joſ. 17.15, 16.

* Alſo the hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Prieſt the ſon of *Aaron* was buried, *Joſ* 24.33 And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizzim*, where the bleſſings, and *Hebal*, where the curſings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. 27. & *Joſ.* 8

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the ſides of the Mountains, was the occaſion that *Jacob* in the ſpirit of prophecy, *Gen.* 49. 22. compared *Joſephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well ſide, and ſpreading her (a) Daughter branches along the Wall: which Allegory alſo *Ezek.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whoſe head was *Ephraim*) proſecutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49.9. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both ſides of *Jordan*, they find the Caſtle called *Dok*: which they make to be the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Joſep.* 1. *bell. Jud.* 2. in which Caſtle, as it is 1 *Mac.* 16. *Ptolomy* moſt traiterouſly at a banquet, ſlew *Simon Macchabæus* his father-in-law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the ſecond of *Samuel*, *c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Junius* read, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahaſi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* read *Giddai*, of the river of *Gaas*. Alſo in this Tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was (b) fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poor widdow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead ſon he revived and increaſed her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

a It ſeemeth that *Jacob* in this propheſie the rather uſeth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to ſignifie *Colonies* which in the *Hebrew* phraſe are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Joſua*, and elſewhere often.

b 1 *Reg.* 17.6. & *chap.* 17.

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§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the firſt Kings of *Iſrael* I omit in this place to ſpeak, and reſerve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diviſion from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to ſpeak. The firſt of theſe Kings *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite*, of *Zereda*, who being a man of ſtrength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overſeer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hieruſalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*: and ſo many of them as wrought in thoſe works. During which time,as he went to *Hieruſalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Akijah:* who made him know that he was by God deſtined to be King of *Iſrael*,and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that thoſe things might come to *Solomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe Daughter he married: the Predeceſſor of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertain *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives ſiſter *Taphnes*; uſing both him and *Jeroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the Kingdom of *Judæa*, that himſelf might the eaſilier ſpoil it,as he did: for in the fiſth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* ſack't the City of *Hieruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the ſpoils which *David* took from *Adadezor* of *Soba*,with the preſents of *Tohu*,King of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value.

1 King.14.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Iſraelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that State: yet preferring the policies of the world before the ſervice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule ſhould repair to *Hieruſalem* to do their uſual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worſhip (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, ſaith S.*Ambroſe*, or rather of *Aarons* Calf in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Prieſts out of the baſeſt and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem:* He deſpiſed the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Joſephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel:* his hand thereafter withered,and was again reſtored: but continuing in his Idolatry,and hardened, upon occaſion that the Prophet returning, was ſlain by a Lion; *Abijah* makes him know that God purpoſed to root out his poſterity.

Ambroſe upon the firſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty years; whom *Nadab* his ſon ſucceeded: who in the ſecond year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*,was ſlain,and rooted out by *Baaſha*,who reigned in his ſtead: ſo *Nadab* lived King but two years.

1 King.11 12,&c.

Baaſha the ſon of *Abijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Aſa* King of *Juda:* he ſeated himſelf in *Therſa:* and fortified *Rama* againſt *Juda*,to reſtrain their excurſions.Hereupon *Aſa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damaſcus* againſt him, who invaded *Nepthalim*, and deſtroyed many places therein: the mean while *Aſa* carried away the materials,with which *Baaſha* intended to fortifie *Rama:* but being an Idolater,he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it ſhould befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam:* which afterward came to paſs: He ruled four and twenty years,and died.

1 King.15 &16,

To *Baaſha* ſucceeded *Ela* his ſon, who at a feaſt at his Palace of *Therſa*, was in his cups ſlain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the propheſie of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris ſucceeded *Ela*, and aſſumed the name of a King ſeven daies; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murder, ſet upon *Zambris*,or *Zimri*,and incloſed him in *Therſa*,and inforc't him to burn himſelf.

1 King.16

Ambris or *Homri* ſucceeded *Ela*,and transferred the Regal ſeat from *Therſa* to *Samaria:* which be bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was alſo an Idolater no leſs impious than the reſt: and therefore ſubjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Euſebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras:* but how this ſhould ſtand,I do not well conceive; ſeeing *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Aſa* King of *Juda*, to aſſail *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*, the father of *Ela*, who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years,ſix in *Therſa*,and ſix in *Samaria*,and left two children,*Achab* and *Athalia*.

1 King.16

1 King.15

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§. III.

Of Achab *and his Succeſſors,with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

Achab,or *Ahab* ſucceeded *Omri*, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians:* but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian:* and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: ſo did *Achab* of his *Zidonian:* and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria.* He ſuffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the moſt high God. God ſent famine on the land of *Iſrael. Achab* met *Elias: Elias* prevailed in the trial of the ſacrifice,and killed the falſe Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after beſieged *Samaria* & taken by *Achab*,was by him ſet at liberty: for which,the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth

Michæas) reproveth him: afterward he cauſed *Naboth* by a falſe accuſation to be ſtoned. Then joyning with *Joſaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was ſlain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three ſons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*: beſides ſeventy other ſons by ſundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias ſucceeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruiſed himſelf by a fall: and ſent for counſel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the Meſſenger on the way: and miſliking that *Ochozias* ſought help from that dead Idol,aſked the Meſſenger,if there were not a God in *Iſrael? Ochozias* ſendeth two Captains,and with each 50. ſouldiers,to bring *Eliah* unto him, both which with their Attendants were conſumed with fire. The third Captain beſought mercy at *Eliah*'s hands,and he ſpared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he muſt then die; which came to paſs in the ſecond year of his reign.

Beelzebub was the ſame with *Belus* and *Pluto*, ſaith *Viginere* upon *Levi.*

1 Kings 1.

Joram,the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, ſucceeded: He allured *Joſaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*,who refuſed to pay him the tribute of 20000. ſheep.The three Kings wanted water for themſelves and their horſes in the Deſarts. The Prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirharaſeth*, and being beſieged, according to ſome Expoſitors, burnt his ſon on the walls as a ſacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compaſſion, returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoiling that Region. Others, as it ſeems with better reaſon, underſtand the Text to ſpeak of the ſon of the King of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to have been taken priſoner by the *Moabites*,and that the King of *Moab* ſhewed him over the walls, threatning, unleſs the ſiege were diſſolved, that he would offer him in ſacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Juda* and *Iſrael* to break off the ſiege for the ſafety of his ſon: which when the other Kings refuſed to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* ſon upon the Rampire, that all the Aſſailants might diſcern it, the King of *Edom* being by this ſad ſpectacle inraged, forſook the party of the other Kings, for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the ſiege was broken up.

1 Kings 3.

After this the King of *Aram* ſent to *Joram*,to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leproſie. The anſwer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth ſend to heal a man of his Leproſie:* adding, that the *Aramite* ſought but matter of quarrel againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the King to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that he ſhould know that there was a Prophet in *Iſrael*: and ſo *Naaman* was healed by waſhing himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan*. *Eliſha* refuſed the gifts of *Naaman*; but his ſervant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the ſellers of ſpiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

2 King 1.5

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damaſcus*, having heard that this Prophet did diſcover to the King of *Iſrael* whatſoever the *Aramite* conſulted in his ſecreteſt counſel, ſent a troop of horſe to take *Eliſha:* all whom *Eliſha* ſtruck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria: Joram* then aſked leave of the Prophet to ſlay them, *Eliſha* forbade him to harm them: but cauſed them to be fed, and ſent back to their own Prince in ſafety.

The King of *Aram*,notwithſtanding theſe benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the Prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha* by prayer cauſed a noiſe of Chariots and Armour to ſound in the air,whereby the *Aramites* affrighted,fled away, and left the ſiege. An act of great admiration, as the ſame is written in the ſecond of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Maſter,*Joram* entring upon his frontier,took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whileſt he lay there,*Jehu*(who commanding the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the children of the Prophets ſent by *Eliſha*) ſurpriſed and ſlew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole poſterity of *Ahab*.

2 Kings 7.

Jehu,who reigned after *Jehoram*, deſtroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but alſo their religion; for which he received a promiſe from God, That his ſeed ſhould occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who ſpoiled all the Countries to the Eaſt of *Jordan*: in which war he was ſlain, ſaith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are ſilent. *Jehu* reigned 28. years.

Pag 86.

Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz* the ſon of *Jehu* ſucceeded his father, whom *Azael* and his ſon

2 King.13

Benhadad often invaded, and in the end ſubjected, leaving him onely 50. horſe, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like duſt beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17. years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his ſon governed *Iſrael*, who when he repaired to *Eliſha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promiſed him three victories over the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Eliſha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Weſtward (which was toward *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who ſmote it thrice, and ceaſed: The Prophet then told him, that he ſhould have ſmitten five or ſix times, and then he ſhould have had ſo many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the ſon of *Azael*, which his father
2 *Kings* 14 *Joachaz* had loſt. He alſo overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon he entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned ſixteen years, and died; in whoſe time alſo the Prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater, as his predeceſſors; but he recovered all the reſt of the lands belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath* which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and laſt of the houſe of *Jehu*, ſlain by *Shallum* his vaſſal, who reigned in his ſtead, governed ſix moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one moneth, being ſlaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*,
2 *King.* 16-19. uſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of thoſe that were vvith child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace vvith ten thouſand talents of ſilver, vvhich he exacted by a Tribute of fifty ſhekels from every man of wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* governed twenty years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia* ſucceeded, and after he had ruled
1 *Kings* 15. 29. two years, he vvas ſlain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah* the Commander of his Army, vvho reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulaſſer*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſer* invaded the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and vvon *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, vvith all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Aſſyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith ingaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*: and this inviting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Iſrael*, and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* reigned 20. years.

Then *Hoſhea*, or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the vaſſal of *Salmanaſſer*; but hoping to ſhake off the *Aſſyrian* yoak, he ſought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Aſſyrian*, he caſt him into priſon, beſieged *Samaria*, and maſtered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eaſtern Regions, and there diſperſed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philiſtims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, called *Havæi*, willing to return to their ancient ſeats. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometime the Vaſſals of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* adviſe himſelf better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Hieruſalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their own thin Garriſons, which ſoon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, happened in the year of the world, 3292. the ſixth year of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Jeroboam*	Reigned	22 Years.
2.	*Nadab*		2 Years.
3.	*Baaſha*		24 Years.
4.	*Ela*		20 Years.
5.	*Zambris*		7 Dayes.
6.	*Omri*		11 Years.
7.	*Achab*		22 Years.
8.	*Ochozias*		2 Years.
9.	*Joram*		12 Years.
10.	*Jehu*	Reigned	28 Years.
11.	*Joachaz*		17 Years.
12.	*Joas*		16 Years.
13.	*Jeroboam*		41 Years.
14.	*Zacharias*		6 Moneths.
15.	*Shallum*		1 Moneth.
16.	*Menahem*		10 Years.
17.	*Pakahia*		2 Years.
18.	*Phaca*		20 Years.
19.	*Hoſea*		9 Years, about whoſe time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manaſſe.

§. I.

Of Dan, *whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.*

NOW following the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing arms. The firſt famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coaſt was *Joppe*, or *Japho*,
Ver. 46. as in the 19. of *Joſua*: one of the moſt ancient of the world, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of *Hieruſalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelf when he fled from the ſervice of God towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* go-
Ve 1.12. verned the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garriſon'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Ceſtius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Chriſt, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Wals and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monſter by *Perſeus*. This fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Mar-*
Lib. 3. 1.15 de bel Jud. Solin. c 47. Plin. l 5. cap. 9. *cus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileſhip, ſhewed the bones of this Monſter to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* ſpeaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where
2 Mac. 12. de bel. ſacr. *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeen at *Hieruſalem*, 240. furlongs off. It had ſometime a Biſhops ſeat, ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no ſign of it at this time, that ſuch a place there was.

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, ſometime *Anthedon*, ſaith *Volateran*. And ſo *Montanus* ſeems to underſtand it. For he
F. 144. ſets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philiſtim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volateran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* ſets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philiſtims*: and about ſixteen miles from *Joppe*: where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, ſtrong
Hierom. in Micheam. and Giant-like men, whom *Joſua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *Davids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliath*.

Roboam the ſon of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the ſon of *Amazia* deſtroyed it again. it was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, built a Caſtle in the ſame place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the ſame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy war calls *Ibiilin*, I much doubt: the errour growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Lib. 11. c. 18.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* ſtandeth *Bethſemes*, or the houſe of the Sun. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned looſe by the *Philiſtims*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to look therein, there were ſlain of the Elders ſeventy, and of the people fifty thouſand, by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great * *Abel*, ſaith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in (*a*) *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Iſſachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 Sam 6. 18.

* Or rather not the City it ſelf, but the great ſtone in the field, upon which ſtone the Philiſtims ſet the Ark, the change being eaſie from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which ſignifieth a ſtone, to *Abel* which ſignifieth mourning.

a See in *Neph. c* 7. *ſect* 4. ‖ 6.

Keeping the Sea-coaſt, the ſtrong City of *Accaron* offereth it ſelf, ſometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philiſtims*. S. *Hierome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſariæ Palæſtinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelf againſt the *Danites* and *Idumæans*. It worſhipped *Beel-zebub*, the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idol it was that *Abaziah* King of *Iſrael* ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to return with a ſorrowful anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

2 *King*. 1.

Chriſtianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Aſdod*, was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joſua* (*b*) failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their City. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the (*c*) Idol *Dagon*: the ſame Idol whith fell twice to the ground of it ſelf, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philiſtims* carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that famous (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the ſword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idol therein conſumed with fire: neer which alſo he overthrew *Apollonius*.

but was beſieged by *Pſammetichus*, the father of *Pharao Necho* for 29. yeers together, whence *Jer*, 25. 20 ſpeaks of the reſidue of *Aſhdod*, to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this ſiege.

c 1 *Sam*. 5. 4.

d 1 *Macc* 9. 1 *Macc*. 10. *Joſ*. 19 41. *Jud*. 13 25. &c *cap*. 18, 2.

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Biſhops ſeat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in S. *Hieroms* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apoſtle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tſorah*, or *Sarxa*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* neer *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampſon* was born, may ſeem by the words, *Judg*. 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac*. 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the *Jews*, and neer which himſelf was by the *Macchabees* overthrown.

1 Mac. 15, 16.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulchre the ſeven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ſerved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeers after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſs.

There are beſides theſe the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty yeers in the houſe of *Aminadab*: till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Hieruſalem*. Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hieruſalem* ſlaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather, as I take it, upon preſumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caſpin* taken with great ſlaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lechis*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, in which alſo *Amaziah* was ſlain: The ſame which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

Alias Cariath-baal & Baal, or *Baalpharoſim*. 1 Sam. 7. 1. & 2 Sam. 6. 1. 2 Chron. 14. 22. Mat. 23. 33. Jer. 26. 20. 1 Mac. 12. 13. Joſ. 12. 11. 2 Reg. 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Joſua c*. 19. from the *ver*. 41. where alſo it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coaſts this *Philip* was *Tetrach*: but of this City ſee more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Northermoſt riſeth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whoſe banks are plentiful of Vines which have no ſeeds or ſtones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taſte, and ſavour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, ſo called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampſon* loved.

Hieron. in Epiſt. & Micheas 4. Brech. Breid. Jud. 16. 4.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the reſt of the Sea-coaſt of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the ſecond ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increaſed of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Land of Promiſe of their iſſues 22200. bearing arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part ſevered, inhabiting a ſmall Territory on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the firſt City adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Aſcalon*.

*And therefore no marvel that divers places named *Joſ*. 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this Tribe: ſee *Joſ*. 19. 1. and where thus much is expreſly noted *Vol*. *Geog*. l. 11. ſ. 244.

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Aſcalonitæ*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Hiſtory of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Aſcalus* were the ſons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Aſcalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The ſame hath *Nicolaus* in his Hiſtory, ſaith *Volatteran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembreth a Lake neer *Aſcaion*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddeſs of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fiſh: who, as I have ſaid before in the ſtory of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be caſt into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worſhipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæſtino ſancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria*
Paleſtine.

It was one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of the *Philiſtims*. It bred many learned men (ſaith *Volatteran*, as *Antiachus*, *Soſus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Hiſtorian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the ſtory of *Bithynia*.

Vol. ut ſu.

In *Aſcalon*, as ſome ſay, was that wicked *Herod* born, that ſeeking after our Saviour, cauſed all the Male-children of two years old and under to be ſlain. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made war in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum* Saladinus *diruiſſet*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex inſtauravit*, ſaith *Adrichomæus*.

Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

In *Davids* time it was one of the moſt renowned Cities of the *Philiſtims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Aſcalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not ſpeaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſcalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* reſtored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

2 Sam. 1.

Next to *Aſcalon* ſtood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they ſay) the ſon of *Hercules*. Other profane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*; becauſe belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Perſian* tongue is as much to ſay, as Treaſure. This *Gaza* was the firſt of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philiſtims*, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyſes*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the ſtrength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At ſuch time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Perſia*, it received a Garriſon for *Darius*: in deſpight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long ſiege demoliſhed, and was called *Gaza* of the *Deſart*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de Urb. Jud. 16.16. 1 Kings 6. & *alib. Joſe*. 13. *ant*. 19.

Alexander Janeus King of the *Jews* ſurpriſed it, and ſlew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not ſet up in the ſame place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but ſomewhat neerer the Sea ſide: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forſt by *Simon*: of which he made ſo great account, as that he purpoſed to reſide therein himſelf, and in his abſence left *John* his Son and Succeſſour to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was ſtill a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

Mac. 1. 15. *Broch. Itin*. 7.

At the very out-let of the River of *Beſor*, ſtandeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledge of a City was given by the great *Conſtantine*, and the place called *Conſtance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apoſtata* ſoon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it ſubject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Hiſt. trip. l. 6. *c*. 4. *Niceph*. 10. *hiſt. cap*. 4.

Joſ.13.and 19.21.

On the other ſide of *Beſor* ſtandeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, reſtored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Auguſtus*.

Joſ.13. and 19,21. 14, &c.
* Junius calls it *Vallis Egypti*, the name of the ſtream ſeems to be *Sichor*. See in *Aſſer*, c.7. ſect. 3. §. 8. in the margent.
(a) Epiph. tom 2. in vaſful Manick & in Ancorato.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whoſe Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Eſ*.27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. *Pliny* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Joſephus Rhinocorura*: (a) *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

Gen.10 19

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Beſor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadeſh* and *Shur*, *Gen*.20.1. That it was neer to the Wilderneſs of *Beerſhebah*, it appears *Gen*. 20.31. and therefore no marvel that as elſewhere *Beer-ſheba*, ſo ſometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a diſtinct Kingdom from the *Philiſtim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S.*Hierome* ſaith that afterwards it was called *Regio ſalutaris*, *the healthy Country*: ſo that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* lived much in thoſe parts. Of King *Aſa's* conqueſt of the Cities about *Gerar*, ſee 2 *Chron*.14.14.

1 Sam.30.

More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philiſtims* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the prey.

Joſep.10, 11,12.

Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, a City of Letters, the Univerſity, as they ſay, or *Academy* of old *Palæſtine*. In Saint *Hierom's* time, it ſeems, it had the name of *Daema*: *Joſ*.15.49. it is called *Vrbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it ſeems, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbahi*. For even hence alſo were theſe Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Ca-* Joſ.11.21. *lebs* promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Joſua* and the Hoaſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appears *Joſ*.10. 39. This City *Joſ*.21.15. is named among thoſe which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it ſeems they attribute it to this Tribe.

*And alſo 1 Chron. 4. 31.

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſs fame, as *Hajin*, of which *Joſ*.19.7. which alſo *Joſ*.21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Haſham* is named 1 *Chron*.6.59. though * in the place of *Joſua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad*, ſo named 1 *Chro*.4.29 for which *Joſ*.19.4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa*, ſo named, *Joſ*.19.5. for which *Joſ*.15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Suſa Equitatus*.

In the ſame places of *Joſua* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the ſame with that of which *Num*.14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Deſart*. Deut.1.

Gen.21.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neer unto which *Hagar* wandered with her ſon *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the City of *Iſaac*, becauſe he dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian* Deſart, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Joſua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, becauſe they help us nothing in ſtory, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being ſtrengthened in his own Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron*. 4. 39. (the ſame place which *Joſ*.15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeated themſelves: as alſo five hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

* As it ſeems i the Lan of Juda See in t firſt Pa graph o this Ch ter in th Cities Dan.

Jud 1

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt: unto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Rivers are, *Beſor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth ſon of Jacob by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſarts*. And of their ſons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatneſs of this number was the greateſt Territory given, called afterward *Judæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in

thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soveraignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cartathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting men.

um 21.3. ſ.11.14. ud.1.16.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them ſome ſpoyls, and many priſoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſons of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

m.34.4. ut.8.15.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated: of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Judæa* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adjoyning took name: where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſcemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

d.15.8. Chro.11 6 un.out of he 1 Chro. 31 notes at this tham, ough it re with- the unds of da, be- ged to eon. .15.48. ron. in Hebr.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Joſ*. 15. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſ*. 15.25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham*, the abode of *Sampſon*, which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe, towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In Saint *Hierom's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: neer unto this City was that remarkable battel fought between *Aſa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Not far from *Jether* ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Mareſa* the Native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſilver to be offered for ſacrifice. 2 Macc.12. 35.

Gen.38. 1. Joſ.12. 15. 1 Sam.23.1

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it ſelf, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Joſua*, and the King thereof ſlain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf: and which afterward he delivered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: neer which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeen by S. *Hierome*.

Neer it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the City of four: becauſe the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plain by the places, *Joſ*. 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon as it ſeems *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſ*. 15.) were the ſons of *Anak*, *Num*. 13.23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it ſeems that this *Anak*, inriched by the ſpoils which himſelf and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtome to his poſterity, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeven yeers before *Tſoan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the reſt to the Levites. It had a Biſhop in the *Chriſtian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hieruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joſua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa.* In fight of this City, *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lievtenant to *Antiochus.*

Joſ 10 11. *Macc* 1. 3. *Euſeb. in Chron Broch. 1. tit. 6.*

In the yeer 1301. it was overturned by an earthquake, ſaith *Euſebius.* In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine.*

* Alſo 1 Chro 4.39. as is above remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon.*

a *Junius*, for *in Valle Terebinthi*, hath *in Valle querceti.* *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew*, reading *in Valle Elah.*

From *Emaus* toward the Weſt Sea, there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Joſ.* 15. 36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Joſua* followed the ſlaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great ſtrength in the Valley of (a) *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it ſeems) they ſeat it neer unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites. It revolted from the ſubjection of the *Jews* while *Joram* the ſon of *Joſaphat* ruled in *Hieruſalem*: And next unto this ſtandeth *Maceda*, which *Joſua* utterly diſ-peopled.

On the other ſide of *Emaus* towards the Eaſt ſtandeth *Bethſur*, otherwiſe *Bethſora*, and *Bethſor*: one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt fought for places in all *Juda.* It is ſeated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethſur* (*the houſe on the Rock*, or *of ſtrength.*) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabæus.* *Lyſias* forc't it: and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified againſt the *Syrian* Kings.

Joſ 13. *ant.* 9. *Macc.* 1. 6.

*Gen.*53 48

Bethleem is the next unto it within ſix miles of *Hieruſalem*, otherwiſe *Lehem*: ſometime *Ephrata*; which name, they ſay, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is ſo called by *Moſes* before *Caleb* was famous in thoſe parts, *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this City was *Abeſſan*, or *Ibſan* Judge of *Iſrael* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty ſons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was alſo a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* ſojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Iſhai*, of whom *David.* It had alſo the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore ſhall the memory thereof never end.

Ruth 1.

Hieron. in com. ſuper. Mat. c. 2. *Math.* 2. 5. *Amos* 1. 1. 1 *Macc.* 6. 32. *Joſ. ant.* 12. *c.* 14 1 *Macc.* 6. 35.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was alſo a City of the ſame name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda.*

From *Bethleem* ſome four or five mile ſtandeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethſura* and *Hieruſalem*: on whoſe Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jews.* The City of * *Bezek* was alſo neer unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the ſame end befell himſelf by the ſons of *Juda*, after they had taken him priſoner.

The reſt of the Cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) we may paſs by, until we come to the magnificent Caſtle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble ſteps, exceeding beautiful and ſtrong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoyning to the *Deſart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehoſaphat*, the *Jews* ſtood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to joyn againſt *Juda*: neer which place is the Valley of bleſſing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, ſolemnly came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange a deliverance.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tſohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: ſo called, becauſe *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* time it had a Garriſon, and was called (as they ſay) *Pannier*: in *Hierom*'s time, *Balexona.* Then *Engaddi*, or *Hen-gaddi*, firſt *Aſaſonthamar*: neer unto which are the Gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* ſent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, cauſed them to be rooted up, and preſented unto her: which ſhe re-planted neer *Heliopolis* in *Egypt.* This City was firſt taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Preſidencies thereof.

The reſt of the Cities are many in the Inland, and among them *Jeſrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the ſame name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Abſalom* ſlew: alſo, as ſome think, the City of *Amaſa*, *Abſaloms* Lievtenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this ſeemeth to be an errour grounded upon the neerneſs of the words *Iſrael* and *Jeſrael*: and becauſe the 2 *Sam.* 17.

25. *Amaſa*'s father is called an *Iſraelite*, who in the firſt of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Iſmaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography ſheweth that *Amaſa*'s father is not ſaid to be of the City *Jeſrael*, but an *Iſraelite* in Religion, though otherwiſe an *Iſmaelite.*

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæſt. Hebr. Joſ. 14. *Ant. c.* 20.

In this Tribe there were many high Hils and Mountains: as thoſe of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead Sea*: and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to riſe by *Emaus*, and end neer *Taphna*, and theſe part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon.* Of others which ſtand ſingle, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which Saint *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and ſaith, That it ſtood till the time of *Conſtantine* the younger. There is alſo that Mountain called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, incloſing the old Caſtle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabæus*, and called *Maſſada*, garniſhed it with twenty ſeven high and ſtrong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thouſand men; being, as it ſeemeth a place unacceſſable, and of incomparable ſtrength.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, deſtroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnatural ſins.

§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

||. I.

The ſeats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *wan from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other ſide of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldeſt of *Jacobs* ſons inhabited: of whoſe children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the reſt in the Deſarts, there remained to poſſeſs the Land promiſed 43700. bearing arms. But before we ſpeak of theſe, or the reſt that inhabited the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, ſomething of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whoſe Land in our Writers are confuſedly deſcribed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed. And firſt we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s kindred came mighty Families: as by *Iſaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Iſrael*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Eſau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans*: by *Iſmael*, the eldeſt Son of *Abraham*, the *Iſmaelites*: and by *Ketura*, his laſt wife, the *Midianites.* And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brothers ſon, thoſe two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but ſtrangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly poſſeſt by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them deſcended) theſe iſſues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whoſe children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Eſau and his ſons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Iſmael* took from the South-eaſt part of the *Dead Sea*; ſtretching his poſſeſſion over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah.*

Moab took the reſt of the coaſt of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and paſſing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hils of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Eſſebon*, or *Chesbon.*

Joſ. 13.

Ammon ſate down on the North-eaſt ſide of *Arnon*, and poſſeſt the Tract from *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moſes* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thruſt him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon.* As theſe Nations compaſſed ſundry parts of *Canaan*, ſo the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damaſcus*, was held by the *Amorites* themſelves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, and on the Eaſt ſide of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moſes* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſe*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was firſt poſſeſt by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after repulſed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and ancient poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zutæi*, who were alſo beaten at the ſame time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the reſt: and by them an eaſie way of conqueſt was prepared for the *Ammonites.*

Num. 21. 24.

Gen. 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the ſame is to be underſtood according to the time when *Moſes* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Anceſtor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this hapned not long before *Moſes* arrival upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites.* For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moſes* paſt *Arnon*, was not the ſon of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor.* And it may be that thoſe Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Eſſebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Iſrael* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Jephtah* the Judge of *Iſrael* juſtly defend the regaining of thoſe Countries againſt the claim of the *Ammonites*: becauſe (as he alledged) *Moſes* found them in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*: who (ſaith *Jephtah*) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

Judg. 11.

And leſt any ſhould marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephtahs* time ſhould make claim to theſe Countries: whereas *Moſes* in the place *Num.* 21.*v.*26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3.11. when it is ſaid that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be ſeen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is alſo ſignified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, was by him or his Anceſtors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them; ſo alſo were the ſons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalec*, and *Iſmael*. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephtah*'s time; for ſometime the one Nation, ſometime the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilehad*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then ſought how to recover it again. Yet at ſuch time as *Moſes* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had loſt to the *Amorites* all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having diſplanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb.* 21.24. that *Iſrael* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon*: ſo as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as anciently they had alſo poſſeſſions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* poſſeſt, as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Joſua*, verſe twenty five, it appears.

Joſ 13.25. *Junius* notes that the one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Joſua* is ſaid to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken firſt from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place, *Deut.* 2.1!. proves that as well *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

‖. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were theſe, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any ſhew of warrant, readeth *Jethſon*. The Vulgar or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, thoſe two Verſes, 36. and 37. in *Joſ.* 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedſon* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedſon* by writing ſlipt into *Jethſon*.

Joſ. 21.37.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the Deſart adjoyning: from whence *Moſes* ſent his Embaſſage to *Sehon*. In the ſame place of *Joſua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Betſer & villa ejus*, reads *Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Miſor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead Sea* (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Laſa* or *Leſhaſh*, of which *Geneſis* 10.*ver.*19. The Greeks call it *Callirhoe*: near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and ſweet water; all which ſoon after their riſing, being joyned in one ſtream, do make a very wholſome Bath, eſpecially for all contraction of ſinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was deſperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others ſay, that theſe Springs ariſe out of the Hills of *Machærus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*, and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Laſa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the ſtrongeſt In-land City and Caſtle, ſtanding upon a Mountain every way unacceſſible. It was firſt fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier againſt the *Arabians*: but it was demoliſhed by *Gabinius* in the war with *Ariſtobulus*, ſaith *Joſephus*. It was thither (ſaith *Joſephus*) that *Herod* ſent *John Baptiſt*, and wherein he was ſlain: his Army ſoon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himſelf after this murther never proſpering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Boſor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæſar*.

*Deut.*2.26. It was a marginal note out *Deut.* 3. where the *Sept.* kept the word *Miſor*, ſignifying a plain, which after crept into the Text.

*Joſ.*17.*ant.* c. 9. & *Hieron.in quæſt. Heb. in Gen.*

*Acoſta.*l.3.

*Joſ.ant.*13. *cap.* 24 & 14.*ant* c 10 & *alibi*.

Joſeph.bel. Jud l.7. c. 25.

*Deut.*4.43. *Joſ.* 20.8. *Euſeb. in Chron.* *Hier.in loc. heb.*

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Iſrael* imbraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Coſbi* with his ſpear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midſt of their ſin; and from hence *Joſua* ſent the diſcoverers to view *Jericho*, ſtaying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3.18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem ſpinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the juſt being placed, grow as the cedars, *Pſal.* 92.13.

Num. 25.1.

*Joſ.*13.1.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moſes* called, *The plains of Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the ſame book preciſely bounded by *Moſes*. On the South it had the great Deſart of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the Eaſt it had *Chatſeroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Paleſtina*: the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36.39.) by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the Weſt it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Junius* edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* 1.1.) the ſame which the Geographers call *Libias*: and ſome confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we ſpake.

*Deut.*34.1.

* The ſame as it ſeems which *Num.*21 30 is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeba*, *Joſ.* 13.9. 16. of which alſo we read in the wars of *David* againſt *Hanun* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chron.* 19 7. Alſo 1 *Mac.*9.36 *Iſa.* 16.2. See before ch 5. ſect.7.

Alſo on the ſame North ſide towards the confines of *Cœloſyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout ſometime *Pella* of *Cœloſyria* ſtood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and, as *Stephanus* ſaith, was ſometime called *Butis*. It is alſo noted in *Moſes* to be over againſt or near unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as alſo *Num.*2.14. it tranſlateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to ſignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is ſo to be taken, uſeth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtleſs was about theſe plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as alſo the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reaſon.

The place in theſe large plains of *Moab* where *Moſes* made thoſe divine exhortations, ſome ſay was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the ſtory of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Joſephus* ſayes it was where after the City *Abila* ſtood, near *Jordan*, in a place ſet with Palm-trees: which ſure was the ſame as *Abel-ſittim* in the plains of *Moab*, *Num.* 33.49. (that ſome call *Abel-ſathaim*, and *Bel-ſathim*) which is reckoned by *Moſes* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and laſt place of the *Iſraelites* incamping in the time of *Moſes*: This place is alſo called *Sittim*: which word if we ſhould interpret, we ſhould rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

John 1.28. *Judg.*7.24

Joſeph.ant. 4.7.

*Num.*15.1. *Exo.*25.10

Toward the Eaſt of theſe plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Elhalel*, and *Kiriathaima* the ſeat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two firſt of theſe *Moſes* ſeems to give a note that the names were to be changed, becauſe they taſted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in ſtead of which, *Junius*, *Eſa.* 46.1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-meon*, is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the ſame Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in theſe parts denominated: from whoſe top, which the common Tranſlators call *Phaſgah*, *Moſes* before his death ſaw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which ſtory *Junius* doth not take *Phaſgah*, or *Piſgah* for any proper name: but for an appellative, ſignifying a Hill: and ſo alſo *Vatablus* in ſome places, as *Num.* 21.20. where he noteth, that ſome call *Piſgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be ſomewhat ſtrengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Joſ.* 13.20. called *Aſhdoth-Piſga*, which is as much as *decurſus Piſgæ*: to wit, where the waters did run down from *Piſga*. In the ſame place of *Joſua* there is alſo named *Beth-Peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: ſo called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence alſo *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Peor*; which, they ſay, was the ſame as *Priapus*: the chief place of whoſe worſhip ſeems to have been *Bamoth-Bahal*, of which alſo *Joſ.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22.41. they read, *the high places of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firſt brought *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites*.

Num. 31 37 *Gen.*14.5. *Num.* 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini ne audiatur in ore tuo.* *Pſal.* 26.4. *Non aſſumpturus ſum nomina eorum in labiis meis*: *Hoſ.* 2.17. *Amovebo nomina Baalimorum ab ore ejus*: what name they uſed for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it ſeems they named ſometime *Bajith* as *Eſa* 15.2 and ſometime *Beth-meon*, *Eſay* 48.23.

‖. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were beſides theſe, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongſt which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering ſo much out of *Eſa.* 10.29. where it is

1 *Sam.* 25. *ult.*

is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reaſon perhaps out of *Num.* 21. 19. we may ſay that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in thoſe confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Iſraelites* paſt after they had left the Well,called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*,which the Prophet *Hieremy* threatneth with the reſt of the Cities of *Moab*.

Hierem. 48

Madian alſo is found in theſe parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations;of which theſe of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thouſand *Iſraelites*, ſent by *Moſes* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at ſuch time as *Iſrael* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothſayer, were then ſlain, and their Regal City with the reſt deſtroyed. The other *Madianites*,over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Prieſt,forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Anceſtor; but relieved and aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their painful travels through the Deſarts: and were in all that paſſage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and ſometime reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes*, or *petra*. It was alſo called *Joctheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Kings* 14. It was built (ſaith *Joſephus*) by *Recem*, one of thoſe five Kings of the *Madianites*: ſlain as before is ſaid: after whom it was called *Recem*. Now, they ſay, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding ſtrength thereof, kept therein all their treaſures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the firſt and ſtrongeſt City: the ſame perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*,whence alſo the Province adjoyning took name: which name ſeems to have been taken at firſt from *Nabajoth*, the ſon of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where underſtood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at leaſt where it is not miſ-underſtood)but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Iſmael*,whoſe people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, in ſtead of *Iſmaelites*,and all thoſe Territories of the *Cuſites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*,*Iſmaelites*, *Edomites*,or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*,*Hus*,*Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Baſan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be alſo true,that ſome part of *Arabia* the Deſart belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Iſmaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fifth, calls *Hagarens*,of *Hagar*.

Eſay 16.1.
2 Kings 14 7.

Lib. 4 ant. 7.

1 Chron. 5. 19 & 20.

This City *Petra*,*Scaurus* beſieged with the *Roman* Army, and finding the place in ſhew impregnable, he was content,by the perſwaſion of *Antipater*, to take a compoſition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amaſias* King of *Juda* (after he had ſlaughtered ten thouſand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan alſo this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the *Chriſtians* held the Kingdom of *Hieruſalem*, it had a Latine Biſhop,having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is ſeated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other ſide towards the North is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moſes* encamped in the 38. ſtation. *Adrichomius* deſcribeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and ſo he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it ſeems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refreſh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of thoſe waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* alſo cannot be found in this place,that is,to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the purſuit of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the Kings *Dale*, where *Abſolom* ſet up his Monument, as it ſeems,not far from *Hieruſalem*. And at the ſame time *Melchiſedec* King of *Salem* alſo encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North,and *Melchiſedec* inhabiting, either neer *Bethſan*,otherwiſe *Scythopolis*,in the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*,or in *Hieruſalem*(both places lying to the Weſt of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was alſo called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in theſe parts.

Wil. Tyr. 20, bel. ſacr.

Num. 21. Deut. 2.13

Num. 32.3. Joſ. 13.27 Eſay 15.1.

||. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw becauſe the Sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*,called alſo the Lake of *Aſphaltitis*, and the Salt ſea (in diſtinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was freſh water) alſo the ſea of the Wilderneſs, or rather the ſea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures,and in this ſtory alſo, therefore I think it not impertinent to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caſpian* ſea, which hath no out-let,or diſburthening. The length of this Lake *Joſephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a half of ours) and about 150. in bredth, which make 18. of our miles, and ſomewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal leſs: but thoſe that have of late years ſeen this ſea, did account it (ſaith [a] *Weiſſenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea,*Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus eſt in immenſo ambitu,ſpecie maris,ſapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis peſtifer: neque vento impellitur, neque piſces aut ſuitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde ſuperjecta ut ſolido feruntur,periti, imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a ſea of a corrupt taſte: of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raiſed by the winde, nor indureth fiſh to live in it, or fowl to ſwim in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the unskilfull of ſwiming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by the water.* At one time of the year caſteth it up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is uſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

And then of the Land, he ſpeaketh in this ſort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were ſometime fruitfull,and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remain, the ground looking with a ſad face, as having loſt her fruitfulneſs; for whatſoever doth either grow, or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneſs,having nothing within them, but moulder into aſhes*: Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe Pomegranates,and other Apples or Oranges, which do ſtill grow on the banks of this curſed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outſide, but being cut, have nothing but duſt within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake caſteth up,it was by the *Greeks* called *Aſphaltitis*. *Veſpaſian* deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went of purpoſe to ſee this Lake, and cauſed certain Captives to be caſt into it, who were not onely unskilfull in ſwiming, but had their hands alſo bound behind them, yet notwithſtanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not ſink.

* So *Junius* reads for the Hebrew, *Haraboth* every where, and ſo alſo the edition of *Vatablus*, Deut. 3.17 though Deut. 4.44 it hath *mare ſolitudinis*, as alſo 2 Reg. 14.25. the reaſon of this name ſeems to be becauſe it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called both *Moab*, Deut. 34.1. as alſo we have *Ceſaloth* in *Harbath*, that is, in the plains, to wit, of *Zabulon*; 1 Mac. 9.2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Arabot*.

[a] Peregr. ter. Sanct.

||. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, *much of whoſe Countrey within Arnon* Reuben *poſſeſt.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whoſe Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſt (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num. v.* 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeems to be the Anceſtor or Predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*: which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For fearing to contend with *Moſes* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon*,and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* curſings or inchantments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes. And though *Balaam* at the firſt, moved by the ſpirit of God bleſt *Iſrael*, contrary to the hope and deſire of *Moab*: yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfie him,and to do him ſervice,he adviſed *Moab* to ſend *Madianitiſh* women among the *Iſraelites*: hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counſell,and was ſlain among the reſt of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num 21. 22,23,24. Joſ. 24.

After theſe times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: ſaving that we find in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joaſh*, and *Sareph*, all being of the iſſue of *Juda*, ſometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the ſame Verſe, *Theſe alſo are antient things*: to wit, as ſome expound it, the particulars of theſe mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, theſe Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their poſterity chooſe rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Ver. 22.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* maſtered *Iſrael*, and commanded them 18 years: which *Eglon*,*Ehud* ſlew in his own houſe, and afterward 1000.of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the ſame againſt whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifeſt, for neither are named. But in reſpect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*,he received *David*, and relieved him;knowing that *Saul* ſought his life.

Judges 3.

1 Sam. 22.

1 Sam. 14.

After this, *David* himſelf entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the ſame Kings time: for he ſlaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was ſaid of *David*, *Moab is my waſh-pot, over Edom will I caſt my ſhooe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to ſuch an abjection, and appoint them for baſe ſervices: and that he would tread down the *Idumæans*.

2 Sam. 8.

1 Chro. 18. Pſ. 60.10.

The next King after *Davids* time of the *Moabites*,whoſe name liveth, was *Meſha*,who falling from *Juda*,(perhaps in remembrance of the ſeverity of *David*) faſtened himſelf

2 Kings 3.

to the Kings of *Iſrael*, and ayd tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambs, and 200000. Rams with the wooll: who revolting again from *Iſrael* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumæa*: and being by theſe three Kings preſt and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareſeth*, as is elſewhere ſhewed. There is alſo mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jehoſhaphat*: and by reaſon of ſome private quarrels among themſelves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* ſet upon the *Idumæans*, and ſlaughtered them: and then one againſt another, ſo as *Jehoſhaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Alſo in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Meſha* of *Moab* many deſcents: for *Meſha* lived with *Jehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekia*'s time, fourteen Kings of *Juda* coming between, who waſted three hundred and odd years.

2 Chro 20.

Hierem. 7.

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§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

Gen. 30. Num. 1. 32. Joſ. 13.

THe Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was ſometime in the poſſeſſion of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the ſeventh ſon of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deſarts*, 45550. and of their ſons there entred the Land promiſed, 45000. bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*.

Eſay 15. Deut. 2.

The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the ſame with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to thoſe words of *Moſes*, *Deut*. 2.36. *Ab Harohero, quæ eſt in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipſa quæ eſt in flumine: Where the City in the River is diſtinguiſhed from the City upon the bank of the River*, as alſo in like manner, (*Joſ.c.*12.*v.*2. and *c.*13.9.) thinketh that *Harober*, which doubtleſs belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb*.32.34. it is ſaid that they built it) was indeed ſeated neer *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never poſſeſt by *Moſes*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2.9. where God forbidding *Moſes* to touch it, ſaith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the ſons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is ſaid to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and ſo diſtinguiſhed from *Harober*, which is ſaid in the ſame places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the ſame *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, *ch*. 21. *v*.15. where *Arnon* is ſaid to be divided into divers ſtreams, where or among which *Har* is ſeated: And the ſame is confirmed by the place of *Joſ*. 13. *ver*. 25. where *Harober* is ſaid to be ſeated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it ſeems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they ſeat not *Harober* neer it, nor in ſight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here, we muſt underſtand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har*: and ſo we muſt needs diſtinguiſh it from *Harober*. And as for **Har*, (which alſo gave the name to the coaſt adjoyning) it ſeems it continued in the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, firſt weakned by *Chedorlaomer* and his Aſſociates: but *Harober* by the enterchange of times ſuffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Iſraelites*, and from them, as it ſeems in the ſtory of *Jephta*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Iſraelites* under the conduct of *Jephta*.

* Deut. 2. 9 Out of which place the words Num. 21. 28. are to be expounded not that the City of *Har*, but the coaſt adjoyning was waſted by Sehon. Gen. 14. 5. Judg. 11. 35. Hier. in epitaph. Paul. & in queſt. & tra. Hebr. ſee Junius his annotations upon 1 Sam 9 4. where he makes Shaliſha a plain countrey in Benjamin, and the ſame with Baal-ſhaliſha, 2 Reg 4. 42 where he expounds Bal, or Baal to be as much as plainties.

S. *Hieroms* time the greateſt part of this City periſhed by an earth-quake, as alſo *Zoar*, in which *Lot* ſaved himſelf in the deſtruction of *Sodom*, ſeated not far hence; which, they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling heifer, ſhe was thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for which cauſe alſo *Hierome* ſeems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa*, or *Bal-Saliſſa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen*. 14.2. and *Saliſha*, which hath a ſignification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

Brochard takes *Harober* to be *Petra*, but erroneouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Harober* is in the North-Eaſt border. Between *Harober* and *Jordan* they ſeat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, becauſe they are ſaid to have built it, *Num*.32.34. though *Joſ*. 13.*v*.17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Eſay* and *Hieremy* propheſied, that it ſhould periſh, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neer *Arnon* in S *Hierom's* time.

Eſay 15.

Hier. 48.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Eſay* propheſied, *That the waters thereof ſhould be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered*. Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha* and *Nobach*, or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the ſtory of *Gideon*: and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears, *Numbers* 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs be in theſe parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth. *Nobach* alſo (ſaith he) *went and took Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*, where becauſe the Verſes precedent ſpeak of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would have ſevered this ſeat of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, *ver*. 34.35, 36. therefore it may ſeem that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſe* which was in the Eaſt of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeak (*a*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah* reſted themſelves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2 *Reg*. 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certain, that it was ſtill a principal City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Eſay. 15. 21 Judg 8. 11.

Num. 32. 35.

* Num. 21. 30. It is called Nophach, and placed in the border of the Kingdom of Sehon towards Baſan, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in Gad.

(a) Chap. 12 ſect. 1.

Judg. 8. 10 Num. 32. 34. 35.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimra*, of which we have ſpoken, *Joſ*. 13.27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb*. 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is ſaid to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, becauſe in *Joſua* it is called *Beth-haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha*, of which (*b*) *Joſephus* after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betarampta* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in (*c*) *Joſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of thoſe Countries, we read, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Mac*. 37.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Joſephus*, ſometime *Batarampatha*) the ſame *Joſephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word ſignifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to ſet down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Joſephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Auguſtus* his wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he ſaith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he ſaith, is the ſame as *Bethſaida*.

(b) Joſ. 1. ant. 18. c. 3.

(c) L. 7. ant. c. 7. ubi Græcus codex legit Αραμαθα Latinus Ramatha, Metropolis Hamimonitarum.

Ant. 20. 11

Joſ. ant. 18. 3. & Bel. Judg. 2. 8.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi*. Of a noble woman of this City, which for ſafeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged. *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe eat her own child, with other tragicall accidents hereupon enſuing.

Joſeph de Bell. Judg. l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſ*.13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the ſtory of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requeſted relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it ſeems under a threſhing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their fleſh he put Thorns to teare their fleſh as they were preſt and trod under the *Tribulum* and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for Men or Cattel, *Moſes*, *Gen*.33.17. witneſſeth that the original of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Egypt*, had their firſt Station, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they uſed after for forty years in the Wilderneſs. In remembrance whereof the Feaſt of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was inſtituted.

Judg 8. 5.

2 Sam. 12. 31.

Exod. 12. 37.

Lev. 23. 43.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Joſua* 21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaiim*, *Cheſbon*, and *Jabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the Levites, of which *Jabzer*, as *Chesbon*, or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32.1. his Country is called the Land of *Jabzer*. It was taken by *Moſes*, having firſt ſent ſpies to view it. In the firſt of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Eſay* touching *Moab*) it was poſſeſſed by the *Moabites* : to which place of *Eſay*, alſo *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it ſeems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus* : as it is 1 *Mac.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Joſephus*, reads, *Jabzer*, though the *Greek* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joſ.* 16. 3. and 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from theſe Countries of *Sehon*, ſeated in the Weſt border of *Ephraim* , not poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites* , until *Solomons* time , for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Num. 32. 32

1 *Chron.* 27. 31.

Eſay 6. 8. *Hirem.* 48. 92.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Joſua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6.81. it ſhould be ſaid to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, ſeeing *Joſ.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites* : *Adrichomius*, and ſuch as little trouble themſelves with ſuch ſcruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead* , taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one : as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* diſtinct from it : but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for ſo alſo it ſeems that in like reaſon *Dibon* is ſaid in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word ſignifieth a double Army , we read *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore ſo called, becauſe the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoaſt or company, to joyn with his for his defence : as alſo *Luke* 2. 13. we read of a multitude of the Hoaſt of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth : and ſo unto the godly King *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, when he was ſoon after to joyn battel with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared : whence the field where the Battel was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaiim* , *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom* : and the ſame, for the ſtrength thereof, *Abner* choſe for the ſeat of *Iſhboſheth*, during the war between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture , for the recovering of which, King *Achab* loſt his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha Mitſpa*, of which *Joſ.* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* ſware one to the other , as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witneſſing heap, becauſe of the heap of ſtones which *Laban* and his ſons left for a monument ; ſo alſo that it was called *Mitſpah* , which ſignifieth over-looking (becauſe there they called God to over-ſee, and be witneſs to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. That in theſe parts there was not onely a Town, but likewiſe a Region called *Mitſpa*, it appears *Joſ.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon* , in the Country of *Mitſpa*, *the Town of *Mitſpa*, as it ſeems both by this place , and in the eighth verſe following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But ſeeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Iſrael*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mitſpa* , who doubtleſs was of the Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and thence at firſt expelled by his brethren , it may ſeem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mitſpa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manaſſe*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this Town of *Mitſpa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manaſſe*) was utterly ſpoiled and burnt, and the Males of it ſlain : for it was then poſſeſt of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other towns of this name, ſee in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Jud. 11. 3

1 *Mac.* 5. 3

Between *Succoth* (of which we have ſpoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Penuel* , which name ſignifieth *Locum faciei Dei* ; *A place where the face of God was ſeen:* ſo called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob* , and wreſtling with him there : the churliſhneſs of which City, in refuſing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cauſe that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and ſlew the chief Aldermen thereof. To theſe places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithful ſubject *Barzillai*, as it ſeems, not far from *Nahanaima*, where he ſuſtained King *David*, during *Abſaloms* rebellion. To theſe they add the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of vvhich *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* alſo no where appears to be the name of a Town, but ſtill of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλέμοις, 1 *Mac.* 5.26. ſo that the name ſhould rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Joſephus* reads *Mallæ* , for this in *Alimis* : and underſtanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have ſhewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitſpa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad* , it is that *Mahacath* , which *Moſes* notes to be as far as the furtheſt of *Manaſſes*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So alſo *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be (*b*) *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of ſtrength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum* , though by ſome they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two laſt we read in *Jephta*'s purſuit of the *Ammonites* : ſeated, as it ſeems by that place of the Book of *Judges* , the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the Eaſt border , both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures ſometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is ſuppoſed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Cœloſyria*. *Hierome* and *Caliſtus*, in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but, as it ſeems, never poſſeſt by the *Iſraelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites* : whereupon at length it became the Regal ſeat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims* : which is as much to ſay , as men for all manner of craft and wickedneſs infamous. The ſame were alſo called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Anceſtors : who having been firſt beaten by the *Aſſyrians* , and their aſſiſtants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the eaſier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom theſe Giants were deſcended , contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance : and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had diſpoſſeſt *Moab*, ſo had *Og* of *Baſan* the *Ammonites* , and between them recovered the beſt part of all the Valley , between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was alſo maſter of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia* : And in the poſſeſſion of the one or of the other of theſe two *Moſes* and *Iſrael*, found all thoſe Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*. So that though it were 450. years ſince that theſe *Zamzummims* , or *Raphaims*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance : but having theſe two Kings of one kinred , and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites* , they recovered again much of their loſt poſſeſſions , and thruſt the ſons of *Lot* over the Mountains , and into the Deſarts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Perſia* and *Aſſyria* (remembred in the 14. of *Geneſis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom* ; ſo by that great conqueſt which *Moſes* had over thoſe two *Amorites* , *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into thoſe Plains ; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites* , forſook the worſhip of the living God, and became ſloathful and licentious ; they taking the advantage , invaded them, and caſt them out of their poſſeſſions : and were ſometime their Maſters, ſometime their Tributaries , as they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God : and according to the wiſdom and vertue of their Commanders.

Gen. 32. 3

Jud. 8. 1

2 *Sam.* 1
33.

Deut. 3. 1
Joſ. 1

(*b*) The letters D and R in the *Hebrew* are very like, ſo that one is oft miſtaken for another, and ſometime without miſtaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim*. 1 *Chron.* 7. we have *Dodanim*. *Gen.* 10.4.

* Other names of this City, according to *Stephanus*, were *Ammana* and *Aſtarte*: but in this latter perhaps he miſtook, which might ſeem to be the ſame *Aſtaroth*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be ſpoken of, *Manaſſe*. *Adrichomius* ſays, it was alſo called *Urbs aquarum*, becauſe of the river *Jabocs* winding about it ; but in the place 2 *Sam.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we muſt read with others, *cepi et urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it ſelf, but of ſome other Fort adjoyning. *Gen.* 14.

In this City of *Rabba* , was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. The City was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants ſlain with great ſeverity, and by divers torments. At the firſt aſſault thereof *Urias* was ſhot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be imployed in the leading of an aſſault, where he could not eſcape : wherein alſo many of the beſt of the Army periſhed : and wherein *David* ſo diſpleaſed God, as his affairs had ill ſucceſs afterward , even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold , which the Kings of *Ammon* wore : or which, as ſome expound it, was uſed to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which is 60. pound weight , after the common talent. In the time of Chriſtians it had a Metropolitan Biſhop, and under him twelve others.

Deut. 3.

2 *Sam.* 12.

Wil. Tyr. Bel. ſacr 13. *c.* 22. *Pto.*

The mountains which are deſcribed within this Tribe, and that of *Manaſſe*, with a part of *Reuben*, are thoſe that *Ptolomy* calleth *the hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœloſyria* : and *Strabo*, * *Trachones* : the ſame which continue from near *Damaſcus*, unto the *Deſarts* of *Moab* : and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Aſtaroth* , the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are known by the name of *Hermon*, for ſo *Moſes* calleth them : The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion* , but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir* : of which name all thoſe hills alſo were called , which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: and laſtly, they are called

Strab. l. 6.

* τραχὼν is *locus aſper & ſalebroſus* : whence it appears, that *Trachonites regio*, in theſe parts was properly the hill-countrey.

Deut. 3. 9.

Libanus,

Hierem. 12 *Libanus*, for ſo the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*.

These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good paſtures, and have many Trees Hier. 8. & 9 which yeild *Balſamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do alſo fancy another River, which riſing out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

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§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whoſe Territories the Gadites wan from Og, *the King of Baſan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* poſſeſt half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moſes* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thruſt the iſſues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the firſt Judge of *Iſrael*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* againſt the *Hebrews*, and ſo continued long. *Jephta* Judge of *Iſrael* had a great conqueſt over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. Jud. 10. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*, who beſieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions 1 Sam. 11. but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reaſon why he tendred ſo hard a compoſition, was (beſides this deſire to bring ſhame upon *Iſrael*) becauſe thoſe *Gileadites* uſing to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but ſhadow their left eyes, ſhould by loſing their right, be utterly diſabled to defend themſelves: but *Saul* came to their reſcue, and delivered them from that danger. Joſeph. l 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. This *Nahas*, as it may ſeem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him 2 Sam. 10. 4. 18. in *Saul*'s time, though *Joſephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was ſlain in the battel, when *Saul* raiſed the ſiege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Hanun ſucceeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* ſent to congratulate his eſtabliſhment, and to confirm the former friendſhip which he had with his father, he moſt contemptuouſly and proudly cut off the Ambaſſadours garments to the knees, and ſhaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithſtanding the aids received from the *Aramites*, ſubject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Iſtob*, yet all thoſe *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weighed a talent of gold, was ſet on *David*'s head; all ſuch as were priſoners, *David* executed with ſtrange ſeverity; for with ſaws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and caſt the reſt into lime-kills. *Joſaphat* governing *Juda*, they aſſiſted the *Moabites* their neighbours againſt him, and periſhed together. *Oſias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increaſe it, to wit, a hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

Iſtob, that is, the Land of *Tob*: *Tob* is a ſmall Territory under *Arnon* hills, *Rehob* is another between *Hazor* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num*. 13. 22. of which ſee in the tribe of *Aſſer*. Hier. 40. & 41. 2 Chro. 20. 2 Chro 26. 2 Chro. 26.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whoſe name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whoſe taking by *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Baalis* ſent *Iſmael*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to ſlay *Gedaliah*, who ſerved *Nabuchodonoſor*.

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§. VII.

Of the other half of Manaſſe.

THe reſt of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alſo were part of the ſmall Territories of * *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Geſſuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*; of which thoſe three later Provinces defended themſelves againſt them for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomy* ſetteth farther off, and to the North-Eaſt, as a ſkirt of *Arabia* the *Deſart*: and all thoſe other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœloſyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: likewiſe all the reſt which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, ſaving the Land near the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of theſe ſmall Kingdoms take not much more ground than the country of *Kent*.

Baſan, or, after the *Septuagint*, *Baſanitis*, ſtretcheth it ſelf from the River of *Jaboc* to the (a) *Machati* and *Geſſuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reaſon whereof it abounded in all ſorts of Cattel. It had alſo the goodlieſt woods of all that part of the world: eſpecially of oaks, which bare maſt (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle, O ye oaks of Baſhan*) and by reaſon hereof they bred ſo b Mar. 5. 13. many ſwine, as (b) 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean ſpirits which *Chriſt* had caſt out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60. Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his ſons were ſlain, *Jair*, deſcended of *Manaſſe*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manaſſe*, whoſe limits were confounded with ſome of theſe, was that *Thiſbitis* the country of *Elias*, as it is 1 *Kings* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, *Tob*. 1. 2. It lay on the Eaſt of the tribe of *Nephtali* on the right hand of it, as in *Tobit* 2. and was poſſeſt by Colonies of the *Iſraelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Iſmaelites* in thoſe parts as it is gathered out of 1 *Chr*. 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Iturea*, of which *Mahacath*
c. 7. *ſect*. 4 || 5. & 6. (a) So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath*
ſomewhat hath been ſpoken toward the end of the fifth *Paragraph* of
this Chapter, ſee the 1 *Mac*. 5. 36. and *Deut*. 3. 14. and *Joſ*. 12. 5.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the reſt) are theſe, *Pella*, ſometimes (c) *Butis*, otherwiſe *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is ſaid to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demoliſhed by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, becauſe it refuſed to obey the *Jews* laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, ſaith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, d 1 Mac 5. taken by (d) *Judas Macchabæus*: where he ſet e Joſ 12. Ant. 12. on fire the (e) Temple of their Idols: together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Caſtle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc*. 12. 22. Then f 1 Mac. 5. the ſtrong City of (f) *Ephron* neer *Jordan*: g 2 Mac. 12 27. which refuſing to yeeld paſſage to (g) *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken and burnt with great ſlaughter.

c Anciently, as it ſeems, it was called *Tephel*. See above in the bounds of *Moab*, in this Chapter, Sect. 4. §. 2.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabeſus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being beſieged h 1 Sam. 11. by *Nahas* (h) King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (i) elſewhere mentioned. i Joſ. 6. Ant. 5. In memory whereof theſe Citizens k 1 Sam 31 (k) recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons: which hung deſpightfully over the walls of *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*. l 1 Chro. 10 (l) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeated by *Pliny* on a Hill neer the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* ſeems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten moneths ſiege, wan it, and ſubverted it. m Joſ. 14. Ant. 13. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius* (m) made it one of the five Courts of Juſtice in *Paleſtine*. *Hieruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico* and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Cæſar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the n Joſ. 15. Ant. 13. terrible (n) revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themſelves.

To the Eaſt of *Gadara* they place *Sebei* (o) in which, *Joſ. ant*. 5. 13. ſaith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud*. 12. 7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a City, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 *Macc*. 5. 26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: ſo of one City *Heſbon*, or *Cheſbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: This *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a City in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admoniſhed the Reader heretofore.

o Of *Miſpa* in *Gilehad*, the city of *Jephta*; ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a Cammel) which *Joſephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this *Joſephus* in the fourth c p. 1. & 3. book of the Jewiſh war: where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible: and in the ſtory of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his own perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides four thouſand ſlain by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſave only two women that hid themſelves.

About four miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Joſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the In vita ſua. names to the Hils that compaſs the Plains in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated far from the hill Country: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Pliny* noteth, *lib*. 5. *cap*. 15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herod*'s Tetrarchy: it was waſted Joſ. b. l. Jud. l. 2. c. 19. by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* invaded him: and neer unto this his Regal City, it was that he loſt the battel and his life. It ſtood in S. *Hierom*'s time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from theſe Towns neer *Jordan*, in this Valley, ſtood *Geraſſa*, or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the

Of another *Edrehi* in *Niph'a* ſee *Joſ*. 19 37. *Deut*. 3. 1. & 10. Item *Joſ*. 13. 31.

the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fifth ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* we read, *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Chriſt* coming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Devils out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of Hoggs: in which ſtory, for *Gergeſites*, or *Gergeſins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Marke* have *Gaderens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa*, or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Town in theſe parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This City received many changes and calamities: of which *Joſephus* hath often mention. For beſides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius*, Lievtenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000. of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the City burnt. In the yeer 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jeruſalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neer unto *Geraſa* is the Village of *Magedan*, or, after the *Syriack*, *Magedu*, or, after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Saviour a ſign from Heaven: the ſame place, or ſome adjoyning to it, which S. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtory it appears that this coaſt lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan*, according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the ſtory, not far hence, towards the North, was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fiſhes.

Mat. 8. 28.

Mark 5. *Luke* 8.

Mark 15.

Mark 8.

Broch. itin. 2.

Of this *Phiale* ſee in *Neph. c.* 7. *ſect.* 4 [illegible] 3. *Matt.* 14. *Mark* 6. *Luke* 9. *John* 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Chriſt*, it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrach* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Joſephus* makes this *Julias* to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt in Matthew*; *Woe be unto thee Corazim.*

Joſep. 18 *ant.* 3. & *alibi.*

But the principal City of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*: ſometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og* King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this City is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſ.* 13. 21. it is called *Aſteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a pair of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idol *Aſteroth*, which was the image of a ſheep, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſteroth* in *Deuteronomy* ſignifieth ſheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim* to have been the name of the people which inhabited this City: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this City (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og. ex reſiduo gigantum*; with the words *Joſ.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number: neither would *Moſes* in the places of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity: for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. [illegible]

* Becauſe horn when it is poliſhed, ſhineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noun is ſometime *Lucere*: as it were *cornum eſſe*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exo.* 34. 19 reading *cornutam corneam* or *lucidam faciem*, gave occaſion to the fabulous Painters to paint *Moſes* with Horns.

Not far from *Aſteroth*, *Adricomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This City (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this City underſtand *David* in his 120. *Pſalm*: and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

Judith. 1. 8.

1 *Cant* 5.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the Greek hath *Galaad* in ſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adricomius*. For that they ſpeak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *de colores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) fain many things to abuſe the *Chriſtians*, and to get mony. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the hiſtorical circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Country ſeek to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, infer what his Countrey was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

Rup. Lyra. Oleaſt. in Gen. Bel. lib. Cont. lib. de ver. Dei. S. Ambroſ. Ep. ad Reg. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. *c.* 4 *Chryſ. Hom.* 2. *De patientia Job. Greg. in Job.*

Of *Job* himſelf, whether he was the ſame *Jobab* remembred in the 36. of *Geneſis*, deſcended from *Eſau* King alſo of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion; yet Saint *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius*, and other cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus*, wherein *Job* dwelt, is from the Greek Ους, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the Vulgar ſometimes *Hus*, as *Job* 1. 1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Hierem* 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtine* and *Cœloſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamatha*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis*, or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25. 20. where he reckons the *Huſhites* among the promiſcuous borders of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therfore calleth promiſcuous, or *miſcelaniam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not only joyned but confounded, and their *Seignories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lam.* 4. 21. ſpeaking of the ſame Prophecy, of which he ſpeaketh in the 25. Chapter, muſt needs be expounded, as *Junius* reads them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, O quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus.* Now becauſe the Vulgar doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeems, ſome of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes* time, they are greatly maſtaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau*, when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeat himſelf in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and held part of thoſe Mountains, otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true, that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandered in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations over the *Deſarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

For ου and αυ are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Junius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, & ſo as it ſeems they read it in the *Septuagint*, *Jun.* in *Gen.* 10. 23.

Deut. 3. 9.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtful. For my part I rather encline to think, that it was *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*: partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeem long before to have been loſt: and partly becauſe in *Job* 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which ſeems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the ſon of *Nachor*: as alſo *Jer.* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by his *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the ſon of *Sem*, *Junius* himſelf maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he ſaith, that one of *Jobs* friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſſly) and in as much as he readeth not *è Familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è Fimilia Syriæ*; like as elſewhere *Laban*, who ſprung of *Nachor*, is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regine Auſitide*.

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds, as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implyed that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Country.

See *Sixtus Senenſis.*

Franciſcus Brochard the *Monk*, in his deſcription of the *Holy Land* in the journy from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very near to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may ſeem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Pliny* calls *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom

Eliphaz was, to have been of *Arabia the Deſart*: and *Eliphaz* himſelf to have been of the poſterity of *Theman* the ſon of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſon of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah*, whence *Tſophar* the third of *Job*'s friends (which in this place of *Job*.2 11. are mentioned) is by the ſame learned Expoſitor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by tranſpoſition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen*. 36.40. is named among the ſons of *Eſau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were ſeated) or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Joſ*. 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of *Hus*, in *Baſan*, as it ſeems, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which (at leaſt) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is evident by the Hiſtory De bel.ſacr. lib.22. c. 15. & 21. of *Will. Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he cals it diverſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and uſe for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the ſecond King of *Hieruſalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Chriſtians*; having not long before been loſt, to the great diſadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The ſituation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be ſixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the Eaſt of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the Scripture, are theſe: *Golan*, *Geheſhthera*, *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, we have ſpoken by occaſion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given Joſ.21.27 Deut.4 43. to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis ſuperior* and *inferior*, oft in *Joſephus*. *Beheſhthera* is accounted the chief City of *Baſan* by ſome, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betſer*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by ſome about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joſua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Joſephus* cals it. This Lake, being as it were in the midſt between *Cæſarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the Weſt. When the ſnow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, ſaith *Brochard*: otherwiſe more contract, leaving the mariſh ground on both ſides, for Lions and other wilde beaſts, which harbour in the ſhrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manaſſes*, *Joſephus* names two places of ſtrength, fortified by himſelf in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Segane* the other. In the North ſide of this half Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and in the North-Eaſt, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damaſcus*, as *Tſedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the Weſt; of which three Cities we read, *Ezek*. 47. 15. with which alſo agrees the place, *Num*.34. 8. where for *Chauram* between *Tſedad*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Joſephus* and *Tyrius*, whoſe bounds (as alſo the bounds of *Geſſur* and *Mahacath*, or *Macati*, which were likewiſe borderers to *Manaſſes* towards the North-Eaſt) are unknown: only that *Geſſur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the 1 Chron.3. 2. daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Geſſur*: by whom he had the moſt beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate *Abſalom*.

CHAP. XI.

The Hiſtory of the Syrians, *the chief Borderers of the* Iſraelites *that dwelt on the Eaſt of* Jordan.

§. I.

Of the City of Damaſcus, *and the divers Fortunes thereof.*

Damaſcus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the moſt famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladneſs, and the Houſe of pleaſure; and is not only remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the beſt Hiſtorians and Coſmographers. The *Hebrews*, ſaith *Joſephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*: Joſeph l.1. c. 14. of which opinion S. *Hierome* upon *Eſay* ſeemeth to be: though in his Hebrew queſtions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damaſcus* the ſon

In Eſa 17. Gen. 15.2. of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s Steward; a thing very unlikely, ſeeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham*'s calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damaſco*. *David* was the firſt that ſubjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomon*'s time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwiſe *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damaſcena*, 1 King.11 40. and poſſeſt *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damaſcus* was *Adad* the 1 King.11 *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they ſlew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives ſiſter: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as ſome Writers affirm) invaded *Damaſcus*, and thruſt *Rezon* thence-out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine deſcents (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the Catalogue of thoſe Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Aſſyrians*, and then the *Grecians* ſucceeded. This City was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call 2 Kings 5. *Chryſorrhoas*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong Caſtle, built as it ſeems by Herold.6. bell.ſacr.1 3.8.10. & 17.49. & 9. the *Florentines*, after it became Chriſtian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Againſt this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, propheſied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demoliſhed, and made a heap of ſtones. In the time of the laſt *Rezon*, and tenth King of the 2 King.16 *Damaſcens*, *Teglatphalaſſer*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damaſcus* into the Eaſt: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, ſaith *Hierome* Eſay 17. upon *Eſay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaſſer*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecy. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when Joſ.ant.4. *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romanes*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the Chriſtians it had an Archbiſhop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the *Romanes*, in the year of our redemption 636. and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hieruſalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Auſtria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbaroſſa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earl of *Flaunders*, and other Princes aſſembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the ſea-coaſt, determined to recover *Damaſcus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize. Onuphrius in Chron. Vitric. 46. Will. Tyr. bell. ſacr. lib.17. c.1. 23.4.5.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompaſt it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Wals, and threatned Herold bel. ſacr.4 c.14 extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refuſing it, the King was torn aſunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the ſon of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the year 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperour Herold.l.6 c. 4. of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and beſieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not miſtaken.) He entred it, and put all to the ſword, filling the ditch with his priſoners; thoſe that retired into the Caſtle, which ſeemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Caſtle adjoyning: he forbare the demoliſhing of the City, in reſpect of the beauty of the Church, garniſhed with forty Gates, or ſumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again ſurprized *Damaſcus*. Laſtly, in his return after three moneths ſiege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* proſtrating themſelves with their Prieſts, deſired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it to the number of 30000. and did ſo demoliſh it, as thoſe that came afterwards to ſee their houſes, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophee of his victory, he raiſed three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of thoſe whom he had ſlaughtered. After this, it was reſtored and re-poſſeſt by the *Soldane* of *Egypt* with a Garriſon of *Mammalukes*: And in the year 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turks* wreſted it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whoſe poſſeſſion it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Chriſtians of all neighbouring Nations.

§. II.

Of the firſt Kings of Damaſcus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

Now be it that *Damaſcus* were founded by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, or by *Damaſcus* the ſon of *Eliezer Abraham*'s ſteward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Davids* time. For it ſtood without the bounds of *Canaan:* and therefore neglected by *Moſes, Joſua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it ſo that it had ſome *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of thoſe parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till ſuch time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba:* the ſame Nation which *Pliny* Plin. l. 6. c. 28. calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to underſtand the ſtory of thoſe *Syrian* Princes, whom ſoon after the Kings of *Damaſcus* made their vaſſals, the Reader may inform himſelf, That on the North-Eaſt parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief Principallities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or diſturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, namely, *Damaſcus*, or *Aram*, *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*; of which theſe were the Princes in *David*'s and *Solomon*'s times: *Razon*, or *Rezon* of *Damaſcus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria*, 1 Sam. 14 47. *Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it ſeemeth, that *Damaſcus* was one of the Cities ſubject 3082. to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war againſt *Zoba*, *Damaſcus* was not named. And as *Joſephus* affirmeth, the leader of thoſe ſuccours, which 2 Sam. 8. were levied and ſent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damaſcus*, had the name of *Adad:* who was in that battel ſlain with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damaſcus:* whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himſelf King of *Damaſcus*, *Adadezer*, and *Adad* of *Damaſcus* being both ſlain. About the ſame time 1 King 11 *Tobu* King of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, ſendeth for peace to *David*, and preſenteth him with rich gifts: but *in dolo*, ſaith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the Weſt of *Damaſcus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the moſt part were in league and peace with the *Judæans* and *Iſraelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damaſcena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*; to which I may add *Geſhur*, becauſe it is ſo accounted in the ſecond of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territory to *Damaſcus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palæſtina* it ſelf is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Hiſtorians of former times, nor of our later Writers, who was the firſt of thoſe *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damaſcus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa:* of whom it is written in the firſt of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to deſtroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings ſeed fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens ſiſter, as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damaſcus*, and was the firſt of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it ſeemeth otherwiſe. 2 Sam. 8 & 11. For, as I take it, *Adadezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder 1 Sam. 14. 47. of that Principallity: and the firſt of *Adads*, who forſaking his fathers name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the ſtile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Aſſyrians*, ſaith *Macrobius*, which ſignified Oneneſs of Unity. I alſo find a City called *Adada*, in the ſame part of *Syria:* of which whether theſe Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *El-adad* were the ſame in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli* adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greateſt power, it appeareth firſt, becauſe it is againſt him, that *David* undertook the war: Secondly, becauſe he levied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damaſcus:* as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damaſcens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: Thirdly, becauſe *Syria Zoba*, of the moſt of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, Plin. l. 6. c. 18. and contained of *Arabia* the *Deſart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny:* and the greateſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whoſoever was the firſt, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the ſecond: 1 King 11 *Who was an enemy to Iſrael all the dayes of Solomon.* Beſides the evil that *Adad* did, the evil that *Hadad* did, ſeemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt:* to wit, 23. years after he was carried thither.

The third King of *Damaſcus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* ſucceeded *Tabremmum*, or *Tabrimmum*; to him *Benhadad*, 1 Kings 15. 18. as is proved in the firſt of Kings: For *Aſa* King of *Juda* the ſon of *Abiam*, the ſon of *Roboam*, the ſon of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baaſha*, the ſucceſſour of *Nadab*, the ſon of *Jeroboam*, ſent to *Benhadab* the ſon of *Tabrimmon*, the ſon of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damaſcus*, to invade *Iſrael* (while *Baaſha* ſought to fortifie *Rama* againſt

Aſa: thereby to block him up, that he ſhould not enter into any of the territories of *Iſrael*) who according to the deſire of *Aſa*, having received his preſents, willingly invaded the Country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers Cities, and ſpoyls thence: *Aſa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baaſha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own uſe.

1 Kin. 15. 18. This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Aſa:* and ſo was his Father *Hezion:* for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad*, his ſon: though it ſeemeth that the gold and ſilver ſent him out of the Temple, was the moſt forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Iſrael*, before the enterprize of his ſon *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was priſoner with *Achab*, ſpake as 1 Kin. 20. 34. followeth: *The Cities which my father took from thy father, I will reſtore, and thou ſhalt make ſtreets or Keepers of the borders for thee in Damaſcus: as my Father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the argument it ſelf were of much importance) becauſe *Tabremmon* was father indeed to 1 Kin. 15. *Benhadad* which invaded *Baaſha*, at the requeſt of *Aſa:* But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the ſecond time taken priſoner, was rather the ſon of *Benhadad*, the firſt of that name, the confederate of *Aſa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the ſon of *Tabremmon*. For between the invaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſha*'s time, and the ſiege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there paſt 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Iſrael*. So that if we allow 30. years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baaſha*, and after that 49. years ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at ſuch an age ſhould make war. Beſides all this, the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pomp; but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I reſolve, that *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tebremmon* invaded *Baaſha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the ſecond invaded *Achab*, at whoſe hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the firſt 1 Kin 10. at *Samaria*, by a ſally of 700. *Iſraelites:* the ſecond at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect, the *Iſraelites* ſlaughtered 200000. of the *Aramites*; beſides 27000. which were cruſh't by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again ſetteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth thoſe Towns that his father had taken from the Predeceſſour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refuſed to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three years after (for ſo long the league laſted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and beſieged the City, being aſſiſted by *Joſaphat*. 1 Kin. 22. The *Aramites* came to ſuccour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, 3227. and dieth that night. 3232. After this, *Benhadad* ſendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the ſon of *Achab* to be healed of the leproſie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picked a quarrell againſt *Joram:* 2 Kin 5. and when *Joram*, by *Elizeus* his intelligence had eſcaped his plot, 2 Kin. 6. he ſent men and Chariots to take the Prophet, 2 Kin. 6. as is aforeſaid. After *Benhadad* beſieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from Heaven, he departed home, and ſickneth, and ſendeth *Azael* with great gifts to 2 Kin. 7. *Elizeus*, to know his eſtate if he might live. 3234. *Azael* returning, ſmothereth him. Amo. 1. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the ſon Jer. 49. ant. l. 8. c. 8 of *Adar:* *Amos* and *Hieremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad*. *Joſephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his ſucceſſour *Azael* were worſhipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the ſumptuous Temples which they built in *Damaſcus*. The *Syrians* alſo boaſted much of their antiquity, ignorant, ſaith he, that ſcarce yet 1100. years are compleat ſince their wars with the *Iſraelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the firſt King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, was annointed by *Eliſha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was ſent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* ſhould recover his preſent ſickneſs: He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead:* from whence returning to be cured at *Jeſreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are ſlain by *Jehu*, as before is ſaid. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued war againſt *Jehu*, and waſted *Gilead*, and all thoſe portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manaſſe*, 2 Reg. 12. 17. over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Hieruſalem:* for he preſented him all the *hallowed things which* Jehoſaphat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers*, 2 Reg. 12. *Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated, and which he himſelf had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treaſures of the Lord*, 1 Reg. 15. *and in the Kings houſe*. This was the ſecond time that the Temple was ſpoiled to pleaſe the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*. For *Aſa* did preſent *Benhadad* with thoſe treaſures, when he invited him to war upon *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*. And notwithſtanding this compoſition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army ſpoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and 2 Reg. 13. 7. ſlaughtered many principal perſons. Laſtly, *Azael* vexed *Joahaz* the ſon of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity,as he left him but fifty Horſe-men, ten Chariots, and ten thouſand Foot-men of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

2 Reg. 13. Joſ. ant. c. 9. AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the ſecond, or rather the third of that name,the ſon of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damaſcus*: who fought againſt *Iſrael* with ill ſucceſs: for *Joas* King of *Iſrael*, the ſon of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Eliſha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three ſeveral battels: and he loſt all thoſe Cities to *Iſrael*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Joſ ant. l. 7. c 6. After this *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael*,there ſucceeded three others by the ſame name, of whom the Stories are loſt, onely *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* cited by *Joſephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of theſe Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the ſecond,the ſon 1 Kin, 14. 28. of *Joas*, recovered *Damaſcus* it ſelf to *Juda*, ſaith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damaſcum, & Chamatham Jehudæ pro Iſraele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Iſrael, Damaſcus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for theſe Cities ſometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely, that this conqueſt upon the *Adads* was performed: the firſt of theſe three *Adads* then living,of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Iſrael*; and ſo left his Kingdom to his ſon *Jeroboam* the ſecond; it ſeemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing elſe left for him to enterprize, inſtantly followed his fathers good fortune,and invaded *Damaſcus*.

Razin,or *Rezin*,after *Joſephus*,*Raſes*; after *Zonaras*, *Raaſon* the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*,or *Phacas* King of *Iſrael*,againſt *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away 2 Kin. 16. 5. 5. Eſay 7. Joſ. ant. l 9 c. 11. a great number of priſoners. After this they both beſiege *Achaz* in *Hieruſalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Razin*, who took him and beheaded him, and won *Damaſcus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damaſcus*: the *Aſſyrians* becoming maſters both of that and *Iſrael*. Theſe *Adads*,as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

1 *Adadezer* the ſon of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the ſon of *Eliadad*,or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*,who invaded *Baaſha*.
6 *Benhadad* the ſecond,taken priſoner by *Achab*.

7 *Hazael*,whom *Eliſha* foretold with tears of his advancement; the ſame who overthrew *Joram* King of *Iſrael* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a ſecond *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third,it is not improbable, becauſe that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the firſt *Hazael* which ſtifled his maſter *Benhadad*,and had ſlain *Joram* the ſon of *Achab* King of *Iſrael*. For *Joas* began to reign in the 7. year of *Jehu* King of *Iſrael*; and after he had reigned 23. years,the Temple was not yet repaired, after which(and how long we know not) it is ſaid that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo ſome proof that *Hazael* that took *Geth*, was not the ſame with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, becauſe he could not at that time be of good years, being as it ſeemeth, the ſecond perſon in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of war. To this *Hazael* (be he the firſt or ſecond)ſucceeded.

8 *Benhadad*,the third, whom *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael* thrice overthrew.

9 *Reſin*, or *Rezin*, the laſt, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalaſſer*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the laſt, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the reſt of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as thoſe of *Emath*, and 2 Sam 8. Eſay 37. *Geſſur*, we find that *Tohu* was King of *Emath*, or *Camath*, in *Davids* time, to whom he ſent his ſon *Joram* with preſents, after *Davids* victory againſt *Adadezer*. Alſo *Senacherib* ſpeaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

§. IV.

Of Other leſſer Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Aſſyrians, never recovered themſelves again.

OF *Geſſur* we find two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whoſe Daughter *David* married,

it was that *Abſalom* fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœloſyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelf; and it is plain that after his death the ſeat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a City better fitting their greatneſs. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of theſe Kings of *Syria* (which became ſo potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the *Deſart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, ſo it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin* the laſt King of *Damaſcus*: which *Teglath* firſt invaded *Damaſcena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and did put to death *Rezin* the laſt, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*. For firſt *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Iſrael*) who ſtopt the enterpriſe of *Phul* with a thouſand talents of ſilver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree we will examine hereafter,being ſcarce warm,as yet,in his ſeat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*: having beſides this King of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong Prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the King of *Iſrael* for that preſent time. But his ſon *Teglath* following the purpoſe of his father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the war begun between *Iſrael* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that war, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſt himſelf of the Cities of *Nephtalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his ſon *Salmanaſſer*, whom *Ptolemy* called *Nabonaſſer*, after the revolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted,the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered; the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*,whom *Salmanaſſer* overturned; happened near about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalaſſer*, and *Salmanaſſer* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Juda*;and the other two Kingdoms were diſſolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Laſtly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it ſelf, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the ſon of *Salmanaſſer*, in vain, and preſerved for the time by God miraculouſly, was at length utterly overturned. *Hieruſalem* and the Temple burnt 132. years after the captivity of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*: the deſtruction of *Iſrael* being in the ninth year of *Hoſea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon* held alſo the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanaſſer*; to the laſt of *Baltaſſar*,whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200.years. After theſe the *Perſians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their laſt King, held *Syria* about 200.years. 3603. 3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Perſian* Empire, and his ſucceſſors the *Selucidæ* reigned therein, till it became ſubject unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wreſted long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place.Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Iſraelites*,with whom they had moſt to do,both in war and peace, being the onely people,whoſe Hiſtory in thoſe ancient times carried an aſſured face of Truth.

⁂

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hieruſalem.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, *whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.*

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngeſt ſon of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinia* 35000.able bodies: all which periſhing in the *Deſarts*, there entred the *Holy Land* of their iſſues 45600. fit to bear Arms: and theſe had their Territory on this ſide *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The

Cities within this Tribe neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Eſd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a City called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*.

Samarim, or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary* one of the ſons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land ſtandeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the laſt of *Juda*, ſeated in a moſt fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elſewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Joſua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte untill the time of *Achad*: in whoſe daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the loſs of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſon, and built the gates of it in the loſs of his youngeſt ſon *Segub*: according to the curſe of *Joſua*: in which and other reſpects, *Hoſ.* 12. 14. calleth *Joſua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the South-eaſt of *Jericho* ſtood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Joſ* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Joſ. c.* 15. and *c.* 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Joſua* firſt ate of the fruits of the land, circumciſed all thoſe born in the *Deſarts*, and celebrated the Paſſeover.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it ſeems by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Joſ.* 5. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their fore-skins (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Joſ.* 15. 7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Joſ.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (though in ſome diſtance) directly Eaſtward, over againſt the two Hills *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the bleſſings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Benjamin* (of which alſo we read oft in the Scripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reaſon (a) *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the *Iſraelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is ſaid) was near *Jordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe and *Mitſpa* near the Weſt Sea, towards the land of the *Philiſtims*.

The third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearly to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the firſt place where the *Ark* reſided, after they paſt over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-Jeharim*, and at length to *Hieruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſua* pitched up the 12. ſtones, which were taken out of the channel of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Iſraelites* might paſs over it: by which Story, as it is ſet down *Joſ.* 4. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Joſ.* 20. 1. and another againſt the *Philiſtims*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither alſo *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Hieruſalem* was poſſeſt by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Mac.* 3. 47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitſpæ antea Iſraeli.* Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15. 38. (c) *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelf, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and laſtly, this chief *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hieruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have ſaid) when *Hieruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Hieremy*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewry*, as Governour over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was ſlain by the treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41.

1 *Chron.* 8. 12.

Mac. 12. 38

1 *Kings* 16. 34. *Joſ.* 6. 29.

* 1 *Chro.* 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

Deut. 11. 30.

(a) 1 *Sam.* 7. 15.

[b] *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kireath-jeharim*, where the *Arke* abode. For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exo.* 23. 17. the greateſt meetings in their annual feaſts were to be where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not ſpeak of feſtival, but of judicial meetings: and beſides the Prieſts did uſe to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings, whereſoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 11. 11. & 14. 18. neither is it eaſie to expound *Bethel* otherwiſe than for the City *Bethel*: though *Junius* alſo take it for the place where the *Ark* was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3.

(c) It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Joſ.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Verſus orientem*, for *Joſua* notes the three quarters, North, Weſt, and Eaſt, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitſpa* or *Miſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

Neer unto this *Mitſpa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Bethcar*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey againſt the *Philiſtims*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it ſeems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the miniſtring of Juſtice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the iſſue of *Joſeph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. and *Joſ.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* (d) near adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the City which ſhewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occaſion of the name from *Jacob's* viſion: and how *Jereboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the houſe of God) made it (e) *Beth-aven*, that is, the houſe of Vanity, *Hoſ.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as alſo other memorable things of this place, they are ſo well known out of the Hiſtories of the Scripture, that we may well paſs them over.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13. was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and ſo it continued, as appears by the Story of *Joſias*: which performed the Prophecies againſt the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence thoſe coaſts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apheræma*, which *Greek* word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Perfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephravin*, which *Joſ.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, (f) it is noted already, in the deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns ſo called, becauſe of their high ſituation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it ſeems, becauſe *Matt.* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; theſe three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, as it ſeems, we have teſtimony, *Joſ.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Joſ.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 1. which more often is called (g) *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tſophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-ſophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joſeph* of *Aramathæa*, *Matt.* 27. 57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, ſeated, as we ſaid, near *Bethel* the uttermoſt South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cauſe *Baaſha* in the time of *Aſa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did fly from him to *Aſa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I ſhould rather think *Joſeph* was, that buried *Chriſt*: becauſe it was nearer to *Hieruſalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Judæa*, as it appears, *Eſd.* 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama* with whoſe ſtones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1 *Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we reade that *Joſiah* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-ſheba*, which was the South-border, deſtroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibha*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedneſs of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almoſt utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently diſtinguiſhed, *Eſay.* 10. 27.) of which word (h) *Gibha*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City alſo to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud.* 19. 13. where the *Levite* with his Wiſe, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam.* 22. 6. it ſeems that there was in this *Gibha* ſome Tower or *Cittadel* called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelſo*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it ſeems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Joſua*, which *Joſ.* 7. 2. is placed neer *Beth-aven*, upon the Eaſt of *Bethel*,

(d) 1 *Sam.* 7. 11. *Joſ.* 16. 1.

(e) Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdom of *Juda* and *Iſrael* between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Joſ* 7. 2. and 18. 12.

(f) See cap. 9. ſect. 1.

(g) Of this *Ramatha* I underſtand the place 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the Eaſt to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the Weſt, and *Apheræma* (of which even now we ſpeak) lying in the middeſt between the two other. A ſixth *Rama* it ſeems there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Joſ.* 19. 8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwiſe *Babalath-beer*.

(h) *Gibba* in conſtruction, that is, Governing a genitive caſe, is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Joſ.* 14 33. *Gibbath Phinees*: for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineaſi* (for this word is oft-times an Appellative ſignifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

was in this Tribe, as is proved, Neh. 7. 10.30. though it be not named by *Joſ. c.* 18. for it was burned by him and laid deſolate, as it is *Joſ.* 8. 28. *In ſolitudinem, in tumulum perpetuum.* Another City of chief note is reckoned *Joſ.* 18. 25. In this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chief City of the *Hevites:* whoſe cunning to bind the *Iſraelites* by oath to ſave their lives, is ſet down, *Joſ.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the **Nethinæi*, or *Proſelites*, and were bound to certain publick ſervices in the houſe of God: which oath of ſaving theſe *Gebeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a famine, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natal place of *Hieremy* the Prophet, were ſaid *Joſ.* 21.28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites.* Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears, 1 *Reg.* 2.26. where *Abiathar* the Prieſt, which was of *Nob* before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his grounds at *Hanothoth.* It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul* the reſiding place of the *Ark* was at *Kireath-jeharim:* yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloud-ſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet down 1 *Sam.* 21. and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were à *Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *dedititii:* it is uſed 1 *Chro* 9 2. and in *Eſdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Micmas alſo in this Tribe, *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Eſay.* 10. 28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Sam.* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Jonathan*) and there alſo was *Jonathan Macchabæus* his abode, 1 *Macc.* 9. 73. Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee Joſephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of Saint *Paul*, whence (they ſay) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he ſailed with his parents to *Tharſis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of leſs importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hieruſalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Joſ.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin.*

§. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hieruſalem.

AT what time *Hieruſalem* was built (which afterward became the Princeſs of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchiſedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchiſedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made priſoner) ſtandeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* bordering *Zabulon*, which was alſo called *Salem*, and by the Greeks *Solima.*

* See in the hithe half of Manaſſe.

Hieruſalem (whenſoever, or by whomſoever built) was a principal City in *Joſua* his time: yet not ſo renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in thoſe dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites. Adonizedek* (whom *Joſua* ſlew) was then King of *Hieruſalem.* That it was belonging to the *Jebuſites* it is manifeſt: for how long ſoever they held it before *Moſes* time, they were Maſters and Lords thereof almoſt 400. years after him: even till *David* wan it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebuſæi* (the children of *Jebuſæus* the ſon of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus.* And ſo much did that Nation rely on the ſtrength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people ſhould defend it.

2 Sam. 5.6

David, after he had by Gods aſſiſtance poſſeſt it, and turned out the *Jebuſites*, gave it an exceeding great increaſe of circuit; ſtrengthened it with a Citadel or Caſtle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebuſſalem*, the City of the *Jebuſites*, to *Hieruſalem*, which the Greeks call *Hieroſolima.* After *David*'s time *Solomon* amplified, beautified and ſtrengthened it exceedingly. For beſides the work of the Temple, which was no leſs admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Wals, could not any where in the world be exampled: and beſides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath ſeldome been heard of, either ſince or before.

Joſ. cont. Ap. l. Strab.geo l. 16.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut aſunder, *Shiſhac* King of *Egypt*, and his Predeceſſor, having bred up for that purpoſe *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam Solomon*'s ſervant; and both married to *Egyptians:* the State by the one diſturbed, by the other broken: *Shiſhac* firſt invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſack't it, and became Maſter not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoyls which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again ſack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Iſrael*; while *Amaſia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda.*

2 Chro.1

2 King.1

2 King. 16

Not long after, *Achas* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoveriſhed the Temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſer* with the treaſures thereof. And *Manaſſes* the ſon of *Ezekiah*, the ſon of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embaſſadors of *Merodach*, loſt the remain, and the very bottom of their treaſures. It was again ſpoyled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by theſe Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raiſed up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Wals and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the duſt, carried away the ſpoyls with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heavy yoak of bondage and ſervitude full ſeventy years, inſomuch as *Sion* was not only become as a torn and plowed-up field, *Hieruſalem* an heap of ſtones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Hierome* ſpeaketh) even the birds of the Ayre ſcorned to flie over it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoil.

Chron. 5. 26.

King 25

2 King. 19 1 Par. 13.

Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26, 19.

Then 70. years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Wals or other defences, for ſome 60. and odd years, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City ſpoyled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, the Lievtenant of *Artaxerxes:* after by * *Ptolomæus* the firſt; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes:* and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed, though *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* ſpared.

Hier. tom 3 trad Heb.

Neh 12.34. &c.

* The firſt of the Egyptian Kings after Alexander Macedon, who diſſembling his Religion, came up to Hieruſalem to offer ſacrifice. Joſ. 12. ant. 1.

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the induſtry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of ſtrangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon.* The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond Temple, was requited by the bounty of his ſon *Ptolomæus Philadelphus.* The miſchief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were ſent to *Hieruſalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the loſſes, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well ſeem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that uſurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many ſumptuous works did ſo adorn them, that he left them far more ſtately and glorious than they had been in the dayes of *Solomon.*

M T. C. pro Scylla.

§. III.

Of the deſtruction ef Hieruſalem *by the* Romanes.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate it was at the coming of our *Saviour Chirſt Jeſus:* and after his death and aſcenſion, it ſo continued about fourty years. But then did *Titus* the *Romane*, being ſtirred up by God to be the revenger of *Chriſt* his death, and to puniſh the *Jews* ſinful ingratitude, incompaſſe it with a *Romane* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Paſſeover:* ſo as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thouſands of all ſorts: and no manner of proviſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil diſſenſion, oppreſt them within the Wals; a forcible enemy aſſailed them without. The *Idumæans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thruſt themſelves into the City, of purpoſe to betray it: who alſo burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* took it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging, to the conſummation of the victory, eleven hundred thouſand ſouls: and the City was ſo beaten down and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterward to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any ſuch place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers, (works moſt magnificent, and overtopping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* Garriſons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and ſtate remaining, after ages might judge what the reſt were; and their honour be the greater and more ſhining, that thereover became victorious.

1 Eſd. 4. 45.

After this, ſuch *Jews* as were ſcattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit ſome part of the City; and by degrees to re-build it, and ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the Emperour ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and overturned thoſe three *Herodian* Towers, with all the reſt, making it good which Chriſt himſelf had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone upon another* of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his fury was appeaſed, and the prophecy accompliſhed, he took one part without the Wall, wherein ſtood *Mount Calvary*, *and the Sepulchre of Chriſt*, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia.* In the gate toward *Bethel*, he cauſed a Sow to be cut in Marble, and ſet it in the front thereof, which he did in deſpight of the *Jews* Nation: making an Edict, that they ſhould not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

Guil. Tyr. bell, ſacr. l.14.c.12. But the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhing in *Palæſtina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued 500. years.

Onuphrius Chron. It was afterward in the 636. year after Chriſt, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd years.

In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, *Guil. Tyr. l.8.c.5.18. 19. &c.* when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Succeſſours of *Godfrey* fourſcore and eight years: till in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and laſtly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* caſt out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jeruſalem* alone that had ſo often times been beaten down and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in ſeveral times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwrack. And it hath been Gods juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlavery; but he hath revenged himſelf of the very places they poſſeſt; of the wals and buildings, yea, of the ſoil and the beaſts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertility and fruitfulneſs; witneſs the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*: it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barren. It alſo pleaſed God, not onely to conſume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very ſoil it ſelf hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalec*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelf: neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelf was ſtoned, but that his moveables were ſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

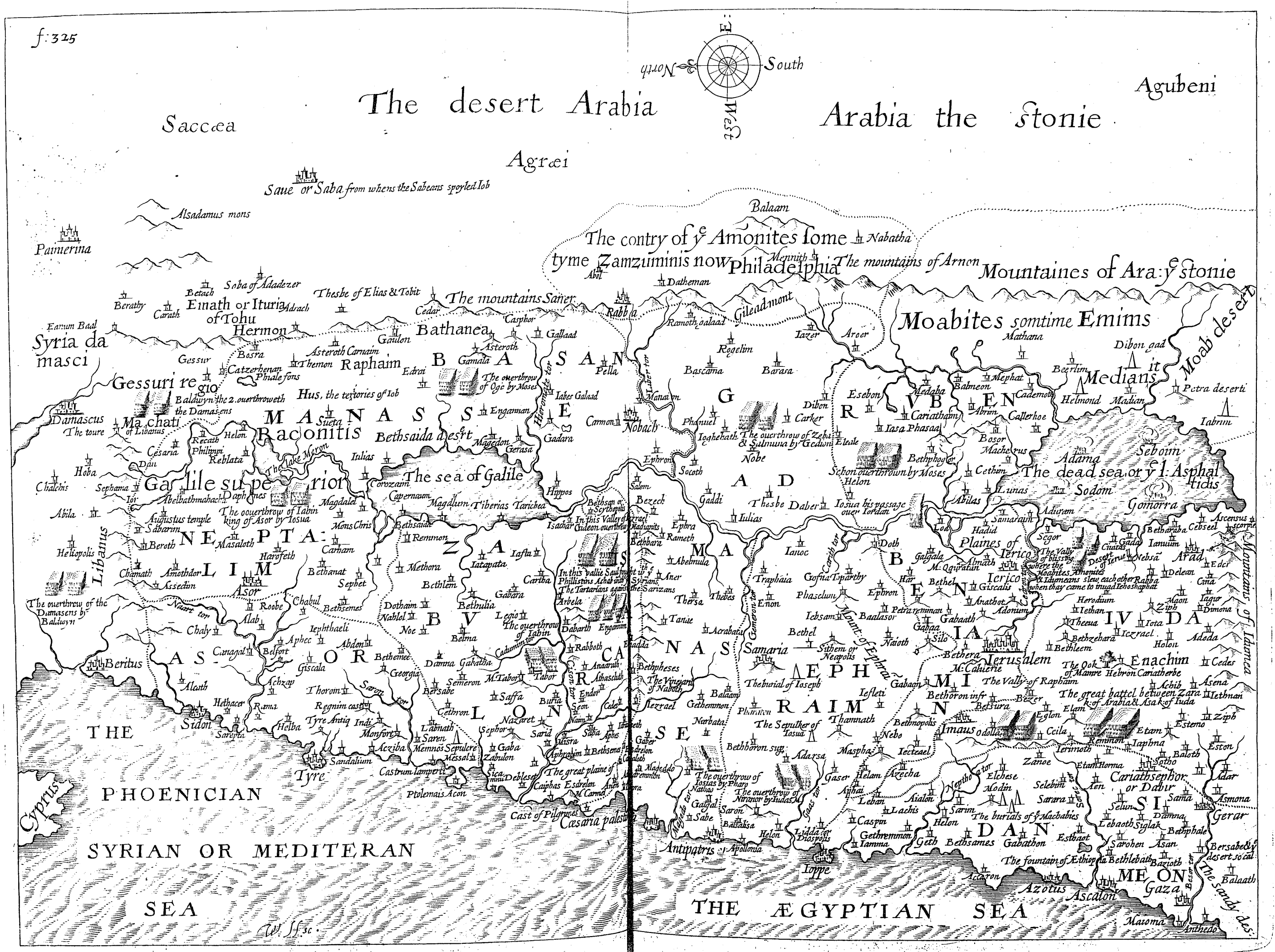
§. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeaks infamouſly of them, and of their Leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians.* Others affirm, that while *Iſis* governed *Egypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Jeroſolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidental, because he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But *Juſtine*, of all other moſt malicious, doth *Juſtin.l.3* derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael.* He again ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelf) that *Iſrael* had ten ſons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſons of *Iſrael* he calleth *Joſeph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and ſigns prodigious; and this *Joſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foul diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Egypt.* Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the Deſarts they ſuffered extream thirſt and famine, and therein found relief the ſeventh day, for this cauſe ever after obſerved the ſeventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themſelves; which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not

marry

f:325


E.
North
South
West
The desert Arabia
Arabia the stonie
Agubeni
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
Balaam
The contry of ye Amonites some tyme Zamzuminis now Philadelphia
Nabatha
Mennith
Abil
Datheman
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
Berathy
Carath
Betach
Saba of Adadezer
Emath or Ituria
of Tohu
Adrach
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
Cedar
The mountains Sanier
Rabba
Ramoth galaad
Gileadmont
Moabites somtime Emims
Hermon
Earum Baal
Syria da masci
Gessur
Basra
Catzerhenan
Phiale fons
Asteroth Carnaim
Themon
Raphaim
Bathanea
Gaulon
Casphor
Gallaad
Edrei
Gamala
Asteroth
The ouerthrow of Ogo by Moses
Pella
Iazer
Aroer
Regelim
Bascama
Barara
Mathana
Dibon gad
Medians
Moab desert
Gessuri regio
Balduyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus, the testories of Iob
Iabes Galaad
Esebon
Medaba
Balmeon
Mephat
Beerlim
Helmond
Madian
Petra deserti
Iabrim
Damascus
The toure of Libanus
Machati
Maachati
Recath
Helon
Cæsaria Philippi
Reblata
Dan
Suca
Bethsaida desert
Magedon
Gerasa
Gadara
Carmon
Nobach
Manaim
Phanuel
Ioghebath
The ouerthrow of Zeba & Salmana by Gedeon
Nobe
Eleale
Dibon
Carker
Cariathaim
Iasa Phasaa
Abrim
Calirhoe
Cademoth
Bosor
Machærus
Bethphogor
Schon ouerthrown by Moses
Cethem
Adama
Seboim
The dead sea or ye l. Asphaltidis
Sodom
Gomorra
Chalcis
Hoba
Sephama
Ior
Abelbethmahach
Galile superior
Daphnes
The lake Meron
Iulias
The sea of Galile
Corozaim
Capernaum
Magdalel
Magdalum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Hippos
Salem
Ephron
Socoth
Bezech
Bethsan or Scythopolis
Gaddi
Thesbe
Daber
Iulias
Iosua his passage ouer Iordan
Abilas
Lunas
Samaraim
Aduram
Bethagla
Coseel
Ascensus scorpionis
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarim
The ouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Remmon
In this Valley of Iezrael Gedeon ouerthrew
Isachar
Bethbara
Ephra
Rameth
Abelmula
Ianoc
Doth
Galgala
Mt. Quarantani
Almath
Giscalis
Plaines of Ierico
The Valley of blessing where the Moabites Amonites & Idumeans slew each other when they came to inuade Iehoshaphat
Segor
Ciuitas Salis
Gadda
Ianuim
Nebsa
Arad
Edei
Heliopolis
Libanus
Beroth
Masaloth
Harofeth
Carnam
Methora
Iaffa
Iatapata
Anatot
Gabara
Cariba
In this vallie Saul fought with ye Phillistins Achab with ye Syrians The Tartarians against the Sarizans
Aner
Thersa
Thebes
Traphaia
Gofna
Taparthy
Phaselum
Ephron
Bethel
Ierico
Anathot
Adonium
Herodium
Iethan
Delean
Cina
Iagur
Dimona
Chamath
Amothdor
Assedim
Asor
Bethanat
Sephet
Bethlem
Bethulia
Arbela
Tanac
Ænon
Acrabatia
Iebsam
Baalasor
Petra Remmon
Gabaath
Gabaa
Silo
Thecua
Iota
Maon
Ziph
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Balduyn
Nasart tor
Chabul
Roobe
Alab
Chaly
Bethsemes
Dothaim
Nablol
Noe
Ieptha el
Legio
The ouerthrow of Iabin
Dabarth
Enganim
Bethel
Sithem or Neapolis
Naioth
Bethzehara
Icerael
Holon
Adada
Beritus
Aphec
Belfort
Canagal
Abden
Betheme
Georgia
Bethma
Damna
Gabatha
Semeron
Mt. Tabor
Tabor
Rabboth
Anacharath
Abaseleth
Bethpheses
Samaria
Mount of Ephraim
Gabaon
Bethera
Ierusalem
Mt. Caluerie
Bethleem
Enachim
The Ook of Mamre
Hebron
Cariatharbe
Asena
Cedes
Aleath
Achzap
Giscala
Thorom
Saffa
Bersabe
Burba
Endor
Naim
The Vineyard of Naboth
The burial of Ioseph
Iesfeti
Bethoron infr
The Vally of Raphaim
Bezer
The great battel between Zara k. of Arabia & Asa k. of Iuda
Iethnan
Hethacer
Rama
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Tyre Antiq
Regnum castelli
Indi
Cethron
Labnath
Saren
Monfort
Aczibha
Sephor
Nazaret
Sarid
Saba
Misra
Cedes
Iezrael
Gethemmon
Balaam
Norbata
Phiraton
The Sepulker of Iosua
Thamnath
Bethnopolis
Nebo
Bersura
Amaus
Odolla
Elam
Eglon
Ceila
Remmon
Etam
Iaphna
Ziph
Estemo
Tyre
Sandalium
Memnos Sepulcre
Gaba
Zabulon
Messal
Castrum Lamperti
Ptolemais Acon
Sicaminum
Deblesa
Caiphas
Esdrelon
The great plaine of Esdrelon
Mt. Carmel
Bethsemes
Aphec
Gaber
Magiddo
Ambrentium
Bethhoron sup
Adarsa
The ouerthrow of Iosias by Pharo Nechao
The ouerthrow of Nicanor by Iudas Mac.
Maspha
Iectean
Gaser
Helam
Azecha
Nepthoa
Zanoe
Ieremoth
Etam
Carmel
Thamna
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Eston
Idar
Asmona
Cyprus
Natia
Galgal
Sabe
Saron
Balzakia
Lidda or Diospolis
Aphal
Leban
Aialon
Elchese
Modin
Selebim
Sarara
Selun
Sama
Gerar
THE PHOENICIAN SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN SEA
Cast of Pilgrimes
Cæsaria palestina
Antipatris
Apollonia
Helon
Caspin
Gethremmon
Iamnia
Lachis
Sarim
Helon
Geth
Bethsames
The burials of ye Machabies
Gabathon
Lebaoth
Siglak
Achib
Betphale
Estbaot
Sarohen
Asan
Bersabe & ye desert so cal.
Ioppe
Acaron
Azotus
Ascalon
The fountain of Æthiopia
Bethlebath
Baiooth
Gaza
Balaath
The sands desert
Besor tor
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Maioma
Anthedo
Mountains of Idumea
ASER
NEPTALIM
ZABVLON
ISACHAR
MANASSES
GAD
RVBEN
EPHRAIM
BENIAMIN
IVDA
DAN
SIMEON
W. H. sc.

marry out of their own Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groſly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Aſs, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the fifth book of his own Hiſtory truly confeſſed of the *Jews*, that they worſhipped one onely God: and thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the *Deity* by any material figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumæa*, the firſt parents of the *Jews*.

Cited by Stephanus in Judæa.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judæus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kinred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Joſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wreſted and perverted, according to the cuſtom of the Heathen. For ſo have they obſcured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradiſe, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age, to *Noah* and his ſons in the ſecond: and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feignings, as touching the *Jews* and their originals, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the ſon of *Sale*, or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the ſon of *Heber*, in the ſixth deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chief part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being moſt of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the ſon of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans*, or *Jews*: as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the reſt of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdom of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſervitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor*.

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f 6 g.

The government which this Nation under-went, was firſt paternal: which continued till they ſerved the *Egyptians*. They were ſecondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſua*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to Judges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom, and his Succeſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Joſua*: with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times.

Chap. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Joſua, *to the War of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

§. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Joſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Joſua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Prieſt, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward eſtabliſhed) to undertake the War againſt the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not onely ſlew ten thouſand, but made *Adonibezek* priſoner: the greateſt and cruelleſt Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants cruelty, as elſewhere hath been ſignified, they returned in the ſame kind upon his own head: and ſo by the torments which he now felt in his own perſon (before no otherwiſe known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confeſs and acknowledge Gods judgments againſt himſelf.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did alſo maſter and poſſeſs during this *Inter-regnum* (or as ſome think, before the death of *Joſua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askolon*, *Ekron*, and *Hieruſalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebuſites* after re-edified. They took alſo the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathſepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not ſet down in expreſs words that any one perſon commanded in chief over the people, as *Moſes* and *Joſua* did: yet it ſeemeth that *Caleb* was of greateſt authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good ſucceſs which followed their undertakings, witneſſeth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Joſua* governed, as appears, *Joſ.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the reſt of the Captains: for the performance of which enterpriſe, he promiſed his daughter *Achſah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conqueſt: whoſe behaviour in that ſervice was ſuch, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greateſt reputation among them, and may be eſteemed the ſecond cauſe of his preferment and election for their firſt Judge ſoon after. But while thoſe of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *be-* Judg 1.19 *cauſe they had Chariots of Iron.*) The reſt of the Tribes fought alſo to enlarge and eſtabliſh their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable ſucceſs: for as Judg.1.25 the houſe of *Joſeph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, Judg.1.30 from the *Hittites*, ſo did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forc't them to ſave themſelves in the Mountains. And now the *Iſraelites*, unmindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculouſly a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being alſo conſumed, who better adviſed them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only joyn themſelves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more deteſtable) they ſerved the Idols of *Baal*, and *Aſteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Meſopotamia*, whom *Chuſhan Riſhathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the ſmart of Gods diſpleaſure againſt them eight years, it pleaſed him to have compaſſion on his people, and to raiſe up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God aſſiſted, deliver- Judg.3.10. ed his brethren from oppreſſion, and inforced the *Aramites* to return into their own Deſarts, and into *Meſopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Iſraelites* had peace fourty years, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Toſta-* 2608. *tus*, to have been the younger brother of 2648. *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges*, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the ſon of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others do rather interpret thoſe words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they ſignified the meaneſt of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter ſhould marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* ſhould have been the meaneſt of the kinred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as ſome learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture ſeem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the ſon of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the ſon of *Cenas*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers ſon; to whom it was not onely lawful, but commendable to marry with his Couſin German *Calebs* Daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Joſua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it ſeems to have been no ſhort time. For many wars were made in that ſpace againſt the people of the Land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the beſt Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war brake out between the *Benjamites* Judg.17. & 18. & 19. and the reſt of *Iſrael*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, that in thoſe dayes there was no King in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as *Juda* led the people againſt the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, ſo was he commanded to do againſt *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whoſe direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what ſhould be done; which ſheweth it to have been when *Joſua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, eſpecially conſidering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were ſpent under ſuch oppreſſion of ſtrangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted ſuch a civil war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they ſo weakened the body of their eſtate, by effuſion of blood, that in many ages they

could not bring into the field ſuch numbers as formerly they had muſtered againſt their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

There lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Ericthe-us*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, ſo greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus alſo about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whoſe daughter *Semele* was born *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the Muſician lived. In his time alſo the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to have found out the uſe of Gen. 4.22. Iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Braſs. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of thoſe fables, which were deviſed among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Auguſtine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where he that deſires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the ſon of *Eleuſius* King of *Eleuſina*: which *Eleuſius* by careful induſtry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who becauſe he made exceeding great ſpeed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from ſome neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæreſis* of the two firſt letters.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18, c.13.

Whether the times of theſe Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the reſt of the Judges and Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, be preciſely ſet down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I deſire to be excuſed, if in theſe compariſons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether *Euſebius* and all that follow him, or his oppoſites (who make themſelves ſo converſant with theſe ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the fartheſt off and moſt defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. Firſt, becauſe the Authors themſelves, from whom the ancienteſt Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, becauſe their own diſagreement and contention in thoſe elder dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is ſuch, as no man among them hath yet ſo edified any mans underſtanding, ſave his own; but that he is greatly diſtracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This diſagreement is found not onely in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of thoſe times which the indiſputable authority of holy Scripture hath ſummed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*, in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, in the Perſian Empire, the ſeventy Weeks, and in what not? Whereſoever the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, and contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men have ſought by ſo many wayes to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condenſed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a private opinion: which I ſubmit to better judgments. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda*; *In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about theſe times.*

After the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and ſuppreſs them: to perform which, he joyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his own, and ſo (as all kind of miſery readily findeth out thoſe whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his diſpleaſure) theſe Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eaſie conqueſt over *Iſrael*, whom God himſelf expoſed to thoſe perils, within which they were ſo ſpeedily folded up. In this miſerable eſtate they continued full eighteen years under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raiſed up *Ehud* the ſon of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the juſtneſs of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Iſraelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of thoſe valiant Nations, he reſolved to attempt upon the perſon of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, he aſſured himſelf of the following victory: eſpecially giving his Nation no time to re-eſtabliſh their government, or to chooſe a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which reſolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with preſents from the *Iſraelites*, as to appeaſe him, and obtaining private acceſs, upon the pretence of ſome ſecret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpoſe with a double edge: and ſhutting the doors of his cloſet upon him, eſcaped.

It may ſeem, that being confident of his good ſucceſs, he had prepared the ſtrength of *Iſrael* in readineſs. For ſuddenly after his return, he did re-paſs *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, conſiſting of 10000. able and ſtrong men: whereof not any one eſcaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Succeſſor had miraculouſly ſlain 600. *Philiſtims* with an Ox goad: the Land and People of *Iſrael* lived in peace unto the end of fourſcore years from the death of *Othoniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Elimelech* her huſband, and with her two ſons, travelled into *Moab*, and ſo the ſtory of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourſcore years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Moloſſians*, otherwiſe *Pluto*, ſtole *Proſerpina*, as ſhe walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pauſanias*) by the River *Cephiſus*, which elſewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two diſtinct Rivers. This ſtealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theſeus* joyned themſelves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they ſay) a very huge Dog, which faſtened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had alſo worried *Theſeus*, but that *Hercules* ſpeedily reſcued him, and by ſtrength took and maſtered the Dog *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theſeus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this ſtory ſomewhat more according to the truth. For *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous*, ſaith he, attempted to ſteal *Proſerpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Moloſſians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proſerpina*: *Proſerpina* being a general name alſo for all fair women. This purpoſe of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and becauſe *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conſpiracy, and *Theſeus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held priſoner, till *Hercules*, by the inſtigation of *Euriſtheus*, delivered him by ſtrong hand. The *Moloſſi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (*S*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains *Oeta* is one of the moſt famous, where *Hercules* burnt himſelf. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets deſcribe to be in Hell) riſeth out of the ſame Hills. There is another Nation of the *Moloſſi* in *Theſſali*: but theſe are neighbours to the *Caſſiopæi*, ſaith *Plutarch* in his Greek queſtions.

Pauſ. in Att.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erychtheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets aſcribe this rape to the North-wind, becauſe *Thrace* is ſituate North from *Athens*. In this time alſo *Tereus* raviſhed *Philomela*, of which the fable was deviſed of her converſion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her ſiſter *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to ſee her ſiſter, forced her in her paſſage, and withall cut out her tongue, that ſhe might not complain; perſwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother-in-laws mercileſs behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her needle upon cloath, and ſent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* cauſed her onely ſon *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her huſband, ſo dreſt as it appeared to be ſome other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhe cauſed his head, hands and feet, to be preſented unto him; and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards

Athens, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that ſhe was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have been done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Theucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his ſon-in-law: as it is good to believe, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from vvhom he might have ſuccour, rather than vvith any *Tereus*, that ſhould have held the Kingdom of *Odryſæ*, vvhich vvas greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeem to have been, partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſayes, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her ſiſter, did for ever after hate that place.

Lib. 9.
Pauſ. in Att.

Theucyd. l. 1.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to have underſtood the voices of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. He reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themſelves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the Plough: for in thoſe Countries where the ground was light, they did uſe often to plough with Kine.

Pauſ l. 1.
Homer. Odyſ. 11.

Pauſ.

In the ſeven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone* the chief Prieſt of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, deviſed the Heroical Verſe,

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was deviſed the fable that ſome Poets have applied to the paſſion of love: and ſome to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, by the Nimph *Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another mother. He was ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, as ſome will have it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening Wiſdom and Riches. It is ſaid, that when he made a feaſt to the gods, having nothing more precious, he cauſed his own ſon to be ſlain and dreſt to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders; whereby was ſignified, that thoſe men which ſeek after Divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deviſed, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwiſe, and to higher deſires tranſported, he enjoyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ovid*:

Euſeb. præp. Evan. l. 1. Zezer. hiſt. 10. chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat.
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water ſeeks for water, and doth miſs.
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſdom and vertue to mortal men: which ſtory *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe, and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirſty of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt covetouſneſs.

Tantalus à *labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch at ſtreams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coetaneis convivis.
Nectar Ambroſiamque dedit.

Becauſe that ſtealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his own age, to make them
live.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meats in a foul ſtomack, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerved myſteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

Mark 4.11 *To you it is given* (ſaith *Chriſt* in *Mark*) *to know the myſtery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things be done in Parables.* So it is ſaid of him, that *he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And

Mark 4.34 Greg in Orat. de recta ratione diſp. de Deo. 2 Cor. 12.

therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzene* infer upon a place of S. *Paul*: *Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret*; *If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Pythagoras, ſaith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To ſet an Aſs to a Harp, or to learn myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies ſoveraign ointment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his Diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe divine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learned by meditation than by babling.* And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their myſteries among their Prieſts in certain *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tytius* lived, whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tytius* was the ſon of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tytius*: whoſe Mother dying, and himſelf therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſon of the earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*:

Porrectúſque novem Tytius *per jugera terra.*
Aſſiduas atro viſcere paſcit aves. Hom. Od. 11.

Nine furlongs ſtretcht lies *Tytius*, who for
his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing
liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he was ſtill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet ſtill lived, and had his fleſh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Theſſaly*, lived alſo in this age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerved as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having ſlain *Hyacinthus*, he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him in *Ovid*, which ſaith:

Ilion *aſpicies, firmataque turribus altis*
Mœnia, Apollineæ *ſtructa canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou ſhalt ſee with walls and
towers high,
Built with the harp of wiſe *Apollo*'s
Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witneſs, ſaith *Pauſanias*. Pauſ. in Att.

In theſe dayes alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome find it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe Souldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus*, to ſeek their adventure on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Succeſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as ſhe hunted, near the Lake *Tritan*, was ſurpriſed and ſlain: whoſe beauty, when *Perſeus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was ſuch, and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, That all that looked on *Meduſa*'s head, were turned into ſtones.

Triton a Lake of Africa, which Plinny calleth Pallantias. Didym. in pereg. hiſt.

Cecrops, the ſecond of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13. or, after

Euſeb. in Chron.

Euſebius, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began alſo their reigns, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Judge: of which the firſt ruled 40. years, and the ſecond 31. years. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the ſon of *Glaucus*, the ſon of *Siſyphus*: who inticed by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affairs of weight, between him and his ſon-in-law *Jobates*: giving ſecret order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him againſt *Chimæra*, a Monſter vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe, *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the blood of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlain by the ſouldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him; a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra*: and performed the other ſervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to have ſlain him: but being victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafety: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his *Pegaſus*: whoſe pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flies ſo to vex *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind; of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* own ſtable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diverſly expounded; as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeſerved adverſity, and to caſt down thoſe which are too high minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoſed to extream hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing overproud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of ſorrow, and ever-during miſery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whoſe ſhip had in her prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ſhip, and a Dragon in the ſtearn, of which three beaſts this Monſter *Chimæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kind of Galley, of ſuch ſwiftneſs, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the invention of ſayls (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

Plutar. in claris mulier.

L. 5. Æneid. Homer in hym. ad Apoll.

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Iones*, is ſaid to have been about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a near reſemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelf took name from *Javan*: it being a cuſtom obſervable in the Hiſtories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in ſome the principal of his iſſue.

The invaſion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: but S. *Auguſtine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joſua*. Lib. 18. c. 12. de ci. dei. l. 18. c. 15.

About the end of the 80. years, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flouriſhed: who gave name to *Peloponneſus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

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§. IV.

Of Deborah *and her Contemporaries.*

After *Iſrael* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80. years, they again began to forget the giver of all goodneſs, and many of thoſe being worn out, which were witneſſes of the former miſery, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the reſt began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle ſecurity; ſo is ſecurity as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubverſion: of which, all eſtates in the world have taſted by interchange of times. Therefore when their ſins were again ripe for puniſhment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Iſrael*; and having in his ſervice 900. iron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty years, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, who incouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeem to have proceeded partly from the authority that *Barac* had among them,being of the ſame Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more ſenſible than in others, becauſe *Hazor* and *Haroſeth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Jeptha* the *Gileadites* took the greateſt care, becauſe the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, preſſed moſt upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleaſed God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Iſrael* from the *Moabites*: and by the counſel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoak of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Siſera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: ſo was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakeſt means. For the mighty *Aſſyrian Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a King of Kings, and reſiſtleſs, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the cauſers of his brutiſh melancholy: and changed his matchleſs pride into the baſe humility of a Beaſt. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he ſometime puniſheth by inviſible ſtrength, as when he ſlaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moſes* time: ſometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail-ſtones in the time of *Joſua*: ſometimes by the miniſtery of men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the Eaſt, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houſhold ſervants of *Abraham*. He cauſed the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to ſet upon their own confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and having ſlain them, to kill one another in the ſight of *Jehoſaphat*: and of the like to theſe a volume of examples may be gathered. 2 *Chro* 20. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſs ſpeak unto *Barac* in theſe words: *But this journey that thou takeſt, ſhall not be for thine honour, for the Lord ſhall ſell* Siſera *into the hands of a Woman.* *Judg.* 49. In which victory all the ſtrength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the laſt man: in the end of which War it ſeemeth that *Jabin* himſelf alſo periſhed, as appeareth by the laſt Verſe of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulneſs, and great mercies, ſhe ſheweth the weak eſtate whereinto *Iſrael* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in theſe words: *Was there a ſhield or ſpear ſeen among forty thouſand of Iſrael?* *Jud.* 5. *v.* 18. She alſo ſheweth how the *Iſraelites* were ſevered and amazed, ſome of them confined over *Jordan*, and durſt not joyn themſelves to the reſt; *verſ.* 17. as thoſe of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Aſherites* kept the Sea-coaſt, and forſook their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ſhips for ſafety, ſhewing thereby that all were diſperſed, and all in effect loſt. She then curſed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battel (belike fearing the ſucceſs) came not out to aſſiſt *Iſrael*, and then bleſſeth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Siſera* in her Tent: ſhewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Iſraelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miſerable time of ſubjection, to hold correſpondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occaſion offered them means, they witneſſed their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Laſtly, ſhe derideth the Mother of *Siſera* who promiſed her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her ſelf, and deſcribed the ſpoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For concluſion, ſhe directeth her praiſe and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppreſſion to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchaſed unto *Iſrael*, there paſſed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. years, was tranſlated to *Mycænæ*: The tranſlation of this Kingdom, *Vives* out of *Pauſanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* ſucceeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the ſon of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Acriſius* being eldeſt, held *Argos* it ſelf: *Prætus* his brother poſſeſt *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea: *Pau. in Corinthiacis.* there being many Monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witneſs *Prætus* poſſeſſion, ſaith *Pauſanias*.

Now *Acriſius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he ſhould be ſlain by the ſon of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he cauſed her to be incloſed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himſelf into a golden ſhower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that ſome Kings ſon, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perſeus* was born; who when he grew to mans eſtate, either by chance (ſaith *Cteſias*) or in ſhewing his grand-father the invention of the *diſcus*, or leaden ball, ſlew him unwillingly. After this, *Perſeus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Uncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This impriſonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwiſe: and that ſhe

was incloſed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtody *Horace* hath this witty obſervation:

Incluſam Danaen *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæque fores, & vigilum canum
Triſtes excubiæ munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pavidum, Jupiter *&* Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Converſo in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors cloſe barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Through guards and ſtony wals to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treaſure.

The firſt Kings of the Argives *were theſe.*

Inachus the firſt King, who began to reign in the firſt year of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Iſaac*: from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſreckoneth 400. years. This Kingdom before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544. years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Egyptians* called *Iſis*.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraſus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,

Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acriſius,
Pelops.

After the tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds theſe Kings:

Perſeus,
Sthenelus,

Euryſtheus,

Atreus and *Thyeſtes*. The ſons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,
Ægyſthus,
Oreſtes,

Tiſamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, and the laſt, beginning with *Euryſtheus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponeſus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this Age.*

DEbora and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites*, aſſiſted by the *Amalekites*, infeſted *Iſrael*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or proſperity: The Judge was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to ſave themſelves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſs: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plains and fruitful vallies: *Jud.* 6. and in harveſt time, by themſelves, and the multitude of their cattel, deſtroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as graſhhoppers: which ſervitude laſted ſeven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel ſtirred up *Gideon* the ſon of *Joaſh*, afterward called *Jud.* 6. *v.* 5. *Jerubbaal*: whoſe fear and unwillingneſs, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make *Jud. c.* 6. & 7. them know that he onely was the Lord of Hoſts. Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: who hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the Army of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken with a ſudden fear, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, becauſe he made war without their aſſiſtance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themſelves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a mild anſwer, followed after the enemy, in which purſuit being tyred with travel, and weary even with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, he deſired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreſhed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had ſaved themſelves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and waſted *Iſrael*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the revenge, vvhich in his return from the proſecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to vvit, that he vvould tear the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* vvith thorns and briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Novv vvhy the people of theſe two Cities ſhould refuſe relief to their brethren the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially after ſo great a victory: if I may preſume to make conjecture, it ſeems likely, firſt, that thoſe Cities ſet over *Jordan*, and in the vvay of all invaſions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Iſrael*, had either made their own peace with thoſe Nations, and were not ſpoyled by them; or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the war, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafety of their own Country, though themſelves may be aſſured to bear a part of the ſmart of contrary ſucceſs. And ſuch malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country ſhould ſuffer hazzard and want, than that ſuch men as they miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Beſan*, as it is thought *Jud.* 8.10. Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoever it were that he refreſhed himſelf and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purſued his former victory to the uttermoſt: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no further attempt upon them) he again ſurprized them, and ſlaughtered thoſe 15000. remaining: having put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he took *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* priſoners: whom becauſe themſelves had executed *Gidion*'s brethren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed them both to be ſlain: or (as it is written) at their own requeſt ſlew them with his own hands, his Son whom he firſt commanded to do it, refuſing it; and in his return from the conſummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed againſt him, either by ſtrangers, or by his brethren the *Iſraelites*. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his own children found ſoon after his death, according to that which hath been ſaid before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unſatisfied: for as he ſlew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unuſual torments, ſo were his own 70. ſons, all but one, murthered by his own baſtard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogy* is obſerved by the *Rabbines*, in the greateſt of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having cauſed the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, others of them to be caſt into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like meaſure, deſtroying their own firſt-born by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Hiſtories.

In the end ſo much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the preſent for his victory, and there own deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraignty over them, and to eſtabliſh him in the Government; which he refuſed, anſwering; *I will not reign over you, neither ſhall my childe reign over you, but the Lord ſhall, &c.* Judg. 8.13 But he deſired the people that they would beſtow on him the golden ear-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Iſmaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, uſed to wear them: the weight of all which was a thouſand and ſeven hundred ſhekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380.*li.* if we follow the account of the ſhekle vulgar. And becauſe he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew ſilk, purple, ſcarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Prieſt only, and ſet up the ſame in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Iſrael* to Idolatry, the ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe. Exod. 18. Judg. 8.18

There was another kind of *Ephod* beſides this of the High Prieſts, which the Levites uſed, and ſo did *David* when he danced before the *Ark*: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demand how it was poſſible for *Gideon* with 300. men to deſtroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the firſt alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder; yet all the reſt of the Army came in to the ſlaughter, and purſuit: for it is Judg. 7.23 written; *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nephtaly, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſe, purſued after the Midianites*: for this Army *Gideon* left in Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noiſe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the ſon of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euryſtheus*, the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jealouſie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſt, did therewith feaſt their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon* was ſlain by a baſe ſon of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideon*'s time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they ſay, having ſlain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for ſuccour; where for his excellent workmanſhip he was greatly eſteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was ſaid to have framed an artificial Cow for *Paſiphae* the Queen, that ſhe, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting her ſelf into the Cow, ſatisfie her luſt; a thing no leſs unnatural than incredible, had not that ſhameleſs Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpoſe, as may ſeem, to verifie the old Fable. For ſo it appears by thoſe Verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew, as a goodly Pageant, in thoſe vicious times.

Junctam Paſiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.
Nec ſe miratur Cæſar, longæva vetuſtas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Servius* makes a leſs unhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſel, and her Pandar for the enticeing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*; which ſignifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that ſhe being delivered of two ſons, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that ſhe was delivered of the Monſter *Minotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practice being diſcovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was feigned that he faſhioned wings for himſelf and his ſon to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats which had oares only, *Dædalus* framed ſails both for his own boat, and for his ſons, by which he out-went thoſe that had him in chaſe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himſelf over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themſelves, and go, becauſe he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could only preſent the body and head of thoſe men, whom they carried to counterfeit, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had ſeen ſome of thoſe that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orphæus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moons courſe, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was ſlain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp. *Herind.* *Plat Pauſ.* *l.* 9.

Again, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of *Sphinx*, and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. *Strab. l.* 9. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to thoſe whom ſhe maſtered, was meant by the rocky and unacceſſible Mountain near *Thebes*, which ſhe defended; and by *Oedipus* diſſolving her probleme, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable,

bable, did not the time diſprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had caſt *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the ſiſter of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in deſpightful part, with her own troop ſhe held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence ſhe continued a ſharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thruſt his brother out of *Crete*, and held ſharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, becauſe his ſon *Androgeus* was ſlain by them. He poſſeſt himſelf of *Megara*, by the treaſon of *Scylla*, daughter of *Niſus* the King. He was long Maſter of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year ſeven of their ſons: which tribute *Theſeus* releaſed, as ſhall be ſhewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was ſlain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he purſued *Dædalus*: and was eſteemed by ſome to be the firſt Law-giver to thoſe Iſlands.

Ariſt. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Giant, who was ſaid to have 60. and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was ſuch a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* ſlew *Antæus*: yet for my ſelf I think it but a loud lie. That *Antæus* was of great ſtrength, and a cunning wreſtler, *Euſebius* affirmeth: and becauſe he caſt ſo many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the ſon of the earth. *Pliny* ſaith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Heſperides* in *Mauritania*. St. *Auguſtine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* alſo which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a ſubtle Sophiſter.

Euſeb. in Chro.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 12. Euſeb in in Chro.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleventh year of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonauts* of which many fabulous diſcourſes have been written, the ſum of which is this:

Pelias the ſon of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers ſide to *Æſon*, who was *Jaſons* father, reigning in *Jolcos* a Town of *Theſſaly*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one ſhoe. This *Pelias* afterward ſacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jaſon* to him, who coming haſtily, loſt one ſhoe in paſſing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing he were able) againſt one of whom an Oracle ſhould adviſe him to take heed? to which queſtion when *Jaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that ſervice. Therefore *Jaſon* prepared for the voyage, having a ſhip built by *Argus* the ſon of *Phryxus*, by the counſel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the braveſt men of *Greece* to ſail with him: as *Typhis* the Maſter of the ſhip, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* ſons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged ſons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothſayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon*, that ſlew the great wild Boar, *Aſcalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the ſons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt war of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Ulyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſlew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlain themſelves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Jaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*: in whoſe Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeak. They arrived firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iſland*, having ſlain all the males, purpoſing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were neverthele ſs contented to take their pleaſure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the ſame Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the ſame men: but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, inſomuch that the *Argonauts* ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they ſolemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſon of *Elates*, who went to ſeek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was raviſhed by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Myſia* called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the *Argonauts* ſailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryſes*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the ſon

of *Neptune* vvas then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight vvith him at vvhorlbats, in vvhich kind of fight he had ſlain many, and vvas now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death ſlew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, vvith great ſlaughter of the people. They failed from hence to *Salmydeſus* a Town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their vvay) wherein *Phineus* a South-ſayer dwelt, vvho vvas blind, and vexed vvith the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* vvere ſaid to be a kind of Birds vvhich had the faces of women, and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, vvhich vvhen the table vvas furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: You ſhall do vvell (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to ask my counſel. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; vvhich vvas no ſooner ſet down, than that preſently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accuſtomed pranks: vvhen *Zetes* and *Calais* the vvinged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them through the air: Some ſay, that both the *Harpies* and the young men died of weарineſs in the fight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertiſed them withall of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the paſſage: and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the Pigeon had onely loſt a piece of her tayle, they obſerved the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of their Poop was bruiſed.

From thence forward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill, for the gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly, Here *Idmon* a Southſayer of their company was ſlain by a wild Boar, alſo here *Typhis* dyed: and *Ancæus* undertook to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the River *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming, deſiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yoak together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe Dragons teeth, vvhich *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would riſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bade him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they ſay it was kept by a Dragon that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the Golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the ſhip, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſs: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek* word ſignifieth *Diviſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubjects to ſeek the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*: which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whether; when they came to the Iſlands *Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo*, (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them and ſaid, that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon failing between the coaſts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongſt the coaſts of *Hetruria*, came to the Iſle of *Ææa*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſailed by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well, that he ſtayed them. Onely *Butes* ſwam out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, and the ſtragling Rocks, which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie*, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iſland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been ſent by *Ætes* in queſt of the ſhip *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betook themſelves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyre*, others in the Iſlands of *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Jaſons* wife, they ſhould have her; but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*, not daring to return home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*, ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iſland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſs given to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end vvhereof vvas cloſed up with a brazen naile; his name vvas *Talus*, his cuſtome vvas to run thrice a day about the Iſland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſs by, he threw ſtones at it, but *Medæa* with her Magick deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, vvhich made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortal, ſhe drew out the naile that ſtopt his vein, by vvhich means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that ſay he vvas ſlain by *Pæan*, vvho vvounded him vvith an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they vvere fain to fight for freſh vvater. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris*, home to *Jolcos*, vvhere they arrived, having ſpent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jaſon*, underſtand the miſtery of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to vvhich alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden Fleece vvas meant a golden book of Parchment, which is of ſheep-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it vvas taught therein how other mettals might be tranſmuted. Others vvould ſignifie by *Jaſon*, Wiſdom, and Moderation, vvhich overcometh all perils: but that which is moſt probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Jaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to vvhich they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucaſus* there are certain ſteep falling torrents vvhich vvaſh down many grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of vvool in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water paſſed thorow, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rocks, ſtraits, ſands, and currents, in the paſſage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into thoſe fiery Bulls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleep, and the like. The man of braſs, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediteran Sea*, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical morals: all which *Homer* afterward uſed (the man of braſs excepted) in the deſcription of *Ulyſſes* his travels on the ſame In-land ſeas.

§. VII.

of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theſeus, Hippolytus, &c.

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his baſe ſon, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and, as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his fathers religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practiſed with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himſelf; who being eaſily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily condeſcended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed ſeventy pieces of ſilver Judg.9.4 of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treaſure he hired a company of looſe and deſperate vagabonds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his ſeventy brethren, the ſons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none eſcaped but *Jotham* Verſe 5. the youngeſt, who hid himſelf from his preſent fury: all which he executed on one ſtone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whoſe revenges are without date, and for everlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſervation of every being: but it rageth alſo againſt her, though garniſhed with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other paſſions and affections, by which the ſouls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times reſiſted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it ſelf the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it ſelf ſet down, forgetting nothing (how fearfull and inhumane ſoever) which may ſerve it: remembring nothing, whatſoever juſtice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It aſcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakneſs of the undertakers, and rather praiſeth the adventure, than feareth the like ſucceſs. It was the firſt ſin that the World had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were caſt into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man; and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The puniſhment alſo preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the ſmart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practiſe the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngeſt of *Gideons* ſons, having eſcaped the preſent peril, ſought by his beſt perſwaſions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the aſſiſting of this mercileſs Tyrant, letting them know, that thoſe which were vertuous, and whom reaſon and religion had taught the ſafe and happy eſtate of moderate ſubjection, had refuſed to receive as unlawful, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it ſelf with its Fatneſs, the Figge-tree with its ſweetneſs, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Bramble onely, who was moſt baſe, cut down all the reſt, and accepted the Soveraignty. He alſo fore-told them by a Prophetical ſpirit, what ſhould befall them in the end, and how a fire ſhould come out of the Bramble, and conſume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſie matter to call thoſe men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the ſon of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the Service of *Abimelech*: who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the aſſault of the Caſtle or Tower of *Teber*, himſelf was wounded in the head with a ſtone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himſelf mortally bruiſed, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the diſhonour of being ſlain by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* uſurped the Government the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war againſt the *Thebans*. Theſe Nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deviſed to manage horſes, to bridle and to ſit them: inſomuch, as when they firſt came down from the Mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, thoſe which had never ſeen horſmen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horſes; ſo did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* firſt invaded that Empire. *Palæphatus, l.1. de incredib.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Iſſachar* governed *Iſrael* 23. years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. years, who ſeems to be deſcended of *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſe*, Deut 3. 14. Num. 12. 41. who in *Moſes* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of thoſe Cities which his Anceſtor had recovered from the *Amorites* Of theſe Judges, becauſe there is nothing Jud. 10. elſe written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Iſrael* lived without diſturbance, and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercu-* 2091. *les* ſacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranſome, he re-built and greatly ſtrengthened and adorned *Troy*; and ſo far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the ſupreme Lord in effect of all *Aſia* the leſs. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Ciſſeus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith In Tuſc. *Cicero*) fifty ſons, whereof ſeventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Heſione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the war which followed.

Theſeus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewiſe to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: ſome Writers call him the ſon of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Aſia* the leſs took name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forc'd them to pay him ſeven of their ſons every year for tribute, whom he incloſed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monſter *Minotaur*: becauſe belike the ſons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among theſe ſeven *Theſeus* thruſt himſelf, not doubting by his valour to deliver the reſt, and to free the Countrey of that ſlavery occaſioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his ſon.

And having poſſeſt himſelf of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himſelf through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having ſlain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But vvhereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back vvith victory and in ſafety, he ſhould uſe a white ſail in ſign thereof, and not that mournful black ſail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the ſhip of *Theſeus* vvith a black ſail, did caſt himſelf over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous acts of *Theſeus*, vvas the killing of *Scyron*, vvho kept a paſſage between *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmos*, and threw all vvhom he maſtered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by vvreſtling, vvho uſed by that art to kill others. He alſo rid the Country of *Procruſtes*, vvho uſed to bend down the ſtrong limbs of two trees, and faſtned by cords ſuch as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the ſpringing up tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other miſchievous thieves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazones*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entred the Territory of *Atheus*. *Theſeus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refuſing to abuſe his fathers bed, *Phædra* perſwaded *Theſeus*, that his ſon offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his ſons by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, ſent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* paſſed by the Sea-ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miſerable and undeſerved deſtiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe he was chaſte, ſhe led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome skilful Phyſician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he paſſed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he moſt delighted. But of thoſe ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Coſmographers* in their deſcriptions of the World, where they find many vaſt places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, and with *Mathematical* lines; ſo do the *Grecian* Hiſtorians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſperſed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deviſing them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay, *per Oſtraciſmum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on ſhels, which was a device of his own.

He ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was fifty years old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Caſtor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to recover their ſiſter. *Eraſiſtratus* and *Pauſanias* write, that *Theſeus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where ſhe Strab li. 9. Pauſ. in Cor. erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit* In epiſt. Helen. *ille petitum*, &c. The rape *Euſebius* finds in the firſt of *Jair*, who governed *Iſrael* twenty two years, to whom ſucceeded *Jephta* or Jud. 10. 3. *Jepte*, ſix years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theſeus* had a child by her in the firſt of *Jair*, (at which time we muſt count her no leſs than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they do now) ſhe was then at leaſt two and fifty years old at the deſtruction of *Troy*: and when ſhe was ſtollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do Bunt. Chro. Euſeb. Chron. Hal. l. 1. not agree. Yet *Euſebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnaceſſeus*, do in effect conſent, that the City was entred and burnt in the firſt year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Succeſſour of *Mneſtheus*, the Succeſſour of *Theſeus*, ſeventeen daies before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next ſpring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the ſecond year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builAug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 19. ded *Lavinium*. But S. *Auguſtine* hath otherwiſe, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Mneſtheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Aſſyria*; *Habdon*, *Iſrael*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, tranſporting with him in twenty ſhips the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the ſtory of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phaſtus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſucceſſours, *Adraſtus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens* and *Atreus*, vvho held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tantanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the ſon of *Rameſes*, and afterwards *Annemanes*.

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§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the War of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever Greek Poet or Hiſtorian vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them vvith this objection:

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuêre,
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes*, or *Troys* laſt fall,
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder War?

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* vvas very ſalvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground vvhereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little; neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corn than vvas neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money vvas not heard of in *Greece*, vvhen *Homer* did vvrite, vvho meaſures the value of Gold and Braſs: by the vvorth in cattel: ſaying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* vvorth nine.

Roberries by land and ſea vvere common and vvithout ſhame, and to ſteal horſes or kine vvas the uſual exerciſe of their great men Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof thoſe that vvere vvalled vvere very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal City in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall Towns of that half Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear to ſuch as conſider what *Thucidydes* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Hiſtory. Wherefore, as in theſe later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when the want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Froſts, or dry Summers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade; ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe Fables of men changed into Birds, of ſtrange Monſters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes*: the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an Infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, vvho he vvas. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer*, *Epicaſte*: on vvhom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But vvhen in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, vvho vvere his Parents, he underſtood the grievous murther and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife (and Mother) did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, vvas expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the Town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two Sons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a years government reſigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt year, he refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe, on the back-ſide.

Hom Odyſſ. 11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembred an old Oracle by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the ſon of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphyaraus*, who is ſaid to have fore-ſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphyaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewel, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controverſie between *Amphyaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more eaſie to foreſee then avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their Mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chief Leaders were himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome Water; ſhe having a Childe in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere ſhe returned, a Serpent had ſlain the Childe. This Woman was *Hypſipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas*

the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the Woman of the Iſle ſlew all the Males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to *Pyrats*, and the *Pyrats* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſon *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus* ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs death ſhe hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her Sons where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games, called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wan the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbars, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* Lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebanes*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambuſh to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he ſlew allbut one, whom he ſent back to the City as a Reporter and Witneſs of his Valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſs the Town, *Adraſtus* quartered before the Gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proœtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the ſon of *Creon*, a principal man of the City, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and ſo envious at his Creators glory, that he not only challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice withal Divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded mens underſtanding, and bewitched their Wils with ignorance and blind devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in cunning, though not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanity. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idol of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe in ſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane ſacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Prieſts in the Groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in ſtead of the living: yet among the ſalvages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruel offerings have been practiſed of late Ages: which, as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satan*'s malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil people: ſo it may ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſmes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe Victory to his people, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the gates of the City. Then was a battel fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capanius* advancing laddars to the Wals, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was caſt down, or (as Writers wave it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this battel, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight: whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the ſons of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſons ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been ſo fair,that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or, as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſon of *Neptune:* and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Menalippus:* yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphyaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortal, refuſed to beſtow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphyaraus* fled: of whom *Amphyaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy,he made ſupplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Etcocles*, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but cauſed *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick,becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an Army under the conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argives* to ſepulture: at which time *Evadne* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her ſelf into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the ſons of thoſe Captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſs revenge ſhould be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten year after, having levied Forces, *Egialeus* the ſon of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the ſon of *Amphiaraus:* with whom alſo went his brother *Amphylochus*. *Apollo* promiſed Victory, if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another *Oracle* he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter,the Citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the mean time they conveyed themſelves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the Wals, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome,that the Town was ſaved by *Thirſander* the ſon of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the City from utter deſtruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

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§. IX.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred years which he ſpeaketh of*, Judg. 11. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*, Acts 13.20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronology about theſe times.*

After the death of *Jair* (near about whoſe time theſe things hapned in *Greece*, and during whoſe Government, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites:* with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites:* ſo now he ſcourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*.

Judg. 10. * The perſecution of the Ammonites laſted 18 years and ended in the year of the World 2820. in which year Jephta began, Jud. 11.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to ſeek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe born; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former injuries) participating more of godly compaſſion, than of deviliſh hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Governour after Victory. And when he had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſproved *Ammon*'s right, and fortified

fortified the Title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being ſtrengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them Judg. 11. 33. over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the *Holy Land*. After which victory it is ſaid,that he performed the vain vow which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt living creature he incountred, coming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter,and onely childe, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelf, and onely deſired two moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion,that ſhe was not offered,is more probable, which *Borhæus* and others prove ſufficiently. Bor. in Judg.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta's* victory, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamity, and to the moſt grievous ſlavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himſelf againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them 42000. which ſo weakened the body of the Land, Judg. 11. as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie conqueſt of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Iſrael* ſix years, died: to whom 2925. ſucceeded *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven years: after 2942. him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all which time *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s account of the times, *Jud.* 11. 28. (where he ſayes that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300. years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the Judges,and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, ſeeming re- dg. 11. pugnant or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the 13.10 right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead:* the ſecond Kin.6.1. is that of S. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the firſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. years: S. *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſua* to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. years. In the firſt of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon*'s Temple, there were conſumed 480. years. To the firſt, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Joſua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair:* But *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) *Id facit, numero certo pro incerto propoſito.* putteth or propoſeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Iſraeli*; *So he ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundred year, ſince Iſrael poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* captivity, at ſeveral times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh,) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole ſum, or any great part, leſt the *Ammonites* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71. of thoſe years the *Iſraelites* were in captivity, and vaſſals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for preſcription, he omitted the reſt.

To juſtifie this account of 365. years, beſides the 71. years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth alſo 28. years more, and ſo maketh up the ſum of 365. Theſe 28. years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel:* and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen years to *Joſua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Joſephus*; whereas Saint *Aguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27. *Melancthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the years of affliction (to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300. years. Neither is it ſtrange that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than half of the years of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt the 71 years, and ſay, that during theſe years, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. years remembred by *Jephta*, to be 306. which odd years, ſaith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but do onely compound 266. therefore doth

Luther add to this number the whole time which *Moſes* ſpent in the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*; which forty years of *Moſes* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I ſee nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the perſon of *Ammon*, in theſe words: *Becauſe Iſrael took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore reſtore thoſe Lands quietly*; or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moſes* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was poſſeſt. For it is ſaid, *Quia cepit Iſrael terram meam, Behold Iſrael took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta*'s anſwer alſo confirmeth in theſe words: *When Iſrael* Judg. 11. 28. *dwelt in Heſhbon, and in her Towns, and in Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coaſt of Arnon* 300. *years: why did ye not then recover them in that ſpace?* ſo as this place ſpeaks it directly, that *Iſrael* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Iſrael* had to poſſeſs it, it ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrained to me: for we do not uſe to reckon the time of our conqueſts in *France*, from our Princes intents or purpoſes, but from their victories and poſſeſſions.

Junius nevertheleſs likes the opinion of *Luther*, and ſayes, that this time of 300. years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the firſt of *Jephta*'s narration: when he makes a brief repetition of *Moſes* whole journey: to wit, at the ſixteenth Verſe of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our tranſlation in theſe words: *But when Iſrael came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moſes* his 40. years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. years: and not onely the time in which *Iſrael* poſſeſt *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephta*'s own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom alſo I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the firſt departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta*'s account with this reckoning, than any of thoſe that as yet have been ſignified. For firſt, touching *Jephta*'s three hundred years of poſſeſſion of the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had diſpoſſeſſed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: ſo that when the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of poſſeſſion which they had, paſſed to *Iſrael*; and ſo *Jephta* might ſay, that they had poſſeſſed thoſe Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. years of their own poſſeſſion, and the reſt of the poſſeſſion of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whoſe right the *Iſraelites* had by the law of conqueſt.

Junius in 11. of *Judg.* annot.

The ſecond place diſputed is this of Saint *Paul, Act.* 13. that from the end of *Joſua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there paſt 450. years. And this place *Luther* underſtandeth alſo beſides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moſes*, to the laſt year of *Heli*, but 357. years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egreſſion out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the firſt of *Kings* 6. is ſaid to be 480. years.

Read the 24. of *Joſ.* and the 1. of *Judg.* 7.
Funct. *Chro.* f. 4.
Beza in his annotations upon the 13. of *Act.* v. 10.

Now foraſmuch as Saint *Paul* (as it ſeems) finds 450. years from the death of *Joſua* to the laſt of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of Saint *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Joſua*, as ſhall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearſing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. years (ſaith *Luther*) the Scribe in the tranſcription being deceived by the affinity of thoſe two *Greek* words, whereof the one ſignifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracoſiois*, for *Triacoſiois*; 400. years for 300. years; and 450. for 350. This he ſeeketh to ſtrengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moſes* death, he takes his account from the death of *Joſua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampſons* years) 319. and of years of ſervitude and affliction under ſtrangers, 111. The reaſon why he doth not reckon *Sampſons* twenty years, is, becauſe he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to have oppreſſed *Iſrael*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampſons* time, they were Lords over *Iſrael*.

Act. 13. 20.

Judg. 1

Judg. 1 11.

Iſrael. So then of the Judges, beſides the 111. years of ſervitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have ſaid) 319. years, which two ſums put together, make 430. years And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up Saint *Paul*'s number, to have been ſpent after the death of *Joſua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Joſua*, and the ſecond of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerved the Lord all the dayes of* Joſua, *and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Joſua*: ſo as to theſe times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here alſo the 20. years of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel* ſhould be denied. For they which deny theſe years, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin preſently upon the death of *Joſua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. years leſs than *Codoman*, ſo toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampſons* years, and of the forty years of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon theſe 40. years of oppreſſion all of them a-part from *Sampſons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is ſaid, makes *Sampſons* 20. to be the one half of the forty of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſions; ſo that if the 20. years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text ſeems to inforce) that the *Philiſtims* in any *Interregnum*, before *Sampſon* judged *Iſrael*, vexed the *Iſraelites* 40. years, beſides the 20. while *Sampſon* was their Judge; and ſo the reckoning will come to 450. years between the end of *Joſua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be ſummed, they make 111. years, to which if we add the years of the Judges, which are 339. we have the juſt ſum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may ſeem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or ſoon after the death of *Moſes*: certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty years, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſs: and he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*. So as firſt in the eighteenth verſe he ſpeaketh of *Moſes*, and of his years ſpent in the Wilderneſs, then in the nineteenth verſe he cometh unto the acts of *Joſua*; which were, that he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verſe it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about* 450. *years, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, ſo far as my weak underſtanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it ſeems irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were ſpent 450. years between the end of *Joſua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480. years between the beginning of the *Iſraelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* anſwereth, that theſe 480. years, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we caſt the years of the Judges, with the years of ſervitude (which ſums, according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397. years) and ſo to theſe years add the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Solomon*, we ſhall have the juſt ſum of 480. years. Neither is it hard, ſaith he, that the *annus egreſſionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. ſhould be underſtood *egreſſionis non incipientis, ſed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for ſo it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be underſtood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo we find that things which were done forty years after they had ſet foot out of *Egypt*, are ſaid to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* 4. 45, *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far

Joſ. 14. 1.

it ſeems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito:* for if *Junius*, *Deut.* 4.45. do well read *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it ſeems that herein he doth well, why may not we alſo, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquam exiviſſent?*

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying ſhould be ſaid not to have had end until the 25. year after the victory of *Othoniel.* To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* at length ſeated themſelves, as it is *Judg.*18.1 declared, *Judg.* 18. For doubtleſs to this time the Expedition may moſt conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and of Saint *Paul*, with that in the firſt of *Kings*, *c.* 6. Now whereas it is ſaid, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Iſrael:* to this *Codoman* anſwereth, that it is not neceſſary that we ſhould ſuppoſe that *Othoniel* lived all thoſe 40. years of reſt, of which *Judg.* 3.11. ſo that by the 25. year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at leaſt, as *Gideon* did, he might have refuſed all Soveraignty, and ſo either way it might truly be ſaid that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in *Iſrael.* This opinion of *Codoman*, if it vvere as conſonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, vvhere it is indiſputable, as it is in it ſelf round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: eſpecially conſidering, that the ſpeeches of S. *Paul* have not otherwiſe found any interpretation, maintaining them as abſolutely true, in ſuch manner as they found, and are ſet down. But ſeeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may juſtly ſuſpect the ſuppoſition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being ſuch as the conſent of many Authors would hardly ſuffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conqueſt of *Laiſh*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to ſhew that *Othoniel* did ſo renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly ſaid there was no King in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearſal of the Law by *Moſes*, and the ſtopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly ſaid to have been, when *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt:* like as we ſay that King *Edward* the firſt was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for ſo all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no ſuch phraſe of ſpeech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or ſaith by converting the propoſition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt.* Indeed moſt unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finiſhed long before, namely, to ſay, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palæſtina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile.* How may we then believe that enterprize performed ſo many years after the diviſion of the Land (which followed the conqueſt at the journies end) ſhould be ſaid to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt?* Or who will not think it moſt ſtrange, that the moſt notable account of time, ſerving as the onely guide for certain ages in ſacred Chronology, ſhould not take name and beginning from that illuſtrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearſed often by God himſelf among the principal of his benefits to *Iſrael*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewiſe are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occaſion changed; but ſhould have reference to the ſurprizing of a Town by ſix hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and ſtole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he ſuppoſeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in ſuch a year, becauſe it beſt ſtood with his interpretation ſo to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it ſelf.

Wherefore we may beſt agree with ſuch as affirm, that the Apoſtle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to ſet down the courſe of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpoſe) but onely to ſhew that God, who had choſen *Iſrael* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raiſe up our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* out of the ſeed of *David* the King, in whoſe ſucceſſion the Crown was eſtabliſhed, and promiſe made of a Kingdom that ſhould have no end. Now in rehearſing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he ſheweth Chriſt to have been the true *Meſſias*) the Apoſtle was ſo far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well known and beleived of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. years conſumed in the Wilderneſs, whereof no man doubted, ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the Wilderneſs about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the Land unto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a King, there paſſed about 450. years. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges:* for this had been an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work ſo needful as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſum of 480. years is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet down.

Now that the vvords of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but muſt be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is evident by his *Acts* 13. aſcribing in the ſame place 40. years to the reign of *Saul:* whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe years vvere divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them vvere ſpent under the government of the Prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for thoſe that vvith ſo much cunning forſake the general opinion, vvhen it favoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good mind, to help vvhere the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The vvords of S. *Paul* vvere ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe days, that the 111. years of ſervitude vvere to be reckoned apart from the 339. years aſcribed to the *Judges*; vvhich account the Apoſtle vvould not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeak as the vulgar, qualifying it vvith a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were four hundred and fifty years.* But *Codoman* being not thus contented, vvould needs have it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-joyns the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelf againſt a notable 1 *King.* 6. Text; whereupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very moneth it ſelf.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his own interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find ſome new expoſition for that vvhich is of it ſelf moſt plain, and to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding after a ſtrange Method, that vvhich is manifeſt by that vvhich is obſcure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe vvayes vvherein before him never man vvalked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. years, becauſe then vvas the taking of *Laiſh*; *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, vvithout excluding the years of ſervitude; And that the years of ſervitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her huſband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan:* from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had ſix years to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory:* for the *Greeks* conſumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it ſeems, was entred, ſackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon.*

Three years after *Troy* taken, which was in the ſixt year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy.* *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40. ſons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. years of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Judg.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon:* I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrel againſt *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philiſtims* had held them in ſervitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought againſt the *Philiſtims* with ſo powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than againſt their own brethren the *Iſraelites?* but *Ammon* being overthrown, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore theſe 40. years muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon*, and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *Interregnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Iſrael* by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have obſerved hiſtorical truth.*

THe War at *Troy*, with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this City, by moſt *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Iſrael*, whom in the laſt place I have mentioned.) I rather chooſe here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal deſcent of their Princes, than to break the ſtory into peices by rehearſing a-part in divers years, the diverſity of occurrents.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil:* which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts upon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet inſula Ponto:*
Æneid. 3. *Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.*
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima
regna:
Maximus unde Pater (ſi ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum eſt advectus ad*
oras:
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium &
arces.
Pergameæ ſteterant: habitabant vallibus
imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaque
æra,
Idæumque nemus.

In the main Sea the Ile of **Creete** doth lie:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is a mount *Ida:* there in fruitful
Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities
ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
Teucer the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the *Rhœtean* ſhores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy:* their dwelling place
they ſought
In loweſt Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were
brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it ſeemeth by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authority, that *Teucer* firſt gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus:* of which *Dardanus* in the ſame book he ſpeaks thus:

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine di-
cunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere
glebæ,
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes: hinc Dardanus
ortus:
Jaſiuſque Pater, genus à quo principe no-
ſtrum.

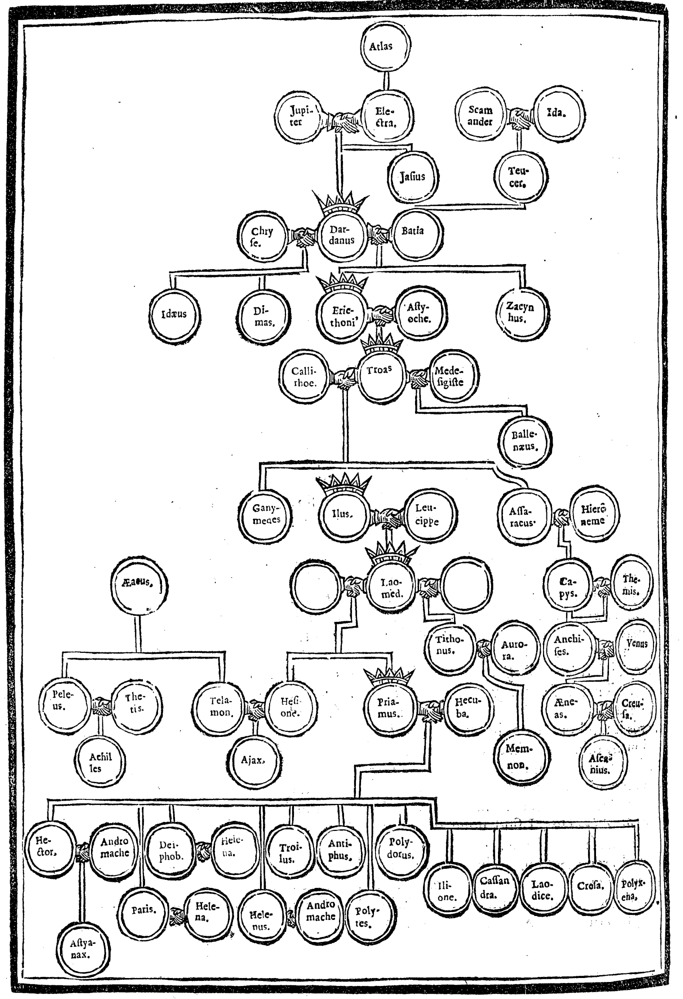
Heſperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race,

Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny
Gives it their Captains name, & calls it *Italy*;
This ſeat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of your ſtock, *Jaſius*.

Atque equidem memini (fama eſt obſcurior
annis
Auruncos ita fere ſenes, hic ortus ad agris
Dardanus *Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia
fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab ſede profectum,
Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obſcure)
would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuſcaine* (where he earſt had
place)
With *Corytus* did ſail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he ſits on high,
In golden Palace of the ſtarry Sky.

But contrary to this, and ſo many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that theſe names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, & *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the ſon of *Japhet:* and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, and *Aſcanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were *Germane* Nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the ſon of *Gomer:* of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia* took name. That *Aſhkenaz* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Aſcanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times paſs into *Europe:* that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow, ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, & others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the ſecond wife of *Dardanus* founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus:* and that theſe were parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the ſon of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Jaſius*. *Annius* out of his *Beroſus* finds the name of *Camboblaſcon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jaſius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between theſe Brethren, which grew to ſuch a heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and therefore fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcurity of the Hiſtory gives leave to *Annius* of ſaying what he liſt. I, that love not to uſe ſuch liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it muſt have been of ſome elder *Jupiter* than the Father of thoſe that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewiſe probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often Deor. l. 4.
been ſaid) there were many *Jupiters*, and c. 3. Boccace de
many of almoſt every name of gods: but it gen.
was the cuſtome to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of the reſt, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelf vvith making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous Antiquities, but ſet down the Pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* ſuch Parents as *Diodorus* gives, becauſe others giving him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.



Concerning the beginning & continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings reign, I have choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtory, whereon depends the moſt ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and general paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. years more ancient then the beginning of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did paſs between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the firſt year of the 94. it is manifeſt that the remainder of 780. years, that is, 408. years vvent between the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, vvho elſewhere tels us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, vvhich vvas 80. years after the fall of *Troy*, vvas 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*.

Diod. in pref.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, vvho placing the foundation of *Rome* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of thoſe games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expreſs words, makes the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, vvhom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. years later than the deſtruction of *Troy*. The ſum is eaſily collected by neceſſary inference out of divers other places in the ſame book. Hereunto doth *Euſebius*, reckoning excluſively agree: and *Eratoſthenes* (as is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the ſame total ſum, vvanting, but one year, as reckoning likewiſe excluſively.

Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. 2.

Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 2.

Euſeb. de pre Evang. l 10 c 3.
Cle. Alex Strom. lib 1.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the ſame place, do neither cohere any vvay, nor depend upon any collateral Hiſtory, by vvhich they may be verified.

The deſtruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred & eight: vve muſt ſeek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Euſebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reigns of four Kings, by the ſpace of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom alſo at length it ended. As for the time which paſſed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon truſt from *Annius* his Authors; believing *Manetho* ſo much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Euſebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very ſcrupulous: for ſeeing that no Hiſtory or account of time depends upon the reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruins of the City under *Priamus*, it may ſuffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that ſome objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the anſwers I purpoſely omit, as not willing to diſpute of thoſe years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this deſtruction of *Troy* was one of the moſt renowned.

The firſt enterpriſe that was undertaken by general conſent of all *Greece*, was the laſt war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there aſſembled, the great battails fought with variable ſucceſs; the long endurance of the ſiege; the deſtruction of that great City; and the may *Colonies* planted in ſundry countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with enumerable circumſtances of eſpecial note, have been delivered unto poſterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, eſpecially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whoſe Verſes have given immortality to the action, which might elſe perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other worthy deeds, done both before and ſince that time. For it is true which *Horace* ſaith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
  Multi, ſed omnes illacrymabiles
Vrgentur, ignotiq; longa
  Nocte: carent quia vate ſacró.

Many by valour have deſerv'd renown
  Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lie all oppreſt
Under long night, unwept for, and unknown:
  For with no ſacred Poet were they bleſt.

Yet ſo it is, that whilſt theſe Writers have with ſtrange fables, or (to ſpeak the beſt of them) with Allegories far ſtrained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of thoſe noble undertakers: they have both drawn into ſuſpition that great vertue which they ſought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almoſt as much ignorance of the Hiſtory, as admiration of the perſons. Wherefore it is expedient that we ſeek for the knowledge of ſuch actions, in Hiſtories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whoſe works are both profit and delight; yet ſmall profit to thoſe which are delighted otherwiſe: but ſuch as can interpret their fables, or ſeparate them from the naked truth, ſhall finde matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Hiſtorians. For thoſe things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*; there is very little, and not without much diſagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All Writers conſent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the ſon of *Priamus*, was the cauſe of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

§. II.

Of the rape of Helen : *and ſtrength of both ſides for the War.*

HErodotus fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very far; ſaying, That whereas the *Phœnecians* had raviſhed *Iö*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did firſt raviſh *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfied for the rape of *Io*. By theſe deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing ſuch revenge as enſued. But all this narration ſeems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel againſt him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unqueſtionable ſincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not uſed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*: and that the *Greeks* themſelves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreaſonable to think, that they ſhould have ſought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people elſe ſhould have eſteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people oppoſed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themſelves. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it ſeems) was a cruel man, ſeeing his own ſon *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely becauſe his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had ſlain himſelf. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would ſeek to take her from her husband, with whom ſhe had lived about thirty years, and to whom ſhe had born children which were to ſucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſione*, but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to do that which in thoſe daies was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth; but all people were accuſtomed to ſteal Women and Cattel, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them: and having ſtoln them, either to ſell them away in ſome far Country, or keep them to their own uſe. So did *Theſeus* and *Pirythons* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) raviſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabite neer unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leſs lawful than merchandiſe: vvherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape vvhich *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her Wooers, vvho vvere moſt of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, that if ſhe vvere taken from her husband, they ſhould vvith all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe vvhich drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* rape, vvas partly the oath vvhich ſo many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* vvas not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in *Peloponneſus*, vvas Lord of many Iſlands: he vvas alſo rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* vvere vvell contented to follow his pay, vvhom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ſhips, vvhich vvere more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take Arms againſt the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. ſayl, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with decks; only they uſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meet for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fifty men, the greateſt 120. every man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army conſiſted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greateſt Army that ever was raiſed out of *Greece*: and the greatneſs of this Army doth well declare the ſtrength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the *Trojans* vvhich inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Iliads*;

but their followers and aids were very many and ſtrong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Miſſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia* the leſs, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Aſſyria* (though ſome think out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and Embaſſage to* Troy, *and of* Helena*'s being detained in* Egypt, *and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to tryal of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Embaſſadours to *Troy*: who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his houſe. What anſwer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The ſum of his diſcourſe is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coaſt of *Egypt*, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had anſwer, that ſhe was in *Egypt*, they thought themſelves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed ſhe had not been there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtory, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily believed that he made for pleaſure, and if he were driven thither by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking ſuch Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorm, than to commit himſelf to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until ſuch time as the Wind had come about, and ſerved for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the ſaying of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madneſs for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befall him, during the war, and ſo many of his ſons ſlain for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the reſt. Beſides, it may ſeem that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly then truly, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as Queen *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to have been twins) who ſailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Heſione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were ſo that the *Trojans* could not, or would not reſtore *Helen*, ſo it was that the Embaſſadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not ſome that adviſed to have them ſlain. The *Greeks* hereupon incenſed, made all haſte towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom ſome ſay to have been a Runagate *Trojan*, though no ſuch thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Hoaſt with many troubleſome anſwers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter ſacrificed to appeaſe *Diana*, whoſe anger, he ſaid, vvithſtood their paſſage. Whether the young Lady were ſacrifized, or vvhether (as ſome vvrite) the *goddeſs* vvas contented vvith a Hind, it is not needful here to be diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which vvaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, then vvhere mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* vvas impoſſible, till ſome fatall impediments vvere removed: and that till ten years vvere paſt, the Town ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterpriſe, under the command of *Agamemnon*; vvho was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*, *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the ſons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor* and his ſons *Antilochus* and *Thraſymides*; *Ulyſſes*, *Mneſtheus* the ſon of

Petreus, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the ſon of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*, *Aſcalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*, the ſons of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* alſo the ſon of *Pœan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid, that the City could not be taken, *Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Theas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyſandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the ſon of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the ſons of *Æſculapius*; *Epeus*, who is ſaid to have made the wooden Horſe, by which the town was taken; and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leapt on ſhore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the ſiege.*

These, and many other of leſs note, arriving at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharp entertainment, as might eaſily perſwade them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the firſt encounter, they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: ſave only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themſelves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmalneſs of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneſs*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmiſhes were, yet could the town receive little loſs by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field againſt ſuch *Greeks* as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retrait if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* ſaith, That from the firſt year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all; and *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*, that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the firſt nine years: but onely did bear up and down the Seas, exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelves, and ſo by waſting the enemies country did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, untill the fatall time drew near when it ſhould be ſubverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore ſitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been ſuppoſed that he ſhould be ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelves before the town ſo many years together. Between theſe relations of *Thucidides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one ſaying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whileſt the reſt made purveyance by land and by ſea: the others that the whole army did ſpend the time in waſting the Sea-coaſts. Neither do the Poets greatly diſagree from theſe authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands waſted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have ſpared, if any ſervice of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howſoever it was, this is agreed by general conſent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* ſaith, that *Apollo* ſent in revenge of his Prieſts daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let go, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, ſaith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raiſed peſtilent Fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-peſtered with thoſe, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: having alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

Hom. il. liad. 3.

About the ſame time aroſe much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having firſt choſen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the ſecond place choſen for himſelf another, then *Ajax*, *Vlyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the chief Captains in order: when the South-ſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman ſhould be reſtored to her father *Apollo*'s Prieſt, that ſo the peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and ſay, that he alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoile, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Vlyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to revenge her loſſe otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*,

encouraged by their Captains, preſented themſelves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great ſuccours, all the neighbour Countries having ſent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himſelf and his ſons, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and fair Daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gheſſe) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they waſted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* iſſued out of the Town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other ſons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſons, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſons of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlain the firſt night of his arrival; *Memnon*, Queen *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between theſe and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tomb of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Ajax*, the ſon of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note that remaining unwounded, made head againſt *Hector*, when the ſtate of the *Greeks* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battel (for ſo Antiquity cals it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a freſh ſupply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomædes*, *Vlyſſes*, and the reſt of the Princes though ſore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe Wars, having ſlain a man, to ſtrip him, and hale away his body, not reſtoring it vvithout ranſome, if he vvere one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſs of their Captains; who rode not upon horſes, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, preſenting themſelves where need required, threw firſt their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with ſwords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt or broken. Their arms defenſive were helmets, breaſt-plates, boots of braſs, or other mettal, and ſhields commonly of leather plated over. The offenſive were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrows or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The uſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſs) was to keep them from wearineſs, whereto the leaders were much ſubject, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heavieſt, alſo that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; every man (ſpeaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captain whom he had ſlain, and ſtripped; or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch means gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelf unto *Achilles*, not only reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battel *Achilles* did ſo behave himſelf, that he did not only put thē *Trojans* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chaſed three times about the Wals of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in ſuch an extremity, would have forborn to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means ſoever) ſlain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his cruelty and covetouſneſs were not long unrevenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes in the *Scæan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with vvhom he vvas too far in love, having ſlain ſo many of her brethren; and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Pentheſilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after ſome proof given of her Valour, was ſlain by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden Horſe, the Book of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many Worthy Perſons on each ſide, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horſe, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horſe, and that the *Greeks* entring by that gate, gave occaſion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horſe. It may well be that with ſome wooden Engine, which they called a Horſe, they either did batter the Wals as the *Romans* in after-times uſed to do with the Ram: or ſcaled the Wals upon the ſudden, and ſo took the City. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden Horſe, it had been a deſperate adventure, and ſerving to no purpoſe. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and ſlain all thoſe Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintain this report they are ſaid to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few dayes without the City (for it was unlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclud epon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Wals upon the ſudden to do it:) by which means they who were ſhut into it, muſt have periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth unſeaſonably diſcovered the invention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this Horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifeſt, that the incloſing of ſo many principal men was altogether needleſs, conſidering that without their help there was way ſufficient for the Army, ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

John Baptiſta Gramay in his Hiſtory of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this War, ſaith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Wals with a Wooden Engine, and were alſo let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the Townſmen ſleeping and drinking without fear or care, becauſe the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoiſted ſail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into ſecurity. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* muſt prove, which whether we now have the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they who have made mention of theſe Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in moſt points to theſe two Authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they having ſerved in that War made againſt the common report, had it not been that either thoſe books were even in thoſe times thought frivolous, or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* ſay to have been above 600000. on the *Trojan* ſide, and more then 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be ſomewhat leſs than 1200. ſail, and the Army therein tranſported over the *Greek* ſeas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks* that ſerved in the War, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* deſcended. Yea the *Athenians* long

after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Perſian* King made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mneſteus* the ſon of *Peteus* had ſhewed in marſhalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almoſt all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithſtanding that he promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanity poſſeſſed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in theſe parts of the World, which have ſtriven to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedegree notwithſtanding. But thoſe Nations which indeed, or in moſt probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoyning, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſon of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the Poſterity of *Hector* did aſſemble ſuch of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

COncerning the *Greeks*, they taſted as much miſery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reaſon of their long abode at the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: ſome were ſlain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soveraignty among the people, by ſuch as had ſtayed at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeem to have been the diſperſion of the Army, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into ſo many pieces under ſeveral Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing upon the diviſion of the booty, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould have ſet ſail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediatly, the other to ſtay and perform ſome ſacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailed to the Iſle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themſelves, but ſome returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were diſperſed, each holding his own courſe. But the whole Fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* ſaith) would not be perſwaded in haſte.

They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterwards ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheleſs, as *Virgil* tels, were driven ſoon after to ſeek new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægyſtus*, who for a while after uſurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeem) to fetch her. *Ulyſſes*, after ten years, having loſt all his company, got home in poor eſtate, with much ado recovering the maſterſhip of his own houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to ſeek out new habitations.

Ajax the ſon of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the Eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reaſon of ſo many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coaſt. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladies, whoſe Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* ſuffered miſery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and thoſe that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been ſaid, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Iſrael*, whom *Sampſon*, after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years, ſucceeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampſon, Ely, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Sampſon.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampſon* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I ſhall not need to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that Story. Firſt, that the *Angel of God* forbad the Wife of *Monoah* the Mother of *Sampſon*, to drink Wine or ſtrong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after ſhe was conceived with child; becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hindered the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrink the child in the mothers womb. Though this were even the counſel of God himſelf, and delivered by his Angel, yet it ſeemeth that many Women of this age have not read, or at leaſt will not believe this precept: the moſt part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ſtrong or unclean ſoever, filling themſelves with all ſorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reaſon whereof ſo many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races of the able and ſtrong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to preſent it unto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſſe divination by the help of Angels, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampſon* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his goods; by the ſecond his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-maſter, Voluptuouſneſs overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtims*; though in ſome ſort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlain 30. of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their Corn in harveſt time, and given them a great overthrow inſtantly upon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* fear the *Philiſtims*, as they aſſembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to beſiege *Sampſon*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, uſing theſe Words: *Knoweſt not thou that the Philiſtims are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philiſtims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no ſooner looſened, but he gave them another overthrow, and ſlew 1000. with the jaw-bone of an Aſſe.

Laſtly, being made blind, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the houſe at the Feaſt whereto they ſent for *Sampſon*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem*; *Patience often wounded is converted into fury*: neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by pain and loſs, as by deriſion and contumely.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken*; *and of* Dagons *fall, and the ſending back of the Ark.*

THE Story of *Eli* the Prieſt, who ſucceeded *Sampſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſs of his ſons, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: 1 Sam. 2. 22. whoſe ſins were horrible, both in abuſing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the woman by the ſons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſraelites* under the ſwords of the *Philiſtims*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt encounter 4000. and in the ſecond battel 30000. footmen; among whom the ſons of *Eli* being ſlain, their father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſs) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the firſt that obtained the High-Prieſthood of the ſtock of *Ithamar* the ſon of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſively in the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazar* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſon of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſon 1 King. 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6. *Bocci* the fiſt, *Ozi* the ſon of *Bocci* the ſixt, and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Salomon*, who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſors. The *Ark of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battel taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſook the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.* Pſal 78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the Ark whereby himſelf was repreſented ſhould fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Chaldæans* to deſtroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the ſecond Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the Chriſtian Churches in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the Ark, than in God himſelf, they would have obſerved his Laws, and ſerved him onely: which whenſoever 1 Sam. 5, 6. they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their piety it pleaſed God to make that Family as victorious as any that guarded themſelves by the ſign in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſign, *David* witneſſed when he fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would have carried the Ark with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the City, uſing theſe 2 Sam. 15. words: *If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the Chriſtians in the laſt fatal battel againſt *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Croſs whereon Chriſt died; and yet they loſt the battel, their bodies, and the wood. But *Chryſoſtome* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of Saint *John*'s Goſpel about their necks, for an annulet or preſervative: *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If thoſe words do not profit men in their ears* (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpel preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Croſs, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Son, which ſhed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it up in the houſe of *Dagon* their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and ſet it again in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, ſhewing that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idol could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to cover his onely begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, loſt power, ſpeech and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightneſs, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, ſhining upon the earth which had been long obſcured by Idolatry, all thoſe foul and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſs.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victory, God ſtrook them with the grievous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord deſtroyed them.* It was therefore by general conſent ordered, that the Ark ſhould be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to prove, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly:

1 Sam. 5. 9.

but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. *For the hand of the Lord was againſt this City with a very great deſtruction, and he ſmote the men of the City both ſmall and great, &c.* And being not yet ſatisfied, they of *Gath* ſent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philiſtims*: but they alſo felt the ſame ſmart, and cryed out, that themſelves and their people ſhould be ſlain thereby; *For there was a deſtruction and death throughout all the City.* In the end, by the advice of their Prieſts, the Princes of the *Philiſtims* did not onely reſolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Iſrael*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his ſervice by ſtrong hand. Wherefore confeſſing the power of the *God of Iſrael* to be almighty, and that their own Idols were ſubject thereunto, they agreed to offer a ſin-offering, uſing theſe words; *So ye ſhall give glory to the God of Iſrael, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witneſſing, than where an enemy doth approve our cauſe? according to *Ariſtotle*; *Pulchrum eſt teſtimonium, quo noſtra probantur ab hoſtibus.* So did *Pharao* confeſs the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchadonoſor* and *Darius*, when they had ſeen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counſel therefore of the Prieſts being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they cauſed two milch Kine to be choſen, ſuch as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durſt not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make tryal whether it were indeed the hand of God that had ſtrucken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethſhemeſh*, and into the territory of *Iſrael*, then they ſhould reſolve that from God onely came their late deſtruction. For the *Philiſtims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them whereſoever; much leſs when they were left to themſelves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkeſt night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them through woods and deſars by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethſhemeſh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joſua* of the ſame City, they ſtood ſtill there; which when the Princes of the *Philiſtims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God ſpared not his own people the *Bethſhemites*, in that they preſumed to look in the Ark. And becauſe they knew God and his commandements, and had been taught accordingly; he ſtrook them more grievouſly than he did the heathen: for there periſhed of them fifty thouſand and ſeventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the houſe of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his ſon, until *David* brought it to *Hieruſalem*.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Miſpa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time ſevered from the Ark, or at leaſt, it was for the (a) preſent occaſion brought to theſe places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*.

2 Sam 6. & 1 Chron. 13.

(a) See in this book, c. 12. ſect. 1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THeſe Tragedies overpaſt and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Iſrael*. He was deſcended of the family of (b) *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three ſons; *Gerſon*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moſes* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but becauſe he was of (c) Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jeſſe*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephratæan*, becauſe born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitleſs, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding ſhame to the Jewiſh women to be called barren, in reſpect of the bleſſing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his ſeed ſhould multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the ſands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increaſe and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomy* the ſeventh, *There ſhall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no ſooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his ſervice; to which ſhe delivered him even from the dug. For as the firſt-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five ſheckles, and between five years and twenty, for twenty ſheckles: ſo was it not required by the Law, that any of the race of the Levites ſhould be called to ſerve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

(b) 1 Chron. 6. 22.

(c) Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Jud.* 12. 5. whence in diſtinction we read *Ruth* 1. *Ephratæi Bethlechemo Jehuda*, the town *Ephrata* which is *Bethlehem* in *Juda*, *Gen.* 35. 19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Pſal.* 132. 6. *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the firſt of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to vvhom uſually this name of a Prophet vvas given, and yet did *Moſes* account himſelf ſuch a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that preceded him, vvho were called *Seers*; as *before time in Iſrael, when a man went to ſeek an anſwer of God, thus he ſpake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer.* And although it pleaſed God to appear by his Angels to *Moſes*, as before to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifeſt viſion; not that God had altogether vvithdrawn his grace from *Iſrael*: but as the *Chaldæan* Paraphraſt hath it, thoſe revelations before *Samuel*'s time, vvere more clouded and obſcure. The places vvherein *Samuel* judged vvere *Matſpa* or *Mitſpa*, ſeated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: alſo *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of vvhich vve have ſpoken elſewhere.

Ver. 15.

1 Sam. 9.

1 Sam. 13. See in this book, c. 12. ſect. 1.

The *Philiſtims* taking knowledge of the aſſembly and preparation of War at *Mitſpa*, in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at vvhoſe approach the *Iſraelites* ſtrucken vvith fear, and vvith the memory of their former ſlaughters and ſervitude, beſought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; vvho vvas * then performing his ſacrifice vvhen the *Philiſtims* vvere in view. But God being moved vvith *Samuel*'s prayers (as he vvas by thoſe of *Moſes*, vvhen *Iſrael* fought againſt the *Amalekites* at the firſt entrance into *Arabia*:) it pleaſed him with thunder and tempeſt to diſperſe and beat down the Army of the *Philiſtims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother, *The Lords adverſaries ſhall be deſtroyed, and out of Heaven ſhall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Joſephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philiſtims* were ſwallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himſelf led the *Iſraelites* in the proſecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of this happy ſucceſs, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Joſephus* called *Lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the ſtone of aſſiſtance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Iſraelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly loſt, and held long in the poſſeſſion of the *Philiſtims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invaſion or revenge. And the better to attend their purpoſes, and to withſtand any of their attempts, the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be aſſaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philiſtims* towards the Weſt and Sea-coaſt, the *Canaanite* toward the North and Eaſt, and the *Idumite* on the South. The eſtate being thus ſettled, *Samuel* for the eaſe of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elſewhere ſaid.

* Plutarch reports of *Numa* the ſecond King of *Rome*, that when as he was ſacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing diſmaied, anſwered, *Ego autem ſacrifico.*

1 Sam. 2. 10.

Chap. XVI.

Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

BUt when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of ſo careful a government, he put off from himſelf the weight of the affairs on his ſons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerſheba*, a City, the very utmoſt towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, ſo were themſelves no leſs removed from the juſtice and vertue of their Father: For the thirſt of coveteouſneſs, the more it ſwalloweth, the more it drieth, and deſireth, finding taſte in nothing but gain; to recover which, they ſet the Law at a price, and ſold Juſtice and Judgment to the beſt Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Iſraael* obſerved, and ſaw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not ſo well diſcern the errours of his own, they prayed him to conſent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were;

who might alſo lead them to the War, and defend them againſt their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable ſucceſs which followed the rule of *Eli* his ſons, when thoſe of *Samuel* by their firſt bloſſomes promiſed to yield fruit no leſs bitter, they ſaw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they ſo much reverenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cauſe of ſo great conſequence and alteration, *Samuel* ſought counſel from God: which ſurely he did not for the eſtabliſhing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this ſpeech or motion diſpleaſing him, he uſed his beſt arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miſeries which ſhould befal them. And yet, all which he fore-ſhewed was not intolerable, but ſuch as hath been born, and is ſo ſtill, by free conſent of the ſubjects towards their Princes. For firſt he makes them know that the King will uſe their ſons in his own ſervice to make them his Horſe-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vaſſals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, deſired: it being very agreeable to ſubjects of the beſt quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no leſs proper and appertaining to thoſe that are thereto bred and brought up: ſo are likewiſe the offices of women-ſervants to dreſs meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your beſt Olive trees, and give them to his ſervants*; with other oppreſſions: this hath given, and gives daily occaſion to ſuch as would be ruled by their own diſcretion, to affirm that *Samuel* deſcribeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination conſtrue this Text far otherwiſe, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded firſt upon that Deut. 1. place of *Deuteronomy*, where God fore-ſheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetouſneſs, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Iſrael*, ſhould write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cauſe it to be written: and to ſhew how greatly the King ſhould honour the Law, he addeth, *It ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and theſe ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdom, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, ſay they, is contrary to the Laws of God, in the ſame book written. For it is ſaid, *That which is juſt and right ſhalt thou follow, that thou mayſt live.* Deut. 6. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canſt eat out of another mans vineyard, but fordidden by God: it is much leſs lawful to take the vineyard Deut. 23. 24. it ſelf from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (ſay they) ſuch as do warrant the Kings of *Iſrael*, Loyſe. or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vaſſals. For it is not ſaid that it ſhall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your ſons: and again, This ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall raign over you. God thereby fore-ſhewing what power, ſevered from piety (becauſe it is accountable to God onely) will do in the future. And hereof we find the firſt example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the truſt which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people ſhould be judged with righteous judgment.* Deut. 16. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* compoſition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refuſed: yet becauſe he was falſly accuſed, and unjuſtly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievouſly *Achab* was puniſhed by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea ſufficient for *Achab* againſt the all-righteous God, to ſay that it was done without his conſent, and by the Elders of *Iſrael*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* teſtifieth of himſelf: *Poſuiſti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Auguſtine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non eſt innocentia: ſimulata æquitas, non eſt æquitas: ſed duplicatur peccatum in quo eſt iniquitas & ſimulatio; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and diſſimulation.* Such in effect is their diſputation, who think this place to contain the deſcription of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary ſide, as they are many and forcible, ſo are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely diſcourſe of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatiſe I may not preſume to abridge, much

leſs here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, that if practice do ſhew the greatneſs of authority, even the beſt Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tyed by any laws, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be ſlain without any trial of law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *David* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of government, it was not onely foretold by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture; *The Scepter* Gen. 49. *ſhall not depart from Juda, &c.* Gen. 15. It was alſo Gen. 17. promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing: For it was not onely aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equal the ſtars in heaven, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him: Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the pattern of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Univerſal; and the excellencie thereof in reſpect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath obſerved what civil war *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many years: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philiſtims* the Sea-coaſts; and the *Jebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelf, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and eſtabliſh, but he maſtered and ſubjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moved by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they ſought to be cleared 1 Sam. 8. from the ſons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perſwaſions and threats which *Samuel* uſed, inſiſting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, he ſent every man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

AFter that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till ſuch time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would preſent unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiſes) and *Saul* alſo having wandred divers dayes to ſeek his fathers Aſſes, at length, by the advice of his ſervant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beaſts. In which journey it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an Aſs and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngeſt of eight ſons, and by the Scri- 1 Sam. 16. ptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts; and changed his ſheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the moſt victorious King of *Juda* and *Iſrael*. So *John* and *James* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apoſtles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do; but permanent and everlaſting in Gods everlaſting Kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and ſtayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God ſhewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the ſame whom he had foretold him of, that he ſhould rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Iſrael*, much leſs knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* anſwered, that himſelf was the man he ſought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* ſetting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be beſtowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of *Iſrael*.

After this he told him all that ſhould happen him in the way homeward, that two men ſhould encounter him by *Rabels* Sepulchre, who ſhould tell him that his Aſſes were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of loſing his beaſts, to doubt the loſs of his ſon: that he ſhould then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he ſhould be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and diſpoſition ſhould be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here ſpoken of, men indued with ſpiritual gifts, were not of the firſt and moſt reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Eliſæus*, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and the reſt; for theſe Prophets, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præſentia, & futura*: but they were of thoſe of whom S. *Paul* ſpeaketh 1 *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with ſpiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chryſ in Pſ. 43.

At *Mizpeth Samuel* aſſembled the people, that he might preſent *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had paſt between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his eſtate not yet aſſured, or elſe that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general conſent. When the Tribes were aſſembled at *Mizpeth*, the general opinion is, that he was choſen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the anſwer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the anſwer of the Prieſt, wearing that miſtery upon his breaſt when he asked the counſel of the Lord. But the caſting of lots was not only much uſed among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promiſe was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be caſt on the two Goats, which ſhould be ſacrificed, and which turned oft: a figure of Chriſts ſuffering, and our deliverance, for whoſe garments the *Jews* alſo caſt lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pauſanius*, and others, have remembred divers ſorts of lots, uſed by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the diviſion of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two firſt kinds were called Diviſory; the Third, Divinatory, and unto one of theſe three all may be reduced, all which kinds, howſoever they may ſeem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition is of the Lord.* And in like ſort fell the Kingdom of Iſrael on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himſelf in modeſty, as both *Joſephus* conſtrue it, and as it may be gathered by his former anſwers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himſelf the leaſt of the leaſt Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the reſt by the ſhoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the choſen King of *Iſrael*, whereupon all the multitude ſaluted him King, and prayed for him; yet ſome there were that envied his glory (as in all eſtates there are ſuch) who did not acknowledge him by offering him preſents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoyd ſedition, took no notice.

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Prieſt, were inſerted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectoral over againſt the heart of the High Prieſt. It is plain that they were not the precious ſtones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exo.* 38. 1. *Cic. de divir. Pauſ. in Meſ.*

1 *Sam.* 10.

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§. III.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Saul *by his firſt victory.*

NO ſooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to beſiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation ſince the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durſt attempt any thing upon the *Iſraelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover thoſe Territories which firſt the *Amorite*, and then *Iſrael* diſpoſſeſt them of; which they made the ground of their invaſion in *Jephta's* time, yet they never perſwaded themſelves of more advantage then at this preſent. For firſt, they knew that there were many of the *Iſraelites* that did not willingly ſubmit themſelves to this new King: ſecondly, they were remembred that the *Philiſtims* had not long before ſlain 34000. of their men of War: and beſides had uſed great care and policy that they ſhould have no Smiths to make them ſwords or ſpears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethſhemeſites*, and places adjoyning, there periſhed by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in theſe reſpects, even occaſion it ſelf invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neareſt. Beſides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened againſt *Jabes Gilead*, in reſpect of their weakneſs: ſince the *Iſraelites* deſtroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them againſt the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only ſlaughter the men

Jud. 11.

men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themſelves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelf with the opinion, that *Iſrael*, having for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deeply wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ranſome themſelves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be utterly diſabled for the War, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelf in his firſt years reign, and becauſe perchance he was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoever came not forth after* Saul, *and after* Samuel; *ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved*: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven days had *Saul* to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* aſſembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily paſs the river; which done, he might in one day with a ſpeedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

1 *Sam* 11. 8.

The army by *Saul* led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand, he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For, as it ſeemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword untill the heat of the day, and the wearineſs of *Sauls* troop inforced them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſs and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their City to their mercy. After this happy ſucceſs, the people were ſo far in love with their new King, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelf forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth; and as deſpightful and cruel without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

1 *Sam.* 11. After the Army removed, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as ſome Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſal of his own Juſtice, during the beginning of his government to that day, after *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthned himſelf with a good guard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his ſon at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the reſt he kept about his own perſon in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

1 *Sam.* 12.

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§. IV.

Of Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the Philiſtims and Amalekites, which cauſed his final rejection.*

JOnathan with his ſmall Army or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurprized a Garriſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome think, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was firſt anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a Garriſon. 1 *Sam.* 10. is called the hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Iſrael*: and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and ſix thouſand Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the Mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelf with ſome 2000. men of ordinary, and many other people,

1 *Sam.* 13. 5.

ple, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeven days:but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* percieved his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place, 1 *Sam*. 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God,contrary to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of the *Hebrews*, and *Gods* Commandments:others expound the word *obtulit*,in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandment, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam*. 10. 8. ſecondly,a deffidence or miſtruſt in Gods help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently: and laſtly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*,and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoever was his 1 *Sam*. 13. ſin,notwithſtanding his excuſes,he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in terms unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to do, from God himſelf; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom ſhould be conferred to another (a man after *Verſ*. 14. Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his poſterity.

After this,*Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpear, but *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* 1 *Sam*. 13. 19. in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul*, came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe crafts-men carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* onely files to ſharpen & amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of arms, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*,but onely that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards for- 1 *Sam*. 13. 21. ſook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from Heaven:and when theſe craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvel if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel* be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their Artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nebuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judæa*: *Dioniſius* in *Sicily*,& many other Princes elſe-where in all ages.But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them, to wit, clubs,bows,and ſlings.For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons,and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter,it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*,while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes,and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*, and with a ſling it was that *David* himſelf ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once, *Jonathan*, ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire only,ſcaled a mountain,whereon a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the 1 *Sam*.1 11. reſt of their army (as may be gathered by the ſucceſs) being encamped in the plain adjoyning. And though he were diſcovered before he came to the hill top,and in a kind of deriſion, called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelf, as with the aſſiſtance of God he ſlew 20. of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm,and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, fear, and jealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrews* which became of their party, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, took the advantage of their deſtruction,and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelf taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves in Mount *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and 1 *Sam*. 14. obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation)a moſt happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that propheſie in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God,ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

This done, the ſmall Army of *Iſrael* made retreat from the purſuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his ſon *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extream labour and emptineſs, taſted a drop of honey in his paſſage:for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, ſeems to have reduced unto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewiſe miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, under- 1 *Sam*. 14. took by turns all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make,to wit,210000. men, and receiving the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart* belonging to the *Amalekites*,from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in Exod. 17. *Moſes* time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts, and ſpoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know that God would caſt him from his royal eſtate,to which he was raiſed when he was of baſe condition, and,as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes.* And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how ſeverely it pleaſed God to enjoyn the *Iſraelites* to revenge themſelves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcuſable. For God had commanded that the *Iſraelites* Deut. 25. 15. *ſhould put out the remembrance of Amalec from under heaven.* For the cruelty which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* uſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were overwearied,faint,ſick,and aged people,was now to be revenged on him,and his Nation,above 400. years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood,which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himſelf having alſo ſinned in the ſame kind, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſs: *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women*; at which time 1 *Sam*. 15. 33. *Samuel* himſelf (after he had been by many bootleſs intreaties perſwaded to ſtay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*,and ſoon after he departed to *Ramath*,*and came no more to ſee* Saul *until the day of his death.*

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§. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to chooſe a King for *Iſrael*, among the ſons of *Iſhai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a ſort to perform, till it pleaſed God to direct him, how he might avoid both the ſuſpition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wiſdom he ſought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do theſe men miſtake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reaſon that God hath given them,do no otherwiſe avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men ſtupified in the opinion of fate or deſtiny, neglecting either to beg counſel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exerciſe that wiſdom or foreſight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preſervation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could deſtroy the world in an inſtant) diſdain here to inſtruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accuſtomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the ſons of *Iſhai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngeſt, having refuſed *Eliab*, the firſt born: who though he were a man of a comely perſon & great ſtrength; yet unto ſuch outward appearance, the Lord had no reſpect. For as it 1 Sam. 10. is written, *God ſeeth not as man ſeeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He alſo refuſing the other ſix brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the *Lord ſaid to* Samuel, *Ariſe and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to ſeek the life of *David:* in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philiſtims*.

The *Philiſtims* having well conſidered (as it ſeems) the increaſe of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilſt they had ſitten ſtill and forborn to give impediment to his proſperous courſes, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as juſtly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Iſrael*, might be repaied with advantage, if ever opportunity ſhould ſerve their often injured neighbours againſt them, as lately it had done againſt *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the reſt of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all warlike proviſions, the *Philiſtims* had reaſon to think themſelves equal, if not ſuperiour to *Iſrael*. The ſucceſs of their former wars had, for the moſt part, been agreeable to their own wiſhes: as for late diſaſters, they might, according to humane wiſdom, impute them to ſecond cauſes; as to a tempeſt hapning by chance, and to a miſtaken alarm, whereby their Army, poſſeſſed with a needleſs fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore muſtered their forces, and taken the field, encamping ſo neer to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth againſt them, that they could not eaſily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in groſs, but maintaining ſome skirmiſhes, as refuſing both of them to paſs the Valley that lay between their Camps. Juſt cauſes of fear they had on both ſides; eſpecially the *Philiſtims*, whoſe late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occaſion perhaps it was, that they ſought to decide the matter by ſingle combat, as willing to try in one mans perſon, whether any ſtroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a ſtrong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Hoſte of *Iſrael*, provoking them with deſpightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the party vanquiſhed in Champion, ſhould hold it ſelf as overcome in groſs, and become vaſſal unto the other. This gave occaſion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durſt expoſe himſelf to encounter the great ſtrength of *Goliah*, until *David* (ſent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offenſive or defenſive, than a ſling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword ſtrook off his head. Hereupon the *Philiſtims*, who ſhould have yielded themſelves as ſubjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own ſide propounded, fied without ſtay; and were purſued and ſlaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philiſtims* were not ſo broken, that either any of their Towns were loſt, or their people diſcouraged from infeſting the Territories of *Iſrael*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Maſter *Saul*, through the honour purchaſed by his well-deſerving. For after ſuch time as the ſpirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, 1 Sam.16 13. faithleſs, and irreligious. Becauſe the High Prieſt *Abimelech* fed *David* in his neceſſity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a ſword of his own conqueſt, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Prieſts of *Nob*, but alſo he deſtroyed the City, *and ſmote with the edge of the ſword both man and* 1 Sam. 18. *woman, both child and ſuckling, both Ox and Aſs, and Sheep.* And he that had compaſſion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and alſo ſpared and preſerved the beſt of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in ſtore for the innocent, for the Lords ſervants, the Prieſts 1 Sam. 23. of *Iſrael*. Yea, he would have ſlain his own ſon *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Davids* innocency; as alſo once before for taſting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreaſonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he ſhewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had

promiſed him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: alſo in that when as *David* had twice ſpared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworn to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errours, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparative for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſel from God, he had been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this ſucceſs followed, that both himſelf, and his three ſons, with his neareſt and faithful ſervants, were all ſlaughtered by the *Philiſtims:* his body vvith the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung over the vvalls of *Bethſan*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* ſtoln their carcaſſes thence, and interred them. This vvas the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Iſrael*, together vvith *Samuel*, 40. years, and Acts 13. 21. by himſelf after *Samuel* 20. years, according Cedren. p4. 69. Theoph. l.3. p.2. Joſeph. l. 28. to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Joſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is vvritten, that *Samuel* died; and in the reſt of the ſame chapter, the paſſages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after vvhich the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

An exceeding valiant man he vvas, and gave a fair entrance to all thoſe victories vvhich *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly vvaſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtims*.

§. VI.

Of ſuch as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen, *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond year of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting*, in the tenth. For *David*, ſaith he, vvas thirty years old vvhen he began to reign: vvhence it followeth, that he vvas born in the tenth of the forty years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the ſon of *Poſthumus* began his reign over the Latines in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirty years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof, 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians:* at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the ſon of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Country of *Pthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeveral Nation after ſome one of the poſterity of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And becauſe this is the fartheſt antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiſs to recount the Pedegree of her firſt planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomy* & *Philoſophy*.

Japetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus:* of whom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen:* whoſe ſons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus:* of *Dorus* and *Æolus* the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundry parts of *Theſſaly*, did afterward ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon:* *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſon of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens:* where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fled into *Pelo-*

ponneſus : and ſeating himſelf in *Laconia*, gave name to that region : from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed ; and levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom of his Grand-father in *Theſſalie.*

Ion being General for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia :* In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcomming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi*, had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeek a new ſeat, came unto the *Iones*, deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleged in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed ; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſtern coaſt thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſal or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Aſia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued ; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many ſtrange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which ſome are like to have been true, others perhaps muſt be allegorically underſtood. But the moſt approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greeks* aſcribed to the ſon of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to have performed theſe 12. great labours.

Firſt he ſlew the *Nemæan* Lyon : ſecondly, he ſlew the ſerpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place : the third was the overtaking a very ſwift Hart : the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia :* the fifth was the cleanſing of *Augias* his Oxe-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it : the ſixt was the chaſing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis* the ſeventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete :* the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane fleſh : the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons :* the three laſt were, to fetch *Gerion*'s Beeves from *Gades* ; the golden Apples of the *Heſperides* ; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythological* interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both over-long to be here ſet down, and no leſs perplexed than the labours themſelves. For ſome by *Hercules* underſtand Fortitude, Prudence, and Conſtancy, interpreting the Monſters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sun*, and his travels to be the twelve ſignes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his Works hiſtorically to their own conceits ; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *O Echalia*, and other Towns, being aſſiſted by ſuch as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him ; Alſo that he ſlew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through moſt part of the World, are, or may ſeem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him : for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppreſſion. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his Children, perſecuted by the King *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was Son of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perſeus* ; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightieſt City then in *Greece*. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneſs he had committed upon his own children ; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his Subject and Servant : wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for employing the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is ſo generally agreed by the beſt Writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the ſtock of *Perſeus*, and holden in great jealouſie by *Euryſtheus* becauſe of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſervices, wherein he was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece* ; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threeſcore Children. Theſe Children *Euryſtheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead : but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Euryſteus*. *Idolaus* the brothers ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his travels, was Captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Euryſtheus:* whom when he had ſlain in battel, he died again. It ſeems to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten : he came again into *Greece* to aſſiſt his Couſins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponneſians* underſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlain, they took *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King : for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the ſon of *Hercules*. But to avoid effuſion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus* ; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were Victor, he ſhould peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right : otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was ſlain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation : at which time they returned under *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authority doth ſhew, though ſome have ſaid, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores* whom they planted in that Country, as is before ſhewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* four generations.

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§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the beſt *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, deſcended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Beroſus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to (a) *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus* ; and makes ſeven more of this name to have flouriſhed in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diverſity of opinions, both of the time, and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſe* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blind men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the Verb ὁμηρεῖν : for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* lived. So alſo (b) *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flouriſhed 950. years before the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Vinutius :* which *Mercator* caſteth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years : and about 250. years before the building of *Rome* ; making him to have flouriſhed about the time of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* & *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much antienter. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance he may gheſſe of the difficulty, and ſo pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diverſity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus :* and * *Eratoſtenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* ſailed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90. years before the firſt *Olympiad :* which he ſeeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his ſon *Nicander*. *Philechorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy :* *Ariſtarchus* 140. in the time of the ſeating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Ageſilaus* governed *Lacedæmon* ; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flouriſhing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterpriſe

Funct. Chro fol. 11 col. D.

(a) This Author ſet out with *Beroſus* and others, firſt at *Baſil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp*, is *incertæ fidei.*

Naucler. f. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel.*

* *Seromatum, l.* 5.

(b) *Noc. Attic. l.* 3. *c.* 11. *item. l.* 17. *c.* 21.

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian Aſſyr.* report his opinion *Rerum Phil.* 43.

Roſ. in diſc. temporum.

Phil. in com. in Archilog.

Her. in vita Ho.

terpriſe againſt the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan* War. *Euſebius* ſeems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elſewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that ſome place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Aſſyrius* he citeth ſundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Ariſtæus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Now whether *Homer* or *Heſiodus* were the elder, it is alſo much diſputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Heſiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Hiſtorian, make *Heſiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of theſe learned Fablers was firſt born: but he finds that they lived together ſome certain years, wherein he confirms himſelf by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Heſiod* in *Helicon*.

Var. de imag. l. 1.
Nep. in Chron Caſſ l. 1. annal.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about (*a*) 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. (b) *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acaſtus* the ſon of *Pelias*, King of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelf, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions, but only to ſhew the uncertainty, and diſagreement of Hiſtorians, aſwel in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſpute of time. For, the curioſity of this mans age is no leſs ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſtery. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* feigning himſelf to have been in Hell, and to have ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his book with that word: who anſwered, That he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to do.

(*a*) This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it.
(b) *Euthy. in Cir. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

It ſeemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherſobris* was his Succeſſour, who preceded *Vaphres*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

Euſeb. & Caſſ. in Chron.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Caſſiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And beſides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David*'s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reaſon of thoſe Northern Nations: but there ſprung up ſomewhat nearly together, ſix Kingdoms into greatneſs, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adads* made themſelves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the State of the *Iſraelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flouriſh under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring Nations, who by enterchange of times had ſubjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a moſt abject and grievous ſlavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtims*, *Jebuſites*, *Geſhurites*, *Macathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraign Lord, and paid him tribute.

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CHAP. XVII.
Of DAVID.

§. I.
Of Davids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet only deſigned King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own ſoul: Inſomuch as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſon that *David* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe,

and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe; *Jonathan* could never be perſwaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this ſignal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houſhold ſervant, and his Eſquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil ſpirit, was adviſed to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find eaſe; which came to paſs accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpoſe, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant ſoon waxed weary of his good affection, and ſought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the midſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw a ſpear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him eaſe.

Cenſ. c. 12. & 14.

Cenſorinus remembreth one *Aſclepius* a Phyſician, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Muſick: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kind of harmony, *Seneca*, in his third book of Anger witneſſeth. But the madneſs of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes: and was thereby incurable, howſoever it ſometimes left him, and yielded unto that Muſick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Muſician than to the King.

Saul having failed in ſuch open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000. Souldiers to confront the *Philiſtims* withall. For he durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promiſed him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to preſent him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philiſtims*: hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philiſtims* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s Victories begat new fears and jealouſies in *Saul*, he practiſed with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purpoſes were ſtill fruſtrated. After all this he ſought to murther him in his own houſe, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* ſought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being
1 Sam. 19. purſued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimeleck*, then to *Achis* the *Philiſtim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obſcure himſelf, he was forc'd to counterfeit both ſimplicity and diſtraction. But being ill aſ- 1 *Sam.* 21.
ſured among the *Philiſtims*, he covered himſelf in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying ſuch of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelf in the
deſarts of Ziph, *Maon*, and the Hils of *Engad*- 1 *Sam.* 24.
di, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the *deſart of Ziph*, after his paſſage with
Nabal and *Abigail*. After which he repaired 1 *Sam.* 29.
to *Achis of Geth* the ſecond time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his Maſter *Saul* was known to proſecute him. *Janſen. in Pſal.*

Of *Achis David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judæa*: but he bent his forces another way, and ſtrook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Iſrael*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* ſuppoſing that *David* had drawn bloud of his own Nation, thought himſelf aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Iſrael*, ſummoneth *David* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiſtim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelf to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and aſſurance to recover all again: which he did.

* It ſeemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is ſaid in the 1 of *Sam.* c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

This Army of the *Philiſtims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three ſons were ſlain. The newes, with *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return
from being victorious over *Amaleck*, by a 2 *Sam.* 1.
man of the ſame Nation, who avowed (though falſly) that himſelf at *Saul*'s requeſt had ſlain him. *David*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelf, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to be ſlain at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gave ſtrong evidence withal. Otherwiſe it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himſelf to his
own prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Con*- *In F. de*
feſſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato *quæſt. l. 1.*
crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoſcentis. The priſoners confeſſion muſt not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unleſs ſome other proof inform the conſcience of the Judge. For a man may confeſs thoſe things of himſelf, that the Judge by examination may know to be impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the

title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus*, & *in cap. de pœnis l. qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the Gloſs reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in judicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur, & poſteà maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis. If any man in judgement do confeſs of himſelf, of his own accord, and after doth perſevere in his confeſſion, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtir up ſorrow, and move compaſſion in the heart of *David.*

The victory which the *Philiſtims* had gotten, was ſo great, that ſome Towns of the *Iſraelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the Conqueſt entire. Moſt like it ſeems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſreal*, gave them hope of an eaſie victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould enforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

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§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids *reign, and the war made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

AFter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, ſought to advance *Isboſeth* (or *Jeboſtus*, according to *Joſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*: for *Mephiboſeth* the firſt ſon of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner* and *Isboſeth*, *David* made a defenſive war, till *Abner* paſt *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner*: *Isboſeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combate between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were only left unſlain. The like tryal by a far leſs number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim* made, whom *David* ſlew: a cuſtom very antient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryal in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve choſen of each part, in this war of *David* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whoſe force and valour was ſo equal, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel ſtaid not here, for the Army of *Juda* preſt *Abner* in groſs, and brake him. Three hundred and ſixty men of *Abners* companions were ſlain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perſwaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the ſtroak of his ſpear. For though *Aſahel* 2 Sam. 2. were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have maſtered *Abner* (who, as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelf, had by being overthrown, and flying away, loſt his courage) yet here it fell out Eccleſ. 9. true, *That the race is not to the ſwift.*

That this civil war laſted two years, we Verſe 10. find it written in the ſecond of *Samuel*, the ſecond Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſteth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboſeth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboſeth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew jealouſie between him and *Isboſeth* for 2 Sam. verſe 3 *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboſeth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the ſame doth not certainly appear.

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§. III.

Of the death of Abner *ſlain by* Joab, *and of* Isboſeth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

ABner, reconciled to *David*, was anon 2 Sam. 3. 27 by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which he was grown ſo powerfull, as *David* forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelf; *I am this day weak, and theſe men, the Sons of* Zerviah, *be too hard for me.* 2 Sam. 3. 39. In this ſort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; Verſ. 29. *Let the blood fall on the head of* Joab, *and on all his fathers houſe: and let them be ſubject to ulcers, to the leproſie, to lameneſs, to the ſword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being general of the men of war, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his own kinſman, and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrel, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joyned with himſelf as captain of the hoſt of *Juda*; much leſs could he brook a ſuperiour; and ſuch a one as had ſlain his brother, and been beaten himſelf, in battel. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming that he dyed 2 Sam. 3. verſe 34. not like a fool, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaith he) *dideſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyed unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the *Sun* are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Isboſeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great fear: in ſo much as two of *Isboſeths* own Captains, Sam. 4. *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboſeth*, and preſenting his head to *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have ſlain *Saul*. *Isboſeth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time anointed by general conſent.

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§. IV.

Of the flouriſhing time of Davids *Kingdom, the taking of Jeruſalem, with two overthrows given to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* ſoon after entred, all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became 2 Sam. 5. Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, and after them almoſt 400. years. There are who expound this place, otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by vvreſtling vvith the Angel, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelf, I take it vvith *Joſephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at firſt, in ſcorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400. years againſt all the children of Iſrael, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David.*

When he had now poſſeſt himſelf of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten ſons in *Jeruſalem*, and by his former wives, he had ſix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. years.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeveral times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they 2 Sam. 5. were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim.*

Then *David* aſſembled 30000. choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the houſe of *Abinadab* in *Cibea* to the City of *David*; which buſineſs was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the ſon of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord ſlew for preſuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harm, when it was ſhaken. But after three years it was with great ſolemnity brought into the City with ſacrifices, muſick, dances, and all ſigns of joyfulneſs, in which *David* himſelf gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in ſcorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eys of the maidens his ſervants*, namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himſelf among the baſe multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and ſtreets: not that ſhe diſliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion; but rather the aboundant griefe, which this ſpectacle ſtirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom ſhe was delivered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruines ſhe conceived that the ſon of *Iſhai* had built this his greatneſs: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, made her break out in thoſe deſpiteful tearms, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

1 Chr. c. 3. This done, *David* conſulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or houſe of *God*, but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of vvar, and had ſhed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of a man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The wars which *David* had made vvere juſt, and the bloud therein ſhed vvas of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cauſe it vvas not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy temple, hereby it appears how greatly thoſe Princes deceive themſelves, who think by bloud-ſhed & terror of their wars, to make themſelves in greatneſs like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodneſs, or ſeek the bleſſedneſs promiſed by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it vvas not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Davids* founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promiſe of the everlaſting Throne that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philiſtims and Moabites.

SOon after this *David* overthrew the *Philiſtims*, which made them altogether powerleſs, and unable to make any invaſion upon *Iſrael* in haſt. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philiſthæorum*; 2 Sam. 3. v. 1. which place our *Engliſh Geneva* converts in theſe words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiſtims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better ſence; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the ſtrong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and ſo the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the ſame which was afterward *Dio-Cæſarea*, ſet on the frontier of *Palæſtina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incurſions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invaſions, which being taken by *David* and demoliſhed, there was left no ſuch frontier town of equal ſtrength to the *Philiſtims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* Junius in c. 8. of the 2. of Sam. or *Gath* ſtood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his firſt book, and chap. 13. This expoſition is made plain, and confirmed in the firſt of *Chro.* the 18.

There was no nation bordering the *Jews* that ſo greatly afflicted them as the *Philiſtims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not ſharpen any weapon againſt them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatſoever they needed; ſo as the *Iſraelites* till this time of 1 Sam. 13. *David*, were ſeldom free from paying tribute to the *Philiſtims*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the firſt of which he was indangered by *Iſhbi-benob*, the head of whoſe ſpear weighed 300. ſhekles of braſs which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abiſhai* ſuccoured *David*, and ſlew the *Philiſtim*, vvhereupon the Counſellours and Captains of *David* (leſt the light of *Iſrael* might by his loſs be quenched) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazzard himſelf in any battell. 2 Sam. 21. v. 17. The ſecond and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philiſtims* was at *Gob*, a place neer *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his adverſity he ſought ſuccour, and left his parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no, it is not known.

The *Rabbines* feign that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſs *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwaies enemies to *Iſrael*, and took all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Iſrael*, not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

§. VI.

The war which David *made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: David *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (*he*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to the paſſages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, ſeeing *David* was either to paſs through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both Horſe and Chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions through thoſe uncultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his courſe towards the river *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The King of *Syria*, *Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his own eſtate, and the loſs of his own countrey which adjoyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too ſoon for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This King of *Damaſcus*, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an antient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as alſo thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſs, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damaſcus* under his obedience, left a garriſon therein, as he did in *Edom*: having alſo ſackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Hadadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*, *Tohu* or 2 Sam. 8. *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) ſent his ſon *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſs of *David*: partly, becauſe he had war with *Hadadezer*, & partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs; all which, together with the golden ſhields of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* tranſlated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of gold, but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſs in place of theſe of *Hadadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* ſack'd the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby that thoſe of *Hadadezer* were golden ſhields.

This done, *David* ſent Embaſſadours to 2 Sam. 10. *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over jealous of his eſtate, uſed *Davids* Meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himſelf, which neither his own ſtrength, nor all the ayds purchaſed, could put off or ſuſtain. For notwithſtanding that he had waged three and thirty thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſals of *Hadadezer* twenty thouſand, *Maachath* the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.* 3. 14. *Iſhtob* or *Thob* a country near *Gad* under the rocks of *Arnon.*

and of *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* thirteen thouſand (for which he diſburſed a thouſand talents of ſilver) yet all theſe great Armies, together with the ſtrength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loſs or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* alſo retraited into their Cities, the one holding themſelves within the walls, the other in their deſarts adjoyning, till 2 *Sam.* 10. *Joab* was returned to *Hieruſalem.*

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had diſmiſſed his Army, aſſembled his forces again, and ſent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Meſopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* paſſed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South ſide thereof.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* near the foords of *Euphrates.*

David hearing of this new preparation, aſſembled all the ableſt men of *Iſrael*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no leſs diſtant from *Damaſcus*, towards the North-eaſt, than *Jeruſalem* was 2 *Sam.* 10. towards the South-weſt. Now *David* (ſpeaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the fartheſt-off journey that ever he had) becauſe he was now Lord of *Damaſcus*, which lay in the midway. He alſo poſſeſt himſelf of **Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward ſtrongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two ſafe retraits, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damaſcus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they loſt 40000. horſemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call theſe 40000. Souldiers, footmen, and ſo *Junius* converts it, and ſo is it very probable. For the Army of *Iſrael* conſiſting of footmen, could hardly have ſlaughtered 40000. horſemen; except they quitted their horſe and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000. in the firſt of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that ſerved in them, with the conductors, are included: ſo as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this war againſt *David*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000. footmen, beſides all their horſemen and waggoners, and beſides all thoſe that *Joab* ſlew, when they fled at the firſt encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithſtanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered ſtrength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Iſrael* they impoveriſhed, even to the laſt end of that State.

* See c. 18. *ſect.* 1.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Meſopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: He ſent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and deſtroy their territory, and to beſiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Iſraelites* maſtered and poſſeſt. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, *David* ſet on his own head, and carried away with him the reſt of the riches and ſpoil of the City. And though *David* ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till ſuch time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the laſt aſſault, and entrance thereof, till his maſters arrival. To the people he uſed extream rigour (if we may ſo call it being exerciſed againſt heathen Idolaters,) for ſome of them he tare with harrows, ſome he ſawed aſunder, others he caſt into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and brick.

§. VII.

Of Davids *troubles in his reign, and of his forces.*

BUt as victory begetteth ſecurity, and our preſent worldly felicity a forgetfulneſs of our former miſeries, and many times of God himſelf the giver of all goodneſs; ſo did theſe changes, in the fortune and ſtate of this good King, change alſo the zealous care which formerly he had to pleaſe God in the preciſe obſervation of his Laws and Commandements: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (againſt whom he was wont to ask counſel from the Lord) he began to be adviſed by his own humane affections and vain deſires: For he was not onely ſatisfied to take *Uriah*'s wife from him, and to uſe her by ſtealth; but he imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah*'s ſlaughter, 2 *Sam.* 11. 15. giving order to his truſty ſervant *Joab* to marſhal him in the front or point of thoſe *Iſraelites*, which gave an aſſault upon the ſuburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any poſſibility of prevailing. And that which could no leſs diſpleaſe God than the reſt, he was content that many others of his beſt ſervants and ſouldiers ſhould periſh together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent againſt him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the higheſt of happineſs, and his dayes then to come were filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-down ſorrows began again to ſpring, and thoſe perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harveſt of many cares and diſcontentments. And if it had pleaſed GOD to take the witneſs of *Davids* own mouth againſt him, as *David* himſelf did againſt the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have ſlain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehenſion as the other was of the death he ſuffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour in the perſon of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans ſheep that had none elſe, the bereaver being Lord of many; He then vowed it to the living Lord, that ſuch a one ſhould die the death. And hereof, although it pleaſed God to pardon *David* for his life, which remiſſion the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods juſtice together with his mercy in the tenour 2 *Sam* 12. 9. 10. following; *Now therefore the ſword ſhall never depart from thy houſe, &c. becauſe thou haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlain* Uriah *with the ſword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, *David* loſt the child of adultery which he begot on *Berſheba*. Secondly, his own ſon *Ammon*, being in love with his half ſiſter *Thamar*, by the advice of his couſin-german the ſon of *Shimeah Davids* brother, poſſeſt her by force: which when he had performed, he thruſt her from him in a careleſs and deſpiteful manner. Two years after which foul and inceſtuous act, *Abſalom* cauſed him to be murthered at the feaſt of his ſheep-ſhearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* raviſhment alone; but having it in his heart to uſurp the Kingdom, in which, becauſe he could not in any ſort be aſſured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his deſtruction. So the one brother having raviſhed his own ſiſter, and then deſpiſed her; the other after a long diſſembled malice firſt made his own brother drunken, and then ſlaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the ſafe- 2 *Sam.* 13. guard of *Talmai* King of *Geſſur*, near *Damaſcus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abſalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly becauſe of the great affection of *David* towards his ſon) was brought again, firſt to the 2 *Sam.* 14. Kings favour, and then to his preſence; he began inſtantly to practiſe againſt *David* his father, ſeeking by the pretence of common juſtice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himſelf a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatned by the Lord as a puniſhment of *Davids* ſin.

The company which *Abſalom* gathered at 2 *Sam.* 15. the firſt were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Jeruſalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiouſly, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himſelf King, and was by the people (whoſe hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted ſo readily, that *David* doubting to be ſet upon on the ſudden, durſt not truſt himſelf in his own City of *Jeruſalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of ſurpriſe: but incamped in the fields and deſarts with ſome 600. of his guard, and few elſe. The Prieſts he left in *Jeruſalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he deſired to be advertiſed of thoſe things that chanced; to whom he directed *Huſhai* his truſty friend, and ſervant, praying him to make himſelf in all his outward actions and counſels of *Abſaloms* party and confederacy, 2 *Sam.* 15. thereby the better to diſcover unto him the purpoſes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counſellour, whoſe practices he greatly doubted. And now when treaſon was in faſhion, *Ziba* alſo ſought to betray his maſter *Mephiboſeth* the ſon of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the houſe of *Saul* (the fire of whoſe hatred *Davids* proſperity had ſmothered, but his adverſity illightned) 2 *Sam.* 16. holding himſelf upon the advantage of a mountain ſide, caſt ſtones at *David*, and moſt deſpightfully curſed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abiſhai* to purſue him for the preſent, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his ſon *Salomon*. *Abſalom* being now poſſeſt of *Jeruſalem*, was adviſed by *Achitophel* to uſe his fathers concubines in ſome ſuch publick place, as all *Iſrael* might aſſure themſelves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perſwaded, they would then reſolvedly adhere to *Abſalom* 2 *Sam.* 17. and his cauſe, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This ſalvage and impious (though crafty counſel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own reſpect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his deſtruction, who moſt of all other inflamed *Abſalom* againſt his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raiſe up evill a-* 2 *Sam* c. 12. v. 11. *gainſt thee out of thine own houſe, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he ſhall lye with thy wives in the ſight of the Sun: for thou diddeſt it ſecretly, but I will do this thing before all Iſrael, and before the Sun.* He alſo gave advice to *Abſalom*,

Abſalom, that himſelf with an Army of 12000. men might be employed at the in- 2 Sam 17. v. 14. ſtant for the ſurprizing of *David*; which had willingly been imbraced by *Abſalom*, had not *Huſhai Davids* faithful ſervant given counter-advice, and ſwayed it: perſwading *Abſalom* that it was fitter and more ſafe for him with all the ſtrength of *Iſrael* to purſue his father, than by ſuch a troop, which *Davids* valour and thoſe of his attendants might either indanger or reſiſt. This delay in *Abſalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loſs of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the oc- 2 Sam 17. 23. caſion fore-ſhewed) the ſucceſs which followed, diſpoſed of his own eſtate, and then forſook both the party and the care of *Abſalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertiſed of this enterprize againſt him, marched away all night, and paſt *Jordan*, poſſeſſing himſelf of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the ſame wherein *Iſboſeth* himſelf in the war againſt *David* after *Sauls* death ſeated himſelf. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the ſon of *Nahaſh* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly diſputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the moſt general and probable opinion makes him a ſecond brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers ſake eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, after *Hanums* overthrow: in thankfulneſs whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came alſo to *Davids* aſſiſtance *Machir* of *Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboſeth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Abſalom* prepared to fight; *Abſalom* made *Amaſa* Commander of the Army of *Iſrael*, the ſame place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himſelf, like unto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perſwaded by his company, ſtayed in *Mahanaim*, and diſpoſed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abiſhai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iſſued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they ſhould ſpare the life of *Abſalom*. But *Joab*, beſides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Abſalom* had lately diſpoſed of his government to *Amaſa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him 2 Sam. 18. 14. that *Abſalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perſwade the meſſenger to return and kill him, he himſelf with his own ſervants diſpatcht him. It appeared alſo by the ſequel that *Joab* affected 2 Sam. 18. *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the diſpoſition of *Abſalom*, he imbraced the preſent advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and ſorrowed, not onely as a man that had loſt a ſon, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and ſeen every delight of life interred. For he ſo hid himſelf from his people, as thoſe which hoped for honour and reward after ſo great a victory, covered themſelves alſo in the City, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* preſenting himſelf before *David*, perſwaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelf to the Army. For firſt, he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithful ſervants, who had that day preſerved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge ſo great a love and conſtancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſolvedly expoſe themſelves to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good ſucceſs. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſie rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his Princes, and others his faithful ſervants, but would more have joyed if they had all periſhed, and *Abſalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulneſs and approved valour gotten.

Laſtly, he uſed this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and ſhewed himſelf publickly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatning, *And that will be worſe unto thee* 2 Sam. 19. *than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto*. By theſe over-bold and arrogant ſpeeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raiſed *David* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he aſſured of his love and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa*, who commanded the Army of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of Lievtenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, now under his commandment.

This

This done, the King marched towards 2 Sam. 19. 23. *Jordan* homeward, vvhere in his paſſage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remiſſion vvas but external, as appeared afterward. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had falſly accuſed and betrayed.

He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, 2 Sam. 19. 38. his late liberal hoſt, to follow him to *Jeruſalem*, that he might reward his ſervice done him; who excuſing himſelf by his age, appointed his ſon *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Jordan*, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to have moſt intereſt in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*. But *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*; finding ſome diſcontent among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amaſa*, to give him contentment, and to witneſs his truſt, as alſo becauſe he conceived that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe revolts of *Iſrael* more than *Joab* had. He received commandement from *David* to aſſemble the Army within three dayes, which he foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Joabs* brother, was ſent after him, with *Davids* guard and beſt Souldiers, whom alſo *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amaſa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſs jealous of *Amaſa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, he purſued *Sheba*; and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, aſſaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the perſwaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jeru-* 2 Sam. 20. 12. *ſalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Hoaſt of *Iſrael*.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* ſons or kinſmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reaſon of *Saul* and his houſe, to wit, for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from God himſelf, as alſo, if we may judge humanely, to rid himſelf of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, aſwell in the preſent as in the future, be greatly moleſted and indangered; onely he ſpared *Miphiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two ſons of* Riſpah, *whom* 2 Sam. 21. *ſhe bare unto* Saul, *and the five ſons of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom ſhe bare to* Adriel, *and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: *Junius* calls this *Michol* the ſiſter of her that was *Davids* wife, ſhe whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her huſband; the ſame which is named *Merab* in the firſt of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was firſt promiſed to *David* when he ſlew *Goliah* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and becauſe it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane reſpect in the delivery of her children, it is onely known to God.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better tranſlation were out of the Hebrew word here uſed, having an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kindred, as in the 19. verſe of the ſame one and twentieth chapter it is ſaid of *Goliah*, *whoſe ſpear was weighty as a Weavers beam*, when as by the ſame eclipſis it muſt be underſtood by the brother of *Goliah*; *Goliah* himſelf being formerly ſlain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God ſecured the houſe of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: ſo did he ſtrengthen both the King and Nation againſt forreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Iſrael* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thouſands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over theſe vvere ſix Collonels, vvhoſe valour vvas ſo extraordinary, that it might be vvell held as miraculous. Theſe Collonels had ſome difference of place and honour, vvhich ſeemeth to have been given upon meer conſideration of their vertue. For *Abiſhai* the brother of *Joab*, vvho in the vvar againſt the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lievtenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the firſt rank, but was fain to reſt contented with being principal of the three Collonels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his nearneſs of blood unto the King, the flouriſhing eſtate of his own houſe, and his vvell approved ſervices.

All theſe Collonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may ſeem to have been ſuch as were continually retained, or at the leaſt kept in readineſs for any occaſion, conſidering that the numbers which were muſtered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thouſand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were moſt of them ſuch as had followed the King in *Saul*'s time, and been hardned with his adverſities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their ſeveral Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but theſe Captains and Collonels (who with *Joab*, that was General 2 Sam. 23. 39. of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the ſpecial men of War, and reckoned as *David*'s Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have conſumed many of theſe excellent men of War, ſo may it probably be gheſſed to have waſted the moſt of thoſe whoſe deaths we find no where mentioned. For the ſons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abiſhai* to ſtand by his ſide in his laſt extremity.

By the actions forepaſſed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33. years or thereabouts, when the poſterity of *Saul* was rooted out, ſo that he enjoyed about ſeven years of entire quiet and ſecurity, wherein it pleaſed God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the ſucceſſion of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time alſo *David* having eſtabliſhed all things in *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the borders thereof, he again diſpleaſed God by numbring the people, as in oſtentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine moneths and twenty dayes travel, returned with the account and regiſter of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thouſand, beſides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, whereof 2 Sam. 24. 1 Chro. 21. in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thouſand, and in *Iſrael* eight hundred thouſand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelf to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeven years Famine; three moneths War, wherein he ſhould be unproſperous in all attempts, and be chaſed by his enemies; or a general peſtilence to laſt three dayes: *David* made choice to bow himſelf under the hand of God only, and left himſelf ſubject to that cruel diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70. thouſand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reaſon, *For his mercies are great.* 2 Sam. 24.

§. VIII.

Of the laſt acts of David; Adonijahs *faction*; *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAſtly, when he grew weak and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet adviſed to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak eſtate of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldeſt ſon (*Ammon* and *Abſalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldeſt now living of *David*'s ſons, and a man of goodly perſonage, *Salomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by Saint *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others ſuppoſe) he preſumed to carry the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Berſabe* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promiſe, that *Salomon*, her ſon ſhould reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the ſame thing unto the King, and ſeconding her report of *Adonijah* his preſumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Prieſt, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commiſſion to anoint *Salomon*, and to ſet him on the Mule whereon himſelf uſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, *Salomon* attended, and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherethites*, and *Pelethites*, ſhewed himſelf to the people. Theſe tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the preſent *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* 1 Reg. 3. had remaining two eſpecial cares, whereof he was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be diſturbed by ſome Rebellion againſt *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he ſought by all means to advance, and make the buſineſs publick. To bring theſe intentions to good effect, he ſummoned a Parliament,

Parliament, conſiſting of all the Princes of *Iſrael*, the Princes of the ſeveral Tribes, all 1 Chro. 28. 1. the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repair unto *Jeruſalem*.

In this Aſſembly the King ſtood up, and ſignified his purpoſe of building the Temple, ſhewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occaſion to lay open his own title to the Crown, ſhewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelf was pleaſed to make choice of him among all his Fathers ſons. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelf had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Succeſſour; whereupon he earneſtly charged both the people and his ſon to conform themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords houſe, which *Salomon* was choſen to build. 1 Chro. 29. 9. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himſelf had appointed; and ſo laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings propoſition was ſo well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himſelf had given three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand of ſilver, they added unto it ſeven thouſand of gold, and ten thouſand of ſilver, beſides braſs, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of ſo religious a Work. This buſineſs being ſo well diſpatched, a ſolemn Feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the ſons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus eſtabliſhed King, his Father *David* finding himſelf even in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſon to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of mind, which himſelf had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered 1 King. 2. 3. theſe mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and keep his ſtatutes, and his commandements, and his judgments, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes, *&c.* to the performance of which GOD faſtned the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his iſſues. For this 1 King. 1. 10. done (ſaith GOD himſelf) *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy Poſterity to ſit upon the Throne of* Iſrael.

Secondly, he adviſed him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, ſaving that he faſtened himſelf to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drink of the ſame cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelf had unjuſtly ſtrooken others withal, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amaſa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence only of his brothers ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meer jealouſie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* aſſured himſelf that *Abner* and *Amaſa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benhajah* the ſon of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cauſe to *Salomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlew the Captains of the 1 King. 2. Hoaſt of *Iſrael*, and ſhed bloud of battel in peace; and to this apparent and juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſon *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knoweſt alſo what* Joab *the ſon of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* 1 King. 2. Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the Kings deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *Davids* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to diſgrace *Salomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the Scriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of War do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man otherwiſe deſerving great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Salomon* to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf 1 King. 2. lived, yet being duſt and in the grave, he ſlew him by the hand of *Salomon* his ſon. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the King of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Reſin* of *Damaſcus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witneſs, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Hoaſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. years, and in *Jeruſalem* three and thirty, he died.

1 King. 11

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces, he ſo far exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a man according to his own heart. The Pſalms which he wrote, witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus:* David Simonides *noſter*, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, & Serenus, *Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in dechachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem*; David (ſaith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *he playeth Chriſt on his Harp, and on a ten-ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomly and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the Pſalms, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed by *Ezekias:* but whether all the Pſalms were written by *David*, it is diverſly diſputed. For *Athanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors anſwering the titles of the ſeveral Pſalms, as *Moſes*, *Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named; and that only 73. Pſalms were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David.* For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, eleven other on the ſons of *Korath*; and eleven are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine Authors of theſe Pſalms which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moſes*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*'s ſingers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three ſons of *Chore*. But S. *Chryſoſtome* makes *David* the ſole Author of all the Pſalms, and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*, reaſoning in this manner: Although (ſaith he) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe Pſalms only to *David*, which are over-written *ipſius David*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi David*, to others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipſius refutatur, ubi ait quòd ipſe* David *in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Pſalmus* 109. *ſic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Goſpel refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *David* himſelf in the ſpirit called Chriſt his Lord; becauſe the 109. Pſalm begins thus: *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Laſtly, his Teſtimonies are uſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

Athan. in Synop. Hier Epiſt. 134 *Lyran. in exp.* 1. *Pſal.*

Vide Sixt. Senen. Lib. ſanct. l. 1. *fol.* 10. & 11. *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l.* 17. *c.* 14.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. *verſ.* 19. For the ſeveral parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were, as it ſeems, written by theſe three holy men.

Conſtantine Manaſſes hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the ſiege ſought for ſuccour from *David*, and that he ſtayed Neuter in that War. But it ſeemeth that *Manaſſes* did miſcaſt the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampſon* Judges of *Iſrael*, about the Worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

Cap. 7. §. 7. In his Annals tranſlated out of Greek into Latine by *Johannes Leunclaius.*

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§. IX.

Of the treaſures of David *and* Salomon.

HIs treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of ſilver, and of braſs and iron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King in the World poſſeſt beſides himſelf, and his ſon, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of ſilver; allowing two thouſand weight of ſilver, or ſix thouſand pound ſterling to every cart-load, beſides threeſcore and ſeventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our mony twenty three millions and a thouſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeveral tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philiſtims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Verſ. 14.

Therefore it were not amiſs to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many years, might amaſs up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimony be it ſelf a great revenue, yet needs there muſt have been ſome other great means. It ſeems that he made the uttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his 9. book and laſt chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence ſent men to dig for gold in the Iland *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Euſebius* (erring perhaps in this circumſtance) ſaith that this Iland was in the red Sea: from whence, ſaith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*, *Pineda l.* 4. *de Rebus Salomonis, c.* 1. thinks that *David* did this way alſo enrich himſelf, and citeth this teſtimony of *Eupolemus:* and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtleſs he gained by conqueſt from the *Canaanites* and *Philiſtims*, beſides thoſe fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Baſan*, and the beſt of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Iſraelites*. Theſe demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themſelves, husbanded thoſe grounds for his greateſt advantage. For it is written 1 *Chro.* 17. that *Jahonathan* was over his treaſures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simei* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the ſtore of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joaſh* over the ſtore of the oyle: alſo that he had herdſ-men that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Aſſes. And this cuſtom of enriching themſelves by husbandry and cattel, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he ſpake to *Joſeph* to appoint ſome of his brethren, or of their ſervants, to be rulers over his cattel. We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattel, and plough-men, and dreſſers of Vines: likewiſe we read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did ſpecially conſiſt in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needleſs to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that thoſe captives which were not imployed in husbandry, were many of them uſed by him in all ſorts of gainful profeſſions, as the ancient Romans in like manner uſed their ſlaves.

Gen. 47.
2 *Chro.* 26.

To theſe profits (beſides the tributes and impoſitions, which doubtleſs were great, and beſides the innumerable preſents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily ſent him, by *Tohu* and others) we may add the great ſpoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: alſo the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation, or head money*, every man rich or poor paying half a ſicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and ſo in all it amounted to a wondrous ſum in that Kingdom: wherein one thouſand thouſand five hundred and ſeventy thouſand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this law of capitation be thought by ſome very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheleſs they confeſs is againſt the Hebrew expoſitions) yet *David* upon this occaſion is not unlikely to have put it in practiſe. And by theſe means might hee be able to leave thoſe huge treaſures to *Salomon*. Yet it may ſeem that of this great maſs of gold and ſilver left by *David*, the leaſt part was his own in private; and ſo will it appear the leſs wonderfull that he left ſo much. Of his own liberality we find, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver: a great ſum, but holding a very ſmall proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to conſider, that the treaſures of the Sanctuary it ſelf were exceeding great, as needs they muſt have been having received continual encreaſe, without any loſs or diminution ever ſince the time of *Moſes* and *Joſhuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (beſides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the dayly expences, & maintained the Prieſts & Levites)

1 *Chro.* 21.

were partly raiſed out of the head mony before mentioned; partly out of the ſpoils Numb. 31. 27. gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet ſo, that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the reſt, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every ſingle ſhare.

Out of this purchaſe was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thouſand part of the whole booty. So in the ſpoil of *Midian*, thirty two thouſand Women being taken, the Army had ſixteen Num. 31. 40. thouſand of them for ſlaves, and the Congregation had other ſixteen thouſand; but out of the ſixteen thouſand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the leſſer that the Army was which had expoſed it ſelf to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it conſiſted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domeſtical affairs, did receive by ſo much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certain, yea many times it was increaſed, either by ſome ſpecial commandement, as when all the gold, and ſilver, and other mettals found in *Jerico*, were conſecrated unto God; or by thank- Joſ 6. 19. fulneſs of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained againſt the *Midianites* without the loſs of one man, all Jewels, Num. 31. 50. Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary preſents.

Now howſoever the *Iſraelites* were many times oppreſſed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not theſe treaſures robbed or ſpoiled; for the enemies never gat poſſeſſion of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwiſe be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary muſt have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the mony and other goods found by the *Iſraelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purcha- 1 Chron. c. 26. v. 27. & 18. ſed by ſo many Victories, as they obtained againſt the bordering Nations. For that this treaſury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; ſeeing that before the time of *David* and his Lievtenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had uſed to dedicate of the ſpoils obtained in War, to maintain the houſe of the Lord: the like whereof may be well preſumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conqueſt of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victories had purchaſed, thoſe of *Joſhua* perhaps excepted: but theſe vaſt ſummes of an hundred thouſand Talents of ſilver, may ſeem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treaſures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own induſtry.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it A Talent of gold is 770. French crowns. is more manifeſt how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, beſides the Cu- 1 King. 10. 14. ſtomes of Spices. He had alſo ſix rich Returns from the Eaſt *India*, which greatly increaſed his ſtore. For his ſhips performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Beſides this, all *Judæa* and *Iſrael* were now maſtered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damaſcena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and 1 King 9. v. 10. & 10. v. 19. *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewiſe did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizites*, *Hivites*, *Jebuſites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguiſhed though ſubjected.

Into this flouriſhing eſtate was the King- 1 Chro. 29. 28. dom of *Iſrael* reduced by *David*, who after 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Joſephus* that there was hid in *David*'s Tomb a marvellous quantity of treaſures, inſomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who firſt of the *Chaſmanæi*, or race of *Macchabees*, called Joſeph. Ant lib. himſelf King) one thouſand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thouſand Talents, to rid himſelf of *Antiochus* then beſieging *Jeruſalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had alſo an exceeding maſs of gold and ſilver therein. And it was an antient cuſtome to bury treaſure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being diſcovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themſelves by nothing ſo much in their firſt Conqueſt. That *Salomon* did bury ſo much treaſure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithſtanding all the riches which he got otherwiſe, or which were left unto him: were it notwithal conſidered that his want

of

of mony grew from ſuch magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Peregrinat. Hieroſol D. N. Ch Radz. Epiſt. 2. Monuments of theſe Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within theſe thirty years, and are like to remain ſtill, are able to make report credible of the coſt beſtowed upon them.

§. X.

Of the Philiſtims, whom David *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philiſtims*, whoſe pride *David* was the firſt that abſolutely maſtered, in this concluſion of *David*'s time ſomewhat here may be ſpoken.

Iſid. l. 9. 19 Joſ. l. 1. Ant. 17. They deſcended of *Caſloim*, who, according to *Iſidor* and *Joſephus*, was one of the ſons of *Miſraim*, and was ſurnamed *Philiſtim*, as *Eſau* was ſurnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Iſrael*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Aſdod*, *Gaza* or 1 Sam. 6. *Aczaph*, *Aſcalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It ſeemeth that *Caſloim* was the firſt founder of this Nation, becauſe of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The firſt King of theſe *Philiſtims*, which Gen. 20. the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s Wife.

The ſecond *Abimelech* lived at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimilech* then reſiding at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech* Gen. 26. fancied *Iſaac* his Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the ſecond, the *Philiſtims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Ariſtocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philiſtims*, Jud. 16 1 Sam. 18. 29. howſoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *David* fled, and who again 1 Sam. 21. 11. gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

1 King. 2. After him we read of another *Achis* vvho lived vvith *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive ſervant, vvhat time the ſeeking of his ſervant vvas the loſs of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Palæſtin* or *Philiſtim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The reſt of the Wars of the *Philiſtims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I ſhall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is ſaid to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the laſt King of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt Prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of ſoveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, ſought counſel from the Oracle, for their ſucceſs in the Wars againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then undoubtedly they ſhould prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory againſt the Nation, and yet preſerve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwer, withdrew himſelf from his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſouldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt he encountred, was himſelf forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the ſame time began *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſon of *Euriſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the ſecond of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He reſtored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refuſed to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual ſlavery; whereof it came, that all the *Meſſenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like ſort from the *Sclavi* came the Word *Slave*. For when that Nation iſſuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Ruſſia*, had ſeized upon the Country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conqueſt, their victory pleaſed them ſo highly, that thereupon they called themſelves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardineſs, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made ſervants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, uſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſence it is now current through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later about the 23. year of *David*, and ſay that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the ſame whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the 13. year of *Salomon*.

Euſeb. in Chro.

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſon of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Iſle of *Samos* to his Territory, was ſlain by the *Carians*, whoſe Country he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Epheſus* on the ſeacoaſt of *Aſia* the leſs) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſterity governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have * ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. years.

The Eaſt gate of *Epheſus* toward *Magneſia* upon the river *Mæander*.

Ariſt l 5. pol. c. 6.

* See Ch. in this 17. Ch 9 1. *poſt medium.*

The City of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choice marble poliſht, the work being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothy* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo entituled. The other City poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sybilla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*, who lived 740. years before Chriſt was born. S. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a Roman Proconſul ſhewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verſes of this Propheteſs, which began (as S. *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Salvator*; *Jeſus Chriſt Son of God, the Saviour.*

Plin. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Ægypt*, the ſame that was father in law to *Salomon* whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſs founded, the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous ſcholar of *Iſocrates*.

Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo l. 5.

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the ſon of *Badezor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 45. years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the State changed into a Magiſtracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the City and Iſland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Joſephus*, who ſaith in his twelfth year *Salomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if he knew not how at all to to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt, that *Hiram* ſent Meſſengers, and Cedars unto *David*, ſoon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the beginning of *David*'s reign over *Iſrael*, when as yet he had reigeed onely ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Juda*. Wherefore it muſt neees be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unleſs more credit ſhould be given to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Joſephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the ſame *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifeſt.

Euſeb. in Chro. Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.

Ant. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.

2 *Sam.* 5.

CHAP

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CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Salomon: *of birth-right, and the cauſe of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomons *wiſdom.*

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Iſrael*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: he was alſo called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadors towards him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

2 *Sam.* 10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For ſoon after *David*'s death, he cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to be ſlain by *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maid *Abiſhag* (which lay in *David*'s boſome in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatſoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and ſought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſolom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it ſeems was the depth of *Isboſheths* quarrel againſt *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtom may ſeem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Maſters houſe, and thy Maſters wives.* And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the nakedneſs of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was alwaies preſent with *David* in his later daies, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occaſions; as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *David's* laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

2 *Sam.* 16. 21.

1 *Sam.* 2. 3

1 *Sam.* 20. 30.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the cuſtoms of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, & in all elſe what they pleaſed. Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to uſe this paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger ſon: namely, of *Jacobs* diſheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joſeph*: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Berſabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirm, or that the refuſal of the people had authority to fruſtrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the ſtories of the *Jews*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Galgal*: that is, they acknowledged and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chooſing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make him King whom the Lord ſhall chuſe.*

1 *Kings* 2. 15.

Deut. 21. 15. *Filium exoſæ agnoſcito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipſius eſt jus primogenitorum.*

1 *Reg.* 1. 17 & 20. 29. & 34.

1 *King.* 1. 1. *v.* 20. & 27.

1 *Sam.* 11. 14.

Deut. 17. 30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the ſame time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelf alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him: he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* againſt him:

but

1 Kings 2. but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and becauſe he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thouſand ſacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands: *Salomon chooſeth Wiſdom, which pleaſed God. And God ſaid unto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelf, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which we may inform our ſelves, what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in reſpect of our ſelves, cannot but proceed of ſelf-love, which is the root of all impiety: the deſire of private riches is an affection of covetouſneſs, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the ſword out of Gods hand, and to diſtruſt his juſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but becauſe *Salomon* deſired Wiſdom onely, vvhich taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleaſed God to give him vvithall that vvhich he deſired not. *And I have alſo given thee* (ſaith God) *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wiſdom our Commentators ſtretch to almoſt all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture teſtifieth; though no doubt 1 Kings 4. 33. the chief excellency of *Salomons* wiſdom, vvas in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: vvhence, as it vvere for an example 1 King 3. 9 of his vviſdom, the Scripture telleth how ſoon he judged the controverſie between the two harlots.

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§. II.

Of Salomons *building and glory.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For 1 Chro. 22. 6. like as it is written of *David*, that *He called* Salomon *his ſon, and charged him to build a houſe for the Lord of Iſrael:* ſo doth *Toſtatus* Toſt. 9. 26. in 1 Chro. give the force of a divine precept to theſe words, *Behold, a ſon is born unto thee, &c. He ſhall build an houſe for my Name.*

He began the work of the Temple in the 1 Kings 6. beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time alſo he prepared his fleet at *Eſiongabar* to trade for gold in the Eaſt *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to ſupply the charge of ſo great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were paſſing to and fro, it is manifeſt. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this moſt glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himſelf) many learned men have 1 Chro. 2[illegible] 29. written; as *Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, & others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and ſquaring of the Cedars which ſerved that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thouſand Carpenters, 10. thouſand every month by courſe: he alſo uſed 80. thouſand Maſons in the Mountain, and 70. thouſand labourers that bare burdens, which 1 King 5. it is conceived, he ſelected out of the Proſelites, beſides three thouſand three hundred maſters of his work; ſo as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thouſand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the *Iſraelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* cauſed his ſervants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the ſea, and thence ſent them in raffs to *Joppe*, or the next port 1 King. 5. 9 to *Jeruſalem*. For in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſecond Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thouſand Carpenters, and the over-ſeers, were ſtrangers, and as it ſeemeth the vaſſals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of this Timber and 1 Kings 5. 11. Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thouſand meaſures of Wheat, & twenty meaſures of pure Oyl yearly. *Euſebius* out of *Eupalemus* in the ninth book of his preparation, the laſt Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the ſame as *Haram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre*, in theſe words:

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno ſalutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepiſſe, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te ſcriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

KIng Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, ſendeth greeting. You may underſtand that I have received of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded alſo that I ſhould write to you: I write therefore to you, and beſeech you, that you would be pleaſed to ſend me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron made this anſwer.*

SUron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex,* Salomoni *Regi ſalutem. Lectis literis, gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam ſcribis fabros, miniſtroſq; ad condendum Templum eſſe tibi mittendos, miſi ad te millia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæâ, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut neceſſariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

SUron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath inſtalled you in your fathers kingdom. And becauſe you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be ſent to build Gods Temple, I have ſent you fourſcore thouſand men, and a Maſter-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewiſh woman, a man* Joſ. ant. l. 8. c. 2. *admirable in building. You will be careful that all neceſſaries be provided for them; and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.*

The Copies of theſe Letters were extant in *Joſephus* time, as himſelf affirmeth, and to be ſeen (ſaith he) *Tàm in noſtris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them ſomewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourſe between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by meſſage or by writing, it is ſomewhat o- 1 King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9. therwiſe delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Joſephus* ſet it down, but ſo, that in ſubſtance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is ſaid to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was anſwered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas ſome Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Euſebius*, I do not find any ſuch addition of *magnus* in *Euſebius*, in the laſt chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Joſephus* in the eighth book and ſecond chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities: it being a vain title uſed by ſome of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings, and uſed likewiſe by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, inſomuch as in later times it grew common, and was uſurped by mean perſons in reſpect of the great *Hermes* the firſt, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightineſs.

After the finiſhing and dedication of the Temple and houſe of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jeruſalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joſhua's* time: ſo did he *Gaza* of the *Philiſtims*: he Joſ. ant. l. 8. c. 2. built *Berothon, Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jeruſalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it ſeemeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the ſword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that becauſe *Salomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to viſit thoſe parts again before they were ſent for; and in his ſon *Rehoboams* time *Sheſhack* this mans ſucceſſor did ſack *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

Salomon alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſe*, on this ſide *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: alſo *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the deſart of *Juda*, or (as *Joſephus* Joſ. l. 8. ant. c. 2. thinks) *Palmira* in the deſart of *Syria*; which *Palmyra*, becauſe it ſtood on the utmoſt border of *Salomons* dominion to the Northeaſt of *Libanus*, and was of *Davids* conqueſt when he wan *Damaſcus*, it may ſeem that *Salomon* therefore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt Art that that age had. *Joſephus* calls this place *Tha-* Joſ. l. 8. ant. c. 2. *damora*, by which name (ſaith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In reſpect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raiſed tribute through all his Dominions, beſides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* ſervants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but becauſe they ſtood in an unfruitful and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

Theſe towns, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione regis Gentilis erat.Not that it was poſſeſt by the Gentiles* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) *but becauſe it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* Howſoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21 year fortified thoſe places which *Hiram* refuſed. Further, he made a journey into *Syria Zobah*, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt and laſt war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. He then viſited the border of all his Dominions, paſſing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and ſo to the Deſarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he viſited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth* the uttermoſt place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red ſea: which Cities I have deſcribed in the Story of *Moſes*.

§. III.

Of Salomons *ſending to Ophir, and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about Affrick.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ſhips for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furniſhed him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the moſt expert ſeamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet paſs to the *Eaſt-India*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Iſlands of the *Molucca's*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſs the *Spaniards*, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in thoſe Iſlands of the Eaſt at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leſs labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by theſe Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns, came clear. And thus muſt thoſe two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix talents of gold; that ſum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearly, and which came to him, beſides thoſe profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the *Eaſt-Indies*; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedy return to *Jeruſalem* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharſis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the firſt book.

C.8. ſect.9. 10.13.
Lib 4. de rebus Salomonis c.6. & 15.

Only it remaineth that I ſhould ſpeak ſomewhat of *Pineda* his ſtrange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Bætica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Harteſſus*, which is the Southweſt corner of that Province, to be the *Tharſis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, but for love of his own Countrey, and becauſe of ſome affinity of ſound between *Tharſis* and *Harteſſus*. For whereas it may ſeem ſtrange that it ſhould be three years ere they that took ſhip in the Red ſea, ſhould return from the *Eaſt-Indies* to *Jeruſalem*, this hath been in part anſwered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of ſundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jeruſalem* and the Red ſea, and perhaps alſo elſewhere: ſo that we have no need to make *Salomons* men to go many thouſand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that ſo they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Iſraelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran ſea, and ſo (beſides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they ſhould have eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage between *Jeruſalem* and the Red ſea, through dry, deſart, and the thieviſh Countreys: and within 30. miles of *Jeruſalem* at *Joppe*, or ſome other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold (ſaith *Pineda*) becauſe the huge Iſland of *Atlantis*, in largeneſs greater than all *Africk* and *Aſia*, being ſwallowed up in the *Atlantick* Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ſhips from paſſing through the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the ſtraits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpaſſable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterran ſea; or that this indraught where the ſea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcoureth his channel, ſhould be filled

with mud, and not alſo the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is ſuppoſed to have ſtood; or that *Salomons* ſhips being in the Red ſea, ſhould neglect the golden Mines in the *Eaſt Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red ſea, than any in *Spain*) to ſeek gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compaſſing *Africa*; it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himſelf that hath alſo the rich *Peru* in the Weſt, fortifieth in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and inhabites ſome part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in thoſe parts no leſs quantity of gold (the ſmall territory which he there poſſeſſeth conſidered) than in *Peru*.

The ſame *Pineda* hath another ſtrange paſſage round about all *Africa*, which elſewhere he dreams of: ſuppoſing whereas *Jonas* ſailing to *Tharſis* the City of *Cilicia*, was caſt out in the Mediterran ſea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes ſwimming above twelve thouſand Engliſh miles along the Mediterran ſeas, and ſo through the ſtraights of *Gades*, and along all the huge ſeas round about *Africa*, caſt up *Jonas* upon the ſhore of the Red ſea, that ſo he might have perhaps ſome ſix miles the ſhorter (though much the worſe) way to *Ninive*. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red ſea (as if we ſhould call it *mare algoſum, the ſea full of weeds*) for the Red ſea. But in *Jonas c.* 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper ſignification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place againſt his own rule (which elſewhere he giveth us) ſuppoſeth ſtrange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finiſhed in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preſervation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore ſeeing there is no neceſſity of this miracle, we ſend it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non ſunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non ſunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceſſity, nor delivered without cauſe, nor feigned at pleaſure.* Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwiſe very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our ſtory of *Salomon*.

De rebus Sal. l 4. 10. 11.
As appears he took a ſcip at Japho or Joppe.c.1.v. 2.
Jug. 8.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Salomon* (as ſeems, from *Arabia Fœlix*, and not, as ſome think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich preſents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his reſolving of her difficult queſtions; thoſe are ſet down at large in the Text. But herein *Joſephus* is greatly miſtaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba Nicaules*, the ſucceſſor (ſaith he out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which ſucceeded *Meneus* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elſewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* ſlew *Joſias* King of *Juda*.

Joſ. ant. 8. 1, 2.
1 King, c. 23.
2 Chron. c. 25.
Jer. c.46. v. 2.

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garriſons fourteen thouſand Chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen; that he ſpent in Court every day thirty meaſures of fine flower, threeſcore meaſures of wheat, one hundred ſheep, beſides ſtags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; four thouſand ſtalls of horſes he had for his Chariots and other uſes, and for the twelve thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtalls in the firſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thouſand ſtalls or teems, and in every teem ten horſes, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* underſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Joſephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the ſons of *Hemon*. He ſpake three thouſand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thouſand and five, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil cauſes, and not Eccleſiaſtical, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to be inſerted into Gods Book.

1 King. 4. 31.

§. IV.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, ſo had he no ſcarcity of women. For beſides his ſeven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Aſteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemoſh* of *Moab*.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own ſervant, and one of the maſters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſon *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum* P. Mart. in reg. *in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipſe non fecit:* God puniſhing ſinners, uſeth the ſins of others, which he himſelf wrought not.

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and muſt therefore be found only by conjecture. The moſt likely way to gheſs at the truth in this caſe is, by conſidering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the years which they conſumed, and conſequently learn the true, or moſt likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth year he took *Jeruſalem*, and warred with the *Philiſtims*, who alſo troubled him in the year following. 2 King. 7. v. 1. The bringing home of the Ark ſeems to have been in the tenth year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the year enſuing, at which time he had ſufficient leiſure, living in reſt. After this he had wars with the *Philiſtims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which muſt needs have held him five years, conſidering the *Aramites* of *Damaſco* raiſed war againſt him, after ſuch time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; 2 Sam. c. 11. v. 1. and that in every of theſe wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that theſe ſervices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe dayes and places there were no wintering camps in uſe, but at convenient ſeaſons of the year Kings went forth to war, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the ſpoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private proviſion which every ſouldier made for himſelf. The 1 Sam. c. 17. v. 17. & 18. 17. year of *David*, in which he took *Mephiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have paſſed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but ſomewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, return'ed immediately to *Jeruſalem*) the cauſes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* perſonal expedition againſt the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegeance, appears manifeſtly to have been the next years work, wherein he did cut off all means of ſuccour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it muſt have been the 20. year of *Davids* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he ſent forth *Joab* to beſiege *Rabba*, and finiſhed the war of *Ammon*: wherein alſo fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one half of *Davids* reign was very proſperous: in the other half he felt great ſorrow, by the expectation, execution, and ſad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifeſt it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was born, who muſt needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the deceaſe of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath alſo good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of enſuing Actions: for two years paſſed ere *Abſalom* ſlew his brother *Ammon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings preſence. After this he prepared horſes and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which ſeems to have been one years work. So the rebellion it ſelf, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amaſa*, and the reſt, may well ſeem to have been in the 30. year of *Davids* reign.

Whether the three years of famine ſhould be reckoned apart from the laſt years of war with the *Philiſtims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time ſufficient, and to ſpare, both for the three years of famine, for four years of war, and for numbring the people, with the peſtilence enſuing; as alſo for his own laſt infirmity, and diſpoſing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it ſeems that the war with the *Philiſtims* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the laſt at *Gath*. This war the *Philiſtims* undertook, as it ſeemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Iſrael*, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from expoſing

himſelf unto danger any more. So *David* had ſix or ſeven years of reſt, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken party of *Joab* the ſon of *Zervia*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by 1 King. 2. 9. & 3. 7. *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches.

Nevertheleſs there are ſome that gather out of *Salomons* profeſſing himſelf a child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of theſe *Rabbi Salomon* ſeems the firſt Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themſelves perhaps upon 2 Sam. 15. 7. that which is ſaid of *Abſaloms* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they underſtood as years of *Davids* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſon of *Salomon* was 41. years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himſelf but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Joſephus* allows 80. years of reign to *Salomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, conſtrued the words of *Joſephus*, as if they included all the years of *Salomon's* life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould have been 40. years old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould have been born long before his Father had won *Jeruſalem*; which is a manifeſt untruth. Wherefore the 40. years remembred in *Abſaloms* rebellion, may either ſeem to have reference to the ſpace between *Davids* firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedneſs, or perhaps be read (according to *Joſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine tranſlation) four years; which paſſed between the return of *Abſalom* to *Jeruſalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of Salomons *Writings.*

THere remain of *Salomons* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he ſingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Chriſt and his Church. For the Book intituled, The Wiſdom of *Salomon* (which ſome give unto *Salomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the beſt learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith *Hierome*) *qui* Hier. ad Cromaſium. Salomonis *inſcribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of wiſdom, which is aſcribed to* Salomon, *ſavoureth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: *Circumveniamus juſtum, quoniam inſuavis eſt nobis, &c.* Sap. 2. *Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleaſing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelf the ſon of the Lord, &c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The Books of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſay* the S. Sen. fol. 62. Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graved the ſame on the ſides of the Reinecc. in Jul. Hiſt. Porch of the Temple, which (they ſay) *Ezechias* pulled down, becauſe the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Salomons* Books of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expel evil ſpirits, *Joſephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from ſome uncertain report, than truly.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Salomon's* ring diſpoſſeſt divers perſons of evil ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainly, ſo ſtrange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wiſdom from God himſelf, in honour of whom, and for his onely ſervice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Iſrael* and *Judæa*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all Kings, did in the end, by the perſwaſion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodneſs, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a houſe to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wiſe waſt thou in thy youth, and waſt filled with underſtanding, as with a floud? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark ſentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou waſt beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didſt bow thy loyns to Women, and waſt overcome by thy body; thou didſt ſtain thine honour, and haſt defiled thy poſterity, and haſt brought wrath upon thy children, and felt ſorrow for thy folly,* cap. 27.

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§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEar the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Ageſilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and ſoon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, ſwayed thoſe Kingdoms: *Laoſthenes* then governing *Aſſyria*, *Agaſtus* and *Archippus* the ſecond and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the ſix and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Baliaſtrus* ſucceeded, and reigned ſeventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his ſons. *Joſephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* againſt *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not ſome Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* (as our Engliſh *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the ſame with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Soſachis*; *Joſephus*, *Suſac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suſeſinus*; *Euſebius* in the colume of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Suſac*. *Joſephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he aſcribeth the Acts of *Suſac* to *Seſoſtris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by compariſon, accounting *Seſac* another *Seſoſtris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Seſoſtris*, I have ſpoken already in the ſtory of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he cauſed four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was diſpoſed to be ſeen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, ſaith *Eutropius*, at ſuch time as *Seſoſtris* was carried out to take the air, caſt his head continually back upon the two foremoſt wheels next him; which *Seſoſtris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King anſwered, That in thoſe he beheld the inſtability of all worldly things; for that both the loweſt part of the wheel was ſuddenly carried about, and became the higheſt, and the upmoſt part was as ſuddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Seſoſtris* had judiciouſly Hiſt.Miſcel. l.17. weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe Princes, and all other from the like ſervitude in the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that he could not be taken for *Seſac*, I have ſpoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Succeſſors until the end of* Jehoſaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſs*, now forty years old, ſucceeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* were aſſembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, ſince he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people preſented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eaſed of thoſe great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, ſi amari mallet quam metui; So* Ant.l.8. c.3. *ſhould his Empire* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *be more aſſured, if he deſired rather to be beloved than feared:* whereof he took three dayes to deliberate before his anſwer; of whom therefore it could not be ſaid as of *David*,

that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgement to diſcern of Counſels; which is the very teſt of wiſdom in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all means to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his fathers) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelf: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love onely? His witleſs paraſites could well judge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſigns. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes, For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people cryed out,
2 Sam 5.1. What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Son of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent, with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted,
1 King.12. 21. got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recovered *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shimei* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyn the peoples hearts again to the Houſe of *David*, and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he ſet up two Calves of gold for the children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refuſing the ſervice of the Levites, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needs be that by baniſhing the Levites which ſerved *David* and *Solomon* through all *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himſelf: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Juda. &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, untill *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yeild. *Jeroboam* could not 1 King.13 4. be moved now by the Authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he ſtretched it over the Altar, which alſo clave aſunder according to the ſign, which the man of God had given him by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate Verſe 5. an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt Verſe 6. courſe in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forſook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Miniſters taught them, was by a modern Hiſtorian compared with the policies of late Ages; obſerving well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodiè* (ſaith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda præſenteſq; utilitates ſibi tanquam ultimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promovenda, conſervanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda. ſi juſtitiæ honeſtatiſq; leges ſubvertendæ. ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda ſi deniq; omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefaſq; relinquendum cenſent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modo id, quod è re ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareve poſſit Deus: So they who are now*

called Polititians, propounding to themſelves, as their utmoſt end and ſcope, their own commodity and preſent profit, are wont to alledge the caſe of ſtate forſooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the ſtate, for advancing, preſerving, or encreaſing of the ſtate, they think that they may do any thing. If they mean to oppreſs their neighbour, to overturn all laws of juſtice and honeſty, if Religion it ſelf muſt go to wrack, yea, if all rights of God and man muſt be violated, they will try all courſes, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruine what care they, ſo long as they may have what they would; as who ſhould ſay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in ſuch matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del ſtato*, did ſerve as well to uphold, as at the Amos 7.13 firſt it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Prieſt of *Bethel* counſelled the Prophet *Amos* not to propheſie at *Bethel*; 2 King.10 16. *For* (ſaith he) *it is the Kings Court.* Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had maſſacred the Prieſts of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that politique ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, 2 King.10 30. which made *Iſrael* to ſin. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſwaded the laſt *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Proteſtants whom he forſook, obeyed him, but ſome of the Papiſts whom he followed, murdered him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizor of wiſe proceeding delude even thoſe that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *Jehu*, and all the Kings of *Iſrael* had, and were themſelves very great examples.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impiety; for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac: *of his end, and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in ſetting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other ſide, having now little hope to recover the Provinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fif- 2 Chro.12. teen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only faſtned himſelf, but withall invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be eaſily had, ſeeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by thoſe two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelf in the ſeat of *Iſrael*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having alſo, as he thought, by fortifying divers 1 Kings 14 13. places, aſſured his eſtate, forſook the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, 2 Chro.11. 3. *Seſac* or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his inſtruments; entred *Judæa* with twelve thouſand Chariots, and threeſcore thouſand Joſ. Ant. 8.c.4. Horſe, beſides Foot-men, which *Joſephus* numbers at four hundred thouſand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cuſites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans* the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the Weſtſide. The *Lubæans* were of *Petræa*, and of the deſart *Arabia* which afterwards followed *Zera* againſt *Aſa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans* according 2 Chro 11. 2 King.14 Annot in 12. Chro. to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth Tents: he doth ſuppoſe that they were the *Troglodítæ*, mentioned often in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other Authors. Plin. lib. 6 c.29. Eiuſ. Aſiæ tab. 3. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about ſix hundred Engliſh miles from the beſt & Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were thoſe *Troglodítæ*, Cd. 47. v.13. but rather thoſe *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii*, *Ichthyophagy*, which poſſeſs that part of *Egypt* behind the mountains called *Alabaſtrini*, and the red Sea, far nearer *Egypt* and readier to be levied than thoſe removed Savages of the *Troglodítæ*.

With this great and powerful Army, *Seſac* invaded *Judæa*, and (beſides many other ſtrong Cities) wan *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, of which and of the Temple, and Kings houſe, he took the ſpoyle, carrying away (beſides other treaſures) the golden ſhields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of thoſe which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: theſe *Rehoboam* ſupplyed with Targets of braſs, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syracides* calleth, *The fooliſhneſs of the people.*

From this time forward the King of *Egypt* claimed the ſoveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Seſac*, as it ſeems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the word of God, where premiſing the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithſtanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in theſe words, *Nevertheleſs they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *ſhall be his ſervants*, that is, *the ſervants of* Seſac.

After this overthrow and diſhonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his loſſes received by *Seſac*, notwithſtanding, he continued the war againſt *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Iſrael* four years,

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and reigned 17. his ſtory was written at large by *Shemejah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan*, and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdaſtrartus*, or *Abſtrartus*, in *Tyre*. Euſeb. Chron. *Doriſthus* the fift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Euſebius* (others make him the ſixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Silvius Alba Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fift of the *Silvii*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* King of *Tire* was murthered by his Nurſes ſons, or foſter-brethren, the elder of which uſurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Aſſyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus*, the ſon of *Balcaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the Uſurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battel between Jeroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.*

ABijah the ſon of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raiſed an Army of four hundred thouſand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thouſand: Both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the ſtrength of *Iſrael* broken: for there fell of that ſide five hundred thouſand; the greateſt overthrow that ever was given or received of thoſe Nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeſhanah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which diſcomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. years, *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, entred into league with *Heſion*, the 2 Chro.16. 23. third of the *Adads* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three years, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet as ſome part of his Fathers were.

Here we ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſins of *Salomon* in his ſon *Rehoboam*: firſt, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that *Egyptian*, whoſe daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to aſſure his eſtate, which while he ſerved God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neighbouring Kings, and when he forſook him, it was torn aſunder by his meaneſt Vaſſals. Not that the Father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the *Egyptian Seſac*; For the ſon *Abijah* was able to leavy four hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he overthrew eight hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, and ſlew of them five hundred thouſand; God giving ſpirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſt, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both Kings and their people; the ſame being both before, and at the inſtant delivered by Prophets: ſo the ſame juſt God, vvho liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in theſe our times give victory, courage, and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw down Kings, Eſtates, Cities, and Nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of *Iſrael*, alwaies the cauſes are ſet down, that they might be as preſidents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *David*'s time for three years, *For Saul and his bloody houſe, &c.* And *David* 2 Sam.21.1 towards his latter end ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrows in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his ſon for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was ſpoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Seſac* of *Egypt*, becauſe the people of *Juda* made Images, High places, and Groves, &c. and becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was puniſhed in himſelf and his poſterity, for the golden Calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his ſons ſlain by the *Philiſtims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were ſlain, the blood of one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame, and the like ſins in all after-times, and in theſe our daies by the ſame famine, plagues, vvar, loſs, vexation, death, ſickneſs and calamities; howſoever the wiſe men of the World raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond cauſes, and ſuch other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, ſeem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

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§. IV.
Of Aſa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chro 14. TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enjoyed peace for his firſt ten years, in which time he eſtabliſhed the Church of God, breaking down the alters dedicated to ſtrange gods, with their images, cutting 1 Chro 15. 16. down their groves, and taking away their high places. He alſo ſpared not his own mother, who was an Idolatreſs, but depoſing her from her regency, brake her Idol, ſtampt it, and burnt it. He alſo fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leaſure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judæa*, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territory of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never aſſembled of that Nation, either before or ſince: 2 Chro. 14. 9. For it is written, that there came againſt the *Judæans*, *Zerah* of *Æthiopia*, with an hoſt of ten hundred thouſand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Aſa* encountered with an Army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand levyed out of thoſe two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the ſpoyle both of their Cities and Camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the ſtrong flouriſhing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſs through them) it were ſufficient to make it appear how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe invaders were *Æthiopians*, But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were ſpoyled by the *Judæans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* ſtandeth upon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *David* paſt over when he ſurprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proveth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town ſtan- 2 Chro 14 ding on the uttermoſt South-border of all *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* ſix hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoyles which *Aſa* took as the cattel, camels, and ſheep, whereof he ſacrificed five thouſand, ſhew them to be *Arabians* adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected that theſe deſart countries can hardly yeild a million of men fit for the wars. I anſwer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart, which compaſs two parts of the holy Land, ſhould yeild ten hundred thouſand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, ſhould arm five hundred and fourſcore thouſand; Beſides, it anſwered to the promiſe of God to *Abraham*, that theſe Nations ſhould exceed in number; for God ſpake it of *Iſmael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he ſhould beget twelve Princes, *&c.*

* In the former book c 4, ſect 14. item c 8. ſect. 10 16.

Baaſha a King of *Iſrael* began to reign in the third of *Aſa*, and fearing the greatneſs of *Aſa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, 2 Chr 16. v. 1. to joyn with him againſt *Aſa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jeruſalem* toward *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. year of *Aſa* his reign: but becauſe in the firſt of Kings the 16. it is ſaid that *Baaſha* died in the 26. year of *Aſa*; therefore could not *Baaſha* begin this war in the 35. of *Aſa* his reign, but in the 35. year of the diviſion of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, for ſo many years it was from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Aſa*. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Aſa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand good Souldiers, did not eaſily drive away *Baaſha*, and defeat him of his purpoſes, the victories of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, and of *Aſa* himſelf againſt *Zerah*, being yet freſh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and aſmuch diſheartened the enemies. Queſtionleſs there were ſome important Circumſtances, omitted in the Text, which cauſed *Aſa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of ſo many hundred thouſands of hands, in the late ſervice againſt *Zerah*, had cauſed many mens private buſineſſes to lye undiſpatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be unwilling to ſtir againſt the *Iſraelites*, chooſing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardneſs of the people might have deterred *Aſa* from adventuring himſelf with the leaſt part of his forces, and committing the ſucceſs into the hands of God. Howſoever it were, he took the treaſures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* againſt *Baaſha*, whoſe employments *Benhadad*

hadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baaſha*. For the *Iſraelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himſelf (after his invaſion) nor his ſucceſſors after him ever gave over, till they had made themſelves maſters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without reſiſtance, he ſpoiled di- 1 Chro. 16. 4. vers principal Cities thereof, and inforced *Baaſha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the ſame to *Aſa*, with all the materials which he had 1 King 15 brought thither, to fortifie the ſame: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the ſpoiles of *Iſrael*, and the treaſures of *Juda*, returned to *Damaſcus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Aſa*, in that he now relyed on the ſtrength of *Syria*, and did not reſt himſelf on the favour and aſſiſtance of God, he not only cauſed *Hanani* to be impriſoned, but he began to burden and oppreſs his people, and was therefore ſtrucken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith af- 2 Chro 16. ter he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the ghoſt when he had reigned 41. years.

There lived with *Aſa*, *Ageſilaus* the ſixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fiſt King of the ſame race in *Corinth*, of whom his ſucceſſors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Aſtartus*, and *Aſtarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Aſtarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Prieſt of the god- Euſeb. in Chron. deſs *Aſtarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worſhipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Aſſyrians*: *Terſippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Aſa*, left *Cheops* his ſucceſſour, that reigned fifty ſix years, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

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§. V.
Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Aſa.

IN the reign of *Aſa* the Kingdom of *Iſrael* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the houſe of *David*, if the wiſdom of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickedneſs of *Jeroboam* had, in his later daies, the ſentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the ſame Prophet which had foretold the diviſion of *Iſrael*, for the ſin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One ſon *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found ſo much piety, as (though it ſufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the peoples love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was moſt happy) the favourable approbation of God himſelf.

After the loſs of this good ſon, the ungodly father was ſoon taken away: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile unthankfulneſs to God, that he durſt not ſuffer his own name to be uſed in conſulting with an holy Prophet, aſſured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed Idols that wrought his confuſion. So loath he was to forſake his worldly wiſdom, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the ſon of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the ſecond and third years of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers laſt year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the ſecond of *Aſa*, whoſe third year was the firſt of *Baa-* 1 King 15. 25. *ſha*, ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his fathers courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeems that he little feared the judgements denounced againſt his fathers houſe: for as a Prince that was ſecure of his own eſtate, he armed all *Iſrael* againſt the *Philiſtims*, and beſieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſs, and recalled to mind their grievous loſs of five hundred thouſand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; or whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, he exaſperated them) ſlain he was by *Baaſha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his ſtead. *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the houſe of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the ſword. That he did this for private reſpects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it ſo, it is evident by his continuing in the ſame form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the ſame ſentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him alſo in the ſame ſort. He began to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waſt his Country, deſtroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*: Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his ſon; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous perſon. He ſent an Army againſt *Gibbethon*, the ſame town of the *Philiſtims*, before which *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* periſhed; but he ſate at home the whilſt, feaſting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave ſuch advantage againſt himſelf, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behaviour ſo contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet upon *Ela* in his drunkenneſs, and ſlew him. Preſently upon which fact, he ſtiled himſelf King of *Iſrael*: and began his reign with maſſacring all the houſe of *Baaſha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Terza*. Theſe news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in ſtead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they ſaluted King, they (quitting the ſiege of *Gibbethon*) preſented themſelves before *Tirza*; which in ſhort ſpace they may ſeem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting ſtrength to defend the City, not courage to keep himſelf from falling alive into his enemies hands, did ſet fire on the Palace, conſuming it and himſelf together to aſhes. Seven daies he is ſaid to have reigned: accounting (as is moſt likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. 1 King.16, 19. For *Zimri* was alſo an Idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himſelf, than the reign of ſeven daies, and thoſe conſumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baaſha*, partly in ſeeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there aroſe another King to oppoſe the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may ſeem, that *Zimri* had made his party ſtrong, as being able to ſet up a new head, who doubtleſs would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, ſome ſtrength, not unlikely to reſiſt and vanquiſh the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; onely it appears that his ſide was decayed, and ſo he died, leaving no other Succeſſor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the cauſes hindering the re-union of Iſrael *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by theſe troubles.*

ANy man that ſhall conſider the ſtate of *Iſrael* in thoſe times, may juſtly wonder how it came to paſs, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already ſuffered under theſe unfortunate Princes, and with the preſent civil wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themſelves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppreſſed factions, did not call in *Aſa*, but rather choſe the one to endure a deſperate neceſſity of yeilding, or burning himſelf, the other to languiſh away as a man forſaken; than to have recourſe unto a remedy, ſo ſure, ſo ready, and ſo honourable. To ſay that GOD was pleaſed to have it ſo, were a true, but an idle anſwer (for his ſecret will is the cauſe of all things) unleſs it could be proved; that he had forbidden *Aſa* to deal in that buſineſs, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the reſtraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent inſurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, ſo many years following: wherein *Abia* ſo far prevailed, that he wan a great battail, and recovered ſome Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the ſecond cauſes moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new upſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that Royal houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five Kings in lineal deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worſe than all* 1 King 16. 25. *that were before him*; which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of revenging the maſſacre committed upon the famly and friends of *Baaſha* (*Aſa* his mortal enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution,

ſhould

ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch, that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their necks. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel ſo far as to *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his ſon, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a King, that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Iſrael* joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboams* houſe.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſs to his ſon, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of judgment, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the houſe* 2 Chro.24. 21. *of the Lord: and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent bloud exceeding much, till he repleniſhed* Jeruſalem *from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his* 2 King.21. 16. *ſin, wherewith he made* Juda *to ſin.* Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of *Iſrael* we find no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God do ſo to me,* 2 King. 6. 31. *and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſon of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own right, though *Ahab* were even ſick for anger; neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murther of the Prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent Woman, and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, 2 King 19 30. were both pleaſed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (ſuch as are regiſtred) prove them to uſe a more abſolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their ſufferings witneſs the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over *Juda*, from the diviſion of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongſt their Anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, ſlain by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all that Royal ſeed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtir up in the people any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſs and uniformity teſtifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unleſs we ſhould think that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeven years reign, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannical abuſing the government, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlain by conſpiracy of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the Crown: the people being ſo far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good ſucceſs of treaſon, unleſs fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and uſurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the ſeven remain, whoſe ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter committed on *Ahab's* children by *Jehu*, that the people durſt not fight with 2 King.10 4. him that did it, becauſe *they were exceedingly affraid:* and the ſame fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe Hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed over. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them; neither was there any motive urging ſo forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in priſon, as fear leſt the people ſhould ſtir in their quarrel. And certainly (howſoever all that the Law cals treaſon, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which have here moſt prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it ſelf with the bloud of ſome great Officers; no ſuch rebellions, howſoever wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruine of their natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal perſon: which if any man impute unto groſs ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truely, aſcribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being looſened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give aſſiſtance to *Jupiter*, when all the reſt of the gods conſpired againſt him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their abſoluteneſs by mighty ſubjects, as long as by wiſedom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tels us that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government ſufficeth by it ſelf to retain the people, not only without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but even againſt all devices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt Politicians: every Sheriffe and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty ſoever, can againſt him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being ſeldome found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelf of government there was ſuch, as neither gave occaſion of contentment unto the ſubjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reaſons it may ſeem that the multitude was kept uſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would have been almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the Royal bloud of *Juda*, ſhould by the only authority of a Queen-mother have deſtroyed all the ſeed of *David*, and uſurped the Kingdome very near 7. years, without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to ſet up *Joaſh* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to theſe Captains and their men, *the ſpears and the ſhields that were King* Davids, *and were in the houſe of the Lord.* But we need not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſs, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admiſſion, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the ten Tribes did never ſeek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſix firſt Kings, which died in the reign of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeventh of a new Family, rather than they would conſubject themſelves with thoſe of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Aſa* having ſeen the death of 7. Kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelf after one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehoſaphat* his ſon to deal with *Ahab* the ſon of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Jehoſaphat *and his contemporaries.*

Jehoſaphat, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he deſtroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and ſent Teachers to all places and people wanting inſtruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtims:* from the one he had ſilver, from the other ſheep and goats to the number of fifteen thouſand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thouſand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and 2 Chro.17. fourſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that he had, beſides theſe in *Benjamin*, of thoſe that bare ſhields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thouſand, and under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourſcore thouſand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all which are ſaid to have waited upon the King, beſides his Garriſons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, ſhould muſter eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David's* time found 2 Sam.14 4. five hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* five hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoſaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his Territory to the Weſt of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thouſand fighting men, leaving all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelf to better judgment) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the 17. diſtributed to ſeveral Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thouſand under *Adnah*, and the 200. and fourſcore thouſand under *Jehohanam*, were afterward commanded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliad*, and *Jehoſabad:* for the groſs and total is not in that place ſet down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, ſo the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one half of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Jehoſaphat's* Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithſtanding his greatneſs, yet he joyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoſaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſon *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achab's* Daughter.

Ahab perſwaded *Jehoſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the War againſt the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites*, to fore-tel the ſucceſs: who promiſed him Victory. But *Jehoſaphat* believed nothing at all in thoſe diviners, but reſolved firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael.* Hereupon *Achab* made anſwer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, becauſe he alwayes fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the King; but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets, and to promiſe Victory unto them, as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his Viſion to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* Ahab, *that he may go up and fall at* Ramoth Gilead? to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris ve-*

ſtri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeaks in you: ſo in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evil ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, and are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy, For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſave and deliver from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evil that he puniſheth and deſtroyeth; both which are ſaid to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo.* *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are every-where viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtrokes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, and the Prophets, whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baal*'s Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelf committed to priſon: where he appointed him to be reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by me.* Nevertheleſs *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoſaphat* returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince; and 2 Chro 18. one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damaſcens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to invade *Judæa*: who paſs *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*; and when *Jehoſaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* fore-told him of the Victory, which ſhould be obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: and ſo when *Jehoſaphat* approached, this Aſſembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, diſagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves, thoſe of *Ammon* and *Moab* ſet up- 2 Chro. 20. on the *Idumæans*, and brake them utterly: which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoſaphat* arriving, took the ſpoil of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was fore-told and promiſed by God. Notwithſtanding this Victory, *Jehoſaphat*, forgeting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an idolatrous King, did notwithſtanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the ſon of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to ſend to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eleizer* the Prophet fore-told him his ſhips periſhed, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and ſo that enterprize was overthrown. 2 Chro. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ochazias*, againſt the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it ſeems, that the *Moabites*, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before deſtroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, ſubjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forſaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themſelves for vaſſals to *Jeroboam*, and ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Achab*: but *Jehoſaphat*, notwithſtanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it ſeemeth he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Iſrael*, as alſo becauſe they had lately joyned themſelves with the *Syrians* againſt *Joſaphat*, and thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion who firſt forſook *Juda*, and now *Iſrael*.

Both Kings reſolved to paſs by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to aſſure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* againſt *Jehoſaphat*: But whether they had then declared themſelves againſt *Jehoſaphat*, it is not certain; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. *verſ.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it ſeemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were ſlain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themſelves ſatisfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themſelves with the Army of *Juda*. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoſaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoſaphat*'s death. Now in the paſſage of theſe Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpoſe to rebel, miſled the Army of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, with intent to infeeble them for want of Water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the Armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water ſprang, by which not only *Jehoſaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodneſs of God having ever been prone to ſave the evil for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evil.

2 King. 3. The miſerable iſſue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his ſon, or the ſon of the King of *Edom*, for ſacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Iſrael*. *Jehoſaphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoſaphat*, and a part of 1 Chro. 20. the *Pyramis* ſet over his grave is yet to be Broch. ter. ſanct. ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoſaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Aſſyria*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoſaphats* time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the ſame race of the *Heraclidæ* the ſeventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badeſorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſaphat, *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

JEhoram the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of theſe eight years, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his ſon *Ahazia*. This appears by the ſeveral beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the 1 Kin. 22. v. 51. two *Jehorams* Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt ſon of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is ſaid to have begun his reign, in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* ſucceeded him in the 2. year 2 Kin. 1 17 of *Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſaphat King of Juda*; that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of 2 King. 3. v 1. & 9. *Juda* was deſigned King by his father; it being (as we find elſewhere) *the eighteenth year of Jehoſaphat himſelf*, who went with the *Iſraelites* againſt *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſaphat*, who governed abſolutely by himſelf, not communicating the rule with his ſon. But in *the fifth* 2 King. 8. 16. *year of Jehoram King of Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſaphat*, the old King took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldeſt ſon, who was at that time 32. years old, his father being 57. Now 1 Kin. 22. 42. foraſmuch as *Jehoſaphat reigned* 25. *years*, it is evident that his ſon did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, who did not alwaies reign preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the Text may ſeem at firſt to affirm: but their years were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes onely current, ſometimes confounded with the years of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſs needful than curious, to enquire into the reaſons moving *Jehoſaphat* either to aſſume unto him his ſon as partner in the Kingdom, whilſt he was able himſelf to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchſafed unto him that honor, to reſume it to himſelf, or at leaſt wiſe to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a mean to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſs enſuing, I hold it not amiſs to make ſuch conjecture, as the circumſtances of the ſtory briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeem to approve.

We are therefore to conſider, that this King *Jehoſaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboams* iſſue that ever entred into any ſtreight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themſelves in vain, making ſmall profit of the greateſt advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, 2 Chro. 19. v. 2. & 3. with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *root and fountain of all wiſdom*: yet as a piece of ſound policy, doubtleſs it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutual fortification of both thoſe Kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed Nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a jewell, that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditary from father to ſon, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was ſon and heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and had learned ſo much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Jeruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſs in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt houſes in *Juda*, and perhaps of thoſe men or their children, whoſe worldly wiſdom, regardleſs of Gods pleaſure, had brought her in.

The firſt fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Iſrael* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory ſhould have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very ſeldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather ſerve the turns of thoſe falſe friends, who being ill affected to God himſelf cannot be well affected to his ſervants. Before their ſetting forth, *Ahab* deſigned, as King, his ſon *Ahaziah*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predeceſſors had ever done the like, upon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Michaia* (for he deſpiſed them) as inviting *Jehoſaphat* by his own example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoſaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſon* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very ſtrongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife, eſpecially for his forſaking the religion of his godly Anceſtors, and following the abominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Achab*.

That ſhe was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vain matter ſhe was able to produce, whereby to make her huſband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy perſons in compariſon of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and ſiſter of two great Kings, not upon baſe women, and meer ſubjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad* were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man think highly of himſelf, as being allied ſo honourably, who could otherwiſe have found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his brethren, as being the eldeſt, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoon his vices brake out, or how long he diſſembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoon make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young man to know himſelf better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Jehoſaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmal diſtemper of the whole country, through the miſgovernment of his ungodly ſon. For the good King was fain to make his progreſs round about the Land, reclaiming the people unto the ſervice of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the ſtrong Cities of* 2 Chro 19.
Juda *City by City*. This had been a needleſs labour, v.4,5,&c.
if the religion taught & ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelf, had not ſuffered alteration, and the courſe of Juſtice been perverted, by the power of ſuch as had born authority. But the neceſſity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commiſſion given to one of the Prieſts in ſpiritual cauſes, and to the Steward of his houſe in temporal matters, to be generall over-ſeers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the ſon of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Jehoram*, *Jehoſaphat*'s ſon, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another firſt and ſecond year, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the beſt Chronologers and Expoſitors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private eſtate, uutil the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignity are not ſet down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing ſubſtantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Iſrael* held the ſame correſpondency

with *Jehoſaphat* that his father had done; and made uſe of it. He drew the *Judæans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the affinity between them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their father to put him in poſſeſſion for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelf might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethen; it being a thing uſual in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject and ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward his brethren, as cauſed their father to enable them, not only with ſtore of *ſilver and*
1 Chro.21. *gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of
3. liberality other Kings doubtleſs had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Juda*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, againſt unwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequel. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger ſons of *Jehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weak defence, againſt the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoe; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdom againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great men of the Land; ſuch belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do juſtice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Maſter; which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that he vvas then King, vvho durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invaſions in Religion, wherein he vvas not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and ſafe conduct unto Superſtition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that ſin, whereto it is wonderful that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſins; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up Irreligion by force.

Whilſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and having hitherto ſince *David's* time, been governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themſelves a King. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom he ſhould have ſubdued, and kept his ſervants. Now began the prophecy of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſs of time ſhould break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own ſo well, that when, after many civil and forrein wars, the Jews by ſundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his ſon, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jews, in the decrepit age of *Iſrael*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchaſed ſomewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joſhua* had a peculiar King, to rebel againſt *Jehoram*, and ſet it ſelf in liberty. *Libna* ſtood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore ſo unlikely it was to have maintained it ſelf in liberty, that it may ſeem ſtrange how it could eſcape from utter deſtruction, or at the leaſt from ſome terrible vengeance, moſt likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incenſed Lord. The *Iſraelite* held ſuch good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it ſelf unto him: neither do we read that it ſought how to caſt it ſelf into a new ſubjection, but continued a free ſtate. The rebellion of it againſt *Jehoram*, was, *Becauſe he had forſaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the firſt and remote cauſe, but even the next and immediate reaſon, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who muſt needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely ſome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulſive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the uſe of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to loſe by this rebellion) it was never denied to thoſe of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Iſraelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they muſt have been without it, whether they lived free, or in ſubjection. Yet it ſeems that private reaſons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than ſuffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general viſitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoſaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them eſpecial charge to do juſtice without reſpect of perſons, uſed theſe words; *The Levites ſhall be officers before you*; *Be of good courage, and do it, and the Lord ſhall be with the good.* By theſe phraſes, it ſeems, that he encouraged them againſt the more powerful, than juſt proceedings of his ſon; whom if the Levites did (according to the truſt repoſed in them) neglect in diſcharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make them now to feel, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon deſtroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) ſo much as beſieged or moleſted, may juſtly ſeem very ſtrange. And the more ſtrange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehoſaphat* was able to raiſe, being ſufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have caſt into it with ſhovels, by ordinary approaches.

2 Chro. 21. 10.

But it ſeems that of thoſe great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well truſt; and therefore perhaps he thought it an eaſier loſs, to let one Town goe, then to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to puniſh it. So deſperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happineſs to be feared than to be loved, are fain themſelves to ſtand in fear of thoſe, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miſeries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

These afflictions not ſufficing to make any impreſſion of Gods diſpleaſure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewiſe it appears that he was a cruel perſecutor of Gods ſervants; in as much as the Prophets durſt not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predeceſſors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods judgements againſt him by letters, keeping themſelves cloſe and far from him. This Epiſtle is ſaid to have been ſent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was tranſlated, and *Elizeus* propheſied in his ſtead before this time, even in the daies of *Jehoſaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as ſome conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occaſion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by ſome of the Jewiſh Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did ſend this Epiſtle; a tale ſomewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deviſed by *Eraſmus*, or of the Verſe that was ſent from heaven to St. *Giles*.

2 Chro. 21. 12.
2 King. 1. & 3. 11.

But whoſoever was the Authour of this threatning Epiſtle, the accompliſhment of the prophecy was as terrible as the ſentence. For the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians brake into Judæa*, and took the Kings houſe, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they ſlew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. Theſe *Philiſtims* had not preſumed ſince the time of *David*, to make any offenſive warre till now; for they were by him almoſt conſumed, and had loſt the beſt of their Towns, maintaining themſelves in the reſt of their ſmall territories, by defenſive arms, to which they were

were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horſemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoil in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong Cities, ſuch as were thick ſet in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then known, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately Cities. But it muſt be conſidered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War; and that the proviſions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one ſubdued Province, did make them able and ſkilful in purſuing their conqueſt, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as live in *Arabia* it ſelf are good horſemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to paſſengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers, as riding ſtark naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeem to have been, that ſpoiled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was alwayes barren and deſart, wanting manual Arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thouſand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealouſie, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeem that the houſe of the King which theſe invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we read not that they did ſack the City, or ſpoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by ſurprize, the people being diſarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous: and therefore having done what ſpoil they could, withdrew themſelves with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to conveigh away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſons, and the cruel maſſacre wherein all the Royal ſeed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invaſion of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, make it ſeem probable, that the ſons of *Jehoram* were not all ſlain at once, but that rather the firſt murther began in his own time, and was ſeconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtriken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the body of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoul departed from his miſerable carkaſs. The people of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own ſon ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead huſband. She vvas thinkiug how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatneſs, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her Son ſuch *Counſellours of the houſe of Ahab*, as vvere fitteſt for her turn. Wherefore ſhe thought it unſeaſonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, vvith a ſtately funeral of a man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelf and hers, vvhich it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of vvicked Inſtigators, having made greedy uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only vvith his own vices, but vvith their faults alſo, the man vvhoſe evil inclinations their ſiniſter counſels have made worſe, vvhen once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſie time; vvhen his friend and couſin the *Iſraelite*, vvho had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult War againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have no better leaſure to help *Athalia*, in ſetting of things according to

2 Chron. 22. 4.

to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the ſame hinderance) to help her husband, when he was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtims*; Yea, rather he needed and craved the aſſiſtance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not ſped ſo well the laſt time, that they ſhould willingly run thither again, unleſs they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumſtances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accompliſh nevertheleſs his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous means, confound themſelves in the ſeeming-wiſe devices of their own folly: as likewiſe to the end that all men might learn to ſubmit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wiſdom dictateth unto them. For in ſuch kind of unhappy ſubtilties, it is manifeſt that *Athalia* was able to furniſh both her Huſband and her Son; but the iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediatly followeth.

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§. V.

Of the reign of Ahazia, *and his buſineſs with the King of* Iſrael.

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much diſputation, whereof I ſee no more probable concluſion than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which ſaith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Miniſters, who gave him counſel, by which he periſhed. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courſes. In matter of State he likewiſe upheld the league made with the houſe of *Ahab*. He was much buſied in doing little, and that with ill ſucceſs. He accompanied his Couſin the *Iſraelite* againſt *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought ſo well, that the King of *Iſrael* was fain to adventure his own perſon, which eſcaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned ſtrongly, in expectation of ſome attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* withdrew himſelf to the City of *Jezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jeruſalem*. It ſeems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all ſcantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners ſake, to viſit the King of *Iſrael*, who lay ſore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing ſome new plots, which his preſence would have hindered, and therefore ſought every occaſion to thruſt him abroad: for otherwiſe it was but a vain piece of work ſo to leave his kingdom, having no other buſineſs than by way of complement to go ſee one whom he had ſeen yeſterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had reſolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the houſe of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he diſpoſed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might ſeem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of ſuch perſons, as intended nothing leſs than the fulfilling of his high pleaſure. Of theſe *Athalia* doubtleſs was one; whoſe miſchievous purpoſes it will ſhortly be needful, for explanation of ſome difficulties ariſing, that we diligently conſider and examine.

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§. VI.

How Ahazia *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab: *and how that Family was deſtroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Army of *Iſrael*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Diſciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were ſitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Iſrael*, rehearſing unto him the Prophecy of *Elias* againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, and letting him underſtand that it was the pleaſure of God to make him executioner of that ſentence. The faſhion of the Meſſenger was ſuch as bred in the Captains a deſire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought

meet to let them know, as doubting vvhether they had over-heard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them vvith the vvhole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecy of *Elias* vvas vvell known among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelf againſt him, that vvas by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, vvho had upon the ſudden this great honour thrown upon him, vvas not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections, vvho joyned vvith him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſs vvhich nearly concerned him, and vvas not to be fore-ſlowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The firſt care vvas that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, vvhereby the King might have had vvarning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court vvhile it vvas yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* vvas now ſo vvell recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for vvhich cauſe it ſeems that there vvas much feaſting, and joy made, eſpecially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo vvell, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queen, as to viſit the King.

Certain it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſon of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loſs of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſs to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeſtical face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecurity, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſecution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dreſſing her ſelf in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcovered a company coming. Theſe news were not very troubleſome: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not ſtir. Onely the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning vvith an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him vvord how all vvent; and he vvas likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhews bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, vvhom the Watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo near, that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that vvas loth to diſcover any vveakneſs, cauſed his Chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company, whoſe preſence added majeſty to his train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtruck him dead, and threw his carkaſs into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a Wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelf ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at leaſt to utter ſome Apophthegme that ſhould expreſs her brave

ſpirit,

ſpirit,and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her,whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near,ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*,that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meer humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly; as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*.Her own Eunuchs that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him, he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her ſervants to know which of them would be on his ſide,and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate,wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandment of her greateſt enemy, that was yeſterday her ſubject,but now her Lord:and ſhe periſhed miſerably,ſtrugling in vain with baſe grooms, who contumeliouſly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemy ſate on horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornful beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carkaſs that was left without the Walls, vvas devoured by dogs, and her very memory vvas odious.Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow,but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers ſake,not for his Fathers nor his own.He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*,where he was enterred with his Anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia's *uſurping the Kingdom,and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 Chron. 22. 9. AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdom:* which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*,who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her ſon,under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the Royal Throne her ſelf, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject.She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes,and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition,how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a manner,ſlain by her huſband,and afterwards his own children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her huſbands bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her own mouth,or by ſome truſty creature of hers might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for fear of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his family,ſhould by any accident fail (as wofull experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſs) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtock, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthineſs, would not care what aſperſions he laid upon that Royal houſe, which was fallen down.And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, fore-ſeeing what might be gotten thereby,did not already contrive the deſtruction of him,and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſign by his authority,not only his ſucceſſor, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the Crown might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remain in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſs, his own poſterity could not retain it.

Such perſwaſions being urged, and carneſtly followed,by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections,were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change,was to make her heir the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned,as being the QueenMother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands time,yet might ſhe do it in her ſons. For *Ahazia*(beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) vvas not likely to take much care for the ſecurity of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in reſpect of his own-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchievous woman forgat her ſelf ſo far in her wicked policy,that ſhe loſt all opportunity which the vveakneſs of her husband and ſon did afford,of procuring unto her ſelf ſome ſeeming Title; yet could ſhe afterwards feign ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhe might: being ſure that none vvould ask to ſee her evidence, for fear of being ſent to learn the certainty of her ſon or husband in another World. But I rather think that ſhe took order for her affairs before-hand. For though ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect or fear the ſudden death of her ſon, yet it was the wiſeſt vvay to provide betimes againſt all that might happen, vvhileſt her husbands iſſue by other vvomen vvas young and unable to reſiſt. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, vvere ſent to the Court of *Iſrael*, only to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The ſlender occaſion of vvhich long journey, conſidered together vvith the quality of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious, that their entertainment in *Jezabels* houſe would onely have been more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queens, will find cauſe enough to think no leſs. Of ſuch as have aſpired unto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heirs by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validity than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could give, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay,Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* Eccleſ.1 10 That a King might ſhed his brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not,and reſt contented with the practice, as more willing by ſhewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. 2 Chro.21. 13. Jehoram *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he: David* purchaſed the Kingdom,and might the more freely diſpoſe of it,yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue; either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Jehojada* the Prieſt uſed afterwards,in declaring the title of *Joaſh: Behold,the Kings ſon muſt reign; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſon of David.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is moſt certain that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and ſo ſhe held it ſix whole years, and a part of the ſeventh, in good ſeeming ſecurity.

§. II.
How Jehu ſpent his time in Iſrael, ſo that he could not moleſt Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never goe about to diſturb her; which in reaſon he was likely to deſire, being an enemy to her whole Houſe. But he was occupied at the firſt in eſtabliſhing himſelf, rooting out the poſterity of *Ahab*, and reforming ſomewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars againſt the *Aramites*, wherein he was ſo far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much leſs attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were ſeventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter adviſed the Citizens to ſet up ſome one as King, and to prepare themſelves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well underſtood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to reſiſt him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had ſlain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their ſervice; wherein they ſo readily ſhewed themſelves obedient, that in leſs than one daies warning, they ſent him the heads of all thoſe Princes, as they were enjoyned by a ſecond letter from him. After this he ſurprized all the Prieſts of *Baal* by a ſubtilty, feigning a great ſacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, vvhere he ſlew them: and in the ſame zeal to God utterly demoliſhed all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry deviſed by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Iſrael* had ever greater reaſon than *Jehu* to deſtroy it. For he needed not to fear leſt the people ſhould be allured unto the houſe of *David*; it vvas (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the poſſeſſion of a cruel Tyranneſs: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expreſſed in deſtroying *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, he vvas promiſed notwithſtanding his following the ſin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom ſhould remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this vvould not ſerve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumſpection; doing therein like a fooliſh greedy gameſter, vvho by ſtealing a needleſs Card to aſſure himſelf of vvinning a ſtake, forfeits his whole reſt. He had queſtionleſs diſpleaſed many, by that which he did againſt *Baal*; and many more he ſhould offend by taking from them the uſe of ſuperſtition, ſo long practiſed as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all theſe, how many ſoever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forſook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Iſrael*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damaſcus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, ſaying: *Their ſtrong Cities ſhalt thou ſet on fire; and their young men ſhalt thou ſlay with the ſword, and ſhalt daſh their Infants againſt the ſtones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* 2 King. 8. 12. So did not only the wickedneſs of *Ahab* cauſe the ruine of his whole houſe, but the obſtinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable miſery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazaels* victory was not quenched with the deſtruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invaſion; but he *ſmote them in all the coaſt of Iſrael*, and waſted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. 2 King. 10. 32. Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, it ſeems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (*For in thoſe daies the Lord began to loath Iſrael*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble houſe of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, & had bravely fought for the conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful ſhifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in ſerving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in ſtead of the eaſe & the pleaſure to themſelves propounded by contrary courſes, overwhelmed with the troubles which they ſought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they firſt forſook, forſaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wiſdom, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

§. III.
Of Athaliah's Government.

THeſe calamities falling upon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giving her leiſure to look to things at home: as having little to do abroad, unleſs it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this 2 Chro. 24. 7. *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow upon* Baalim. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her own Idolatry, with ſuch pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome fair pretext of neceſſity of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Prieſts and Levites was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himſelf, howſoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that ſacred Tribe of *Levi* muſt needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they lived, being now very few and ſmall; and the ſtore, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this miſery the ſervice of God, and the daily ſacrifice keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſs than in thoſe dayes wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.
Of the preſervation of Joas.

JEhojada then occupied the high Prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſs it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort up-held in thoſe unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſs to the Court argue the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own Fathers houſe, than the education under ſuch a Mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joaſh* the young Prince that reigned ſoon after, was conveighed out of the nurſery, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſs that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people ſhould hear ſay, that one of the children had avoyded that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſs conformable to their preſent government. So *Joaſh* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelf ſhould have been ſlain, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coin ſuch tales, and rather ſwear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will loſe the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.
Whoſe Son Joas was.

||. I.
Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the Son of Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Joaſh*, whoſe ſon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath cauſed much controverſie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the ſon of* Ahazia, ſeem plain enough. 2 King. 11. 2. & 2 Chro. 22. 11. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Succeſſour, I neither by my ſelf can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to anſwer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural ſon of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is ſaid, that *the houſe of* Ahazia *was not able to retain the Kingdome*; 2 Chro. 22. 9. ſome do inferre that this *Joaſh* was not properly called his ſon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as ſon in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhe perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily find cauſe to fear, that the tyranny exerciſed by her husband at her inſtigation upon ſo many noble Houſes, would now be revenged upon her ſelf. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this caſe terrifie both her and her Minions; the ſentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for ſhe that had power enough to make her ſelf Queen, could with more eaſe, and leſſe envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority ſhe might have done her pleaſure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and ſecure of her own eſtate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy the Child of her own Son, of whoſe life ſhe might have made greater uſe than ſhe could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little leſs than the Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very ſtrong. For it may ſeem incredible, that all natural affection ſhould be caſt aſide, when as neither neceſſity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policy doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would have perſwaded.

||. II.

That Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

But (as it is more eaſie to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might have otherwiſe been) the pedigree of this *Joaſh* is, by them which think him not the ſon of *Ahazia*, ſet down in ſuch ſort, that it may very juſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay, that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtory (I know whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, ſaying, that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſons
1 Chron. 3. 5. of *David*, by *Bathſua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, have likewiſe held the ſame of *Joaſh*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and thoſe other brethren of *Salomon* by the ſame Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the children of *Vriah* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himſelf the only begotten of his mother, do approve this expoſition: for vve read of no more than two ſons which *Bathſua* or *Bathſheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the King did live. So that the reſt muſt needs have been the children of *Vriah*, and are thought to have been *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the ſon of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedigree have been falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*: yea, then had not *our bleſſed Saviour* iſſued from the loins of *David*, according to the fleſh, but had only been of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joaſh* was not of the poſterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo*, hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeak what he liſt.

||. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the ſon of* Jehoram.

In ſo doubtful a caſe, if it ſeem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amiſs to open at once, and peruſe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling
the wickedneſs of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his 2 King. 8. 19.
children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the houſe of *David*, that according to his promiſe he would *give him a light, and to his children for ever*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Jehoram*, *there was not a ſon left him, ſave* Jehoahas *the youngeſt of his ſons*. Now if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *David*, that after thoſe maſſacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted up in theſe woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a ſtep-dame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *Davids* line, by Gods eſpecial mercy, in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to
2 King. 10. 13. that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf, there were two and forty of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſons of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſs than extirpation of that progeny, wherein
2 Chron. 21. 8. one onely did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon
2 Chron. 24. 14. *Jehoram* and all his children, onely *Jehoahas* his youngeſt ſon was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and conſequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have bin true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas* which was his youngeſt ſon. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas* are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion;
For he was *ſeven years old when he began to* 2 Chron. 23. 1.
reign; which if we underſtand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an Engliſh ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, ſkilful in that language) through the diverſity of certain letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo called *Azaria*, and muſt have had three names, if
he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which 2 Chron 22. 5.
manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet, becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

||. IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grandchild.*

If therefore we ſhall follow that vvhich is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* vvas not only blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeal to her Idolatrous vvorſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome unnatural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-child, and the reſt of the bloud Royal. For whether

ther it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel Women are not alwayes chaſt) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her ſiſter in law, whoſe Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her ſon; or whether ſhe had children by ſome former husband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had ſons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to ſettle the Crown upon her own children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his Grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that Women do commonly better love their daughters Husbands, than their ſons Wives) there is ſome appearance in the reign of her ſon; for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad be eſtranged from his Wife, and entertain ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutoreſs. But when the ſword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. otherwiſe, if (as I could rather think) ſhe were only ſtepdame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

2 King 9 22.

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§. VI.

A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the liberty of uſing conjecture in Hiſtories.

THus much concerning the perſon of *Joas*, from vvhom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of vvhich matter, the more I conſider the nature of this Hiſtory, and the diverſity between it and others, the leſs me thinks I need to ſuſpect mine own preſumption, as deſerving blame, for curioſity in matter of doubt, or boldneſs in liberty of conjecture. For all Hiſtories do give us information of humane counſels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by vvhich all things are ordered, they ſpeak only at random, and many times falſly. This we often find in profane Writers, vvho aſcribe the ill ſucceſs of great undertakings, to the neglect of ſome impious Rites, vvhereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended vvith the omiſſion. Hereat vve may the leſs vvonder, if vve conſider the anſwer made by the *Jewes* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howſoever the vvritten Law of God vvas known unto the people, and his puniſhments laid upon them for contempt thereof vvere very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet vvere they ſo obſtinately bent unto their Wils, that they vvould not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cauſe of their affliction, But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the *Queen of heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had uſed to do: *For then* (ſaid they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding, that all manner of miſeries were befaln them, ſince they left off that ſervice of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wiſedome of man, in looking into the counſel of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. 44. 17, 18.

But this Hiſtory of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda* hath herein a ſingular prerogative above all that have been written by the moſt ſufficient of meerly humane Authors: it ſetteth down expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-frowardneſs in battel; the ruine of his Family, to the ſecurity of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; not the Victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raiſed in *Iſrael* by the comming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purpoſes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives moſt notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe Books nothing largely deſcribed; nor perhaps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidny*, that Hiſtorians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcover the paſſions which do ſet them firſt on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I ſpeak of the beſt, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livy* every one circumſtance of *Claudius* his journey againſt *Aſdrubol* in *Italy*, fitting all to another buſineſs, or any practice of that kind, is neither Hiſtorical, nor Poetical) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives or impediments of every buſineſs; and ſo figuring as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Sir *Phil. Sid.* in his Apol. for Poetry.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearchable: and Princes, howſoever their intents be ſeldom hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which pry both into them, and into ſuch as live about them; yet ſometimes either by their own cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtil miſts, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another uſe. The induſtry of an Hiſtorian, having ſo many things to weary it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions work to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that ſeem far greater. So comes it many times to paſs, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or towns, begin with a few ſtraws, that are waſted or not ſeen; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtened upon ſome Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſs it is, that the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of Queen *Atoſſa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bond-women, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Hero. l. 1.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queen in bed with her Huſband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſs) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantial reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch petty trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either think upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Frier, coming to viſit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner eſtate, been his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſs, whom he rather took for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning Politian, to attain unto the Papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptneſs thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto thoſe exorbitant Engines, by which the courſe of affairs is moved, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia,
Divoſque mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind-ſwoln ſtreams,
The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms,
Who th' Hoſt of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his juſt command.

Then ſhall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly govern all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and headlong paſſage to hell,is not ſo delightful as it ſeems at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poyſons which infect the ſoul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which if any few eſcape, they have onely this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſervice of God is the path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeilding ſuch abundance of joy to the conſcience,as doth eaſily countervail all afflictions whatſoever;though indeed thoſe brambles that ſometimes tear the ſkin of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelves at their journeys end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whoſe *preſence is the fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for ever.* Pſal.66.11.

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch Wiſdom as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda *and* Iſrael, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the counſel of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous Will, ſhould have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wiſe, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents,been the leſs true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: but theſe things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every mans belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor miſ-beſeeming an Hiſtorian.

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§. VII.

The conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any forreign enemy, nor domeſtical adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the child of ſome poor man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite) when his capacity required to have been indued with the ſtomack and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelf over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelf five of the Captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance; and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſon, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal men,to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſs: the promiſe of the Lord unto the houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains,and other aſſociates of *Jehojada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſs. To help in this

caſe,the Prieſt gave order to ſuch of the Levites as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Divine ſervice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turns, that they ſhould not depart until they knew his further pleaſure. So by admitting the new comers, and not diſcharging the old,he had,without any noiſe,made up ſuch a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranneſs did not prevail againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelf on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King,who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents, were beſtowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it ſelf had ſtore enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſs,and the day come,wherein this high deſign was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents,appointed a guard unto the Kings perſon,produced him openly,and gave unto him the Crown; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities,with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings,the Queen was the laſt that heard any word. Which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeem:for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, do commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whileſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger,till their own eyes,amazed with the ſuddenneſs, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchief.

All *Jeruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with the very good liking. Some carried home the news,others ran forth to ſee,and the common joy was ſo great,that without apprehenſion of peril, under the windows of the Court,were the people running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe of folks in the ſtreets, making towards the Temple, with much unuſual paſſion in their looks,did preſently conceive,that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhe meant to uſe her own wiſdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be,that ſhe thought it ſome eſpecial ſolemnity uſed in the Divine ſervice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the town, might give ſome preſumption. 2 Chron. 23.12.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Joſephus* would make it ſeem otherwiſe. For we find in the Text, *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him,ſhe rent her cloaths, and cryed Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelf, as one caſt away, and cried out in vain upon the Treaſon,whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had ſhe truly known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crown,by which ſhe gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madneſs in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhe,perceiving that neither her authority,nor their own weapons,could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheleſs take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of ſeven years old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to be armed in his defence,may we not think that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certain it is that the counſel of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely means to diſappoint it: yet we need not ſo cut her throat with any moral impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more eaſie ſucceſs, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have been expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhe was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlain, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſave her own, was ſhed in that quarrel; her ſmall train that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence. 2 Chron. 23.12. & 13. 2. 1 Kings c. 11. 7. 13, 14.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſs of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelf into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhe her ſelf, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſuitable death. Theſe two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Huſband; was an Idolatreſs and a Murdreſs. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviving her Huſband about eight years, did ſpend their time in ſatisfying her own affections; the one uſing tyranny, as the exerciſe of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſudden by Conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her own horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leiſure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and ſhame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlain the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queens, was deſtroyed as ſoon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlain. Herein alſo it came to paſs, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſhed in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; ſhe had ſons living after ſhe was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jeruſalem* when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely have followed hers as nearly, and been regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not have ſaved theſe Deut. 24. 16. ungracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would have cut off, which commands, that every man ſhould die for his own ſin. Seeing therefore that they had been profeſſors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoil of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not have eſcaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Prieſt could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecurity of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had been eſteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſs of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars againſt *Jehu*) abſent from *Jeruſalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amaſia, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of Joas *his doings, whileſt* Jehojada *the Prieſt lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietneſs; wherein *Joas*, a child of ſeven years old, or there-about, began his reign, which continued almoſt forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preſerved the Kings life, and reſtored him unto the Throne of his anceſtors. When he came to mans eſtate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almoſt worn out. The firſt Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedneſs of ungodly Tyrants; and requiſite it was that he ſhould uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This buſineſs he followed with ſo earneſt a zeal, that not only the Levites were more ſlack than he, but even *Jehojada* was fain to be quick-
2 Chron. 24. 14. ned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the tax impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſilver; and with all other Utenſils. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as under godly Kings they had been; and the ſervice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, *and Apoſtaſie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Prieſt: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have ſpared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*; as he well deſerved, having preſerved the race of them, and reſtored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that houſe, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themſelves, and all their iſſue. Yet this honourable Funeral ſeems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being ſaid, *They buried him in the City of* David. As for the King himſelf, who did owe to him no leſs than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, ſeeing that he was as eaſily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been diſcharged of ſome heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he ſoon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counſellor, but alſo the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himſelf, the Author of all goodneſs. Theſe Princes drew him to the worſhip of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had ſo infected the Country, in fifteen or ſixteen years, that thirty years, or thereabout, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exerciſed, were not able to clear it from that miſchief. The King himſelf, when once he was entred into theſe courſes, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to deſpiſe the ſervice of God; and a manifeſt proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the ſowre admonitions of devout Prieſts. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the ſtage, he had ſtriven to expreſs much more lively affection, than they could ſhew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The cauſes and times of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the dayes of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom he was broken looſe, gave him over into the hands of men,that would not eaſily be ſhaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philiſtims*,addreſſed himſelf towards *Jeruſalem*, whither the little diſtance of way,and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had aſſiſted the *Iſraelites*,in their enterpriſes upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want ſome further inſtigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had moleſted the *Aramites* in the time of his predeceſſour,this was throughly recompenced, by forbearing to ſuccour *Iſrael*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extream miſery, to the fury of *Hazael* himſelf. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* ſhould have gone about to awake a ſleeping Dog, and ſtir up againſt himſelf a powerful enemy, before he had aſſured the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, that lay between *Jeruſalem* and his own Kingdom, if ſome opportunity had not performed ſuch eaſie and good ſucceſs, as might rather advance, than any way diſturbe his future proceedings againſt the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the ſons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promiſing (as men expelled their Countries uſually doe) to draw many partakers of their own to his ſide; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Iſrael*, but to joyn all their forces with his, as they had cauſe, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his poſterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly deſtroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother,even the whole houſe of *Ahab*, to which he was a ſubject. If this were ſo, *Hazael* had the more apparent reaſon to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howſoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things*,*and all the gold that was found in the treaſure of the houſe of the Lord*, or in his own houſe, with which preſent he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (queſtionleſs) thinking it a better bargain, to get ſo much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the aſſurance of this for the poſſibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treaſure, which belonging to the living God, remained a ſmall while in the poſſeſſion of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but ſent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty ſeventh year of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, he made this purchaſe; but in the ſame or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his ſon *Benhadad*, with whom theſe treaſures proſpered no otherwiſe, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

2 *King*.12 18.

This enterpriſe of *Hazaels*, is, by ſome, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the ſecond book of *Chronicles*. But the reaſons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-ſhed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worſt, he loſt all his Princes, and hardly eſcaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himſelf was preſent; in the other,he was not named: but contrarywiſe, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may ſeem to have been the ſon of *Hazael*) is ſaid to have been at *Damaſcus*. The firſt Army came to conquer, and was ſo great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The ſecond was a *ſmall company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was againſt him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Army*.

2 *Chro*.24.

Now, concerning the time of this former invaſion,I cannot perceive that God forſook him, till he had firſt forſaken God. There are indeed ſome, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehojada* the Prieſt, becauſe that ſtory is joyned to the reſtauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehojada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the ſecond book of *Kings*; or if the Apoſtaſie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying ſo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may diſpoſe of all things, according to his own will and pleaſure; neither was he more unjuſt in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Joſias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgement upon the houſe of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent ſervice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were uſed in the *houſe of the Lord continually all the daies of Jehojada*; ſoon after whoſe death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as ſome very learnedly collect) in the ſixt, or thirty ſeventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater.

2 *Chro*.24 11.

And indeed we commonly obſerve, that the croſſes which it hath pleaſed God ſometimes to lay upon his ſervants without any cauſe notorious in the eyes of men, have alwaies tended unto the bettering of their good. In which reſpect, even the ſufferings of the bleſſed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the ſight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and ſtrict account; permitting uſually their faults to get the ſtart of their puniſhment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedneſs be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but ſuffering them to run on in their wicked courſes,to their greater miſery. So hath he dealt with many; and ſo it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obſtinate Idolater,but grew ſo forgetful of God and all goodneſs, as if he had ſtroven to exceed the wickedneſs of all that went before him, and to leave ſuch a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the moſt barbarous Tyrants ſhould endure to imitate.

Pſal.115. 15.

§. IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaime the people from their ſuperſtition, *Zacharia* the ſon of *Jehojada* the Prieſt, was ſtirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admoniſh them of their wickedneſs, and make them underſtand the puniſhment due unto it,whereof they ſtood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man ſo much honoured,and ſon to a man ſo exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honeſty to have cloaked his ill affection,and have uſed at leaſt ſome part of the reſpect that was due to ſuch a perſon: On the other ſide, the ſingular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his firſt infancy, were ſuch,as ſhould have placed *Zacharia* in the moſt hearty and aſſured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwiſe a man of very ſmall mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the meſſage of a Prophet ſent from God, ſhould be heard with reverence, how ſimple ſoever he appeares that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already ſcorned the admonitions and proteſtations of ſuch Prophets as firſt were ſent,did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who ſaid, *This is the heir*, *come let us kill him*, *that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an abſolute Commander, ſuppoſing belike that he was no free Price, as long as one durſt tell him the plain truth, how great ſoever that mans deſervings were, that did ſo, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conſpired againſt this holy Prophet, and ſtoned him to death at the Kings appointment;but whether by any form of open Law, as was practiſed upon *Naboth*; or whether ſurpriſing him by any cloſe treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his perſon, conſidered together with their treacherous conſpiracy,makes it probable,that they durſt not call him into publick judgement, though that the manner of his death,being ſuch as was commonly,and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Moſt likely it is,that the Kings commandment, by which he ſuffered, took place in ſtead of Law: which exerciſe of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing ſtrange amongſt the Kings of *Juda*.

Luke 20. 14.

§. V.

How Joas *was ſhamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an unthankful ſnake upon the man in whoſe boſom he had been foſtered, as of it ſelf alone it ſufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory deteſted in all ages; ſo had it the well deſcribed curſe of the bleſſed Martyr,to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence,which fell down ſwiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monſter. It was the laſt year of his reign; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himſelf beginning to live how he liſted without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may ſeem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they *came with a ſmall company of men*: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themſelves did hope for.

2 *Chro*.24. 24.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice againſt his beſt friend,is,in my judgement proof ſufficient: though otherwiſe his baſe compoſition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his ſon after him did muſter) three hundred thouſand choſen men for the war, doth well enough ſhew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how ſtout of diſpoſition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, ſo that wiſe men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making ſhew as if he would fight for his Country, and expoſe himſelf to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer oſtentation and no peril to be feared; he going forth ſo ſtrongly appointed, againſt ſo weak enemies. Thus might wiſe men think, and laugh at him in ſecret; conſidering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reaſon was (as they ſay) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King ſecure, by reaſon of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by ſome folly of the Leaders or by ſome amazement happening among the ſouldiers, or by whatſoever means it pleaſed God to work, ſo it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were deſtroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whoſe perſwaſion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himſelf (as *Abulenſis* and others expound the ſtory) he was ſorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and ſhamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exceſſive ranſome.

And ſurely, all circumſtances do greatly ſtrengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old tranſlation) ſaith, they exerciſed upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they diſmiſſed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favoredly. Now at that time *Joas* the ſon of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Iſrael*, and *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael* over the *Syrians*, in *Damaſcus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raiſed up by God to reſtore the State of his miſerable Country, the other inferiour every way to his father, of whoſe purchaſes he loſt a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between theſe two Princes, promiſing no other event than ſuch as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cauſe to be bold, and pluck up his ſpirits, vvhich *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been againſt him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehenſion of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with ſome ſhew of vvar at his doores, it vvere eaſie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good ſucceſs hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unſuſpected) ill ſucceſs, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars againſt the King of *Iſrael*, ſheweth plainly the weakneſs of all earthly might, reſiſting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering ſtrength, vvas unable to drive out a ſmall company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, having ſo been trodden down by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horſemen, ten Chariots, and ten thouſand footmen vvere left; prevailed againſt his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I vvill not inſiſt upon this; though indeed we ſhould not, if vve be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had vvhat they liſted, and ſaw that they vvere not able, being ſo few, to take any poſſeſſion of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with ſpoil, vvhich they ſent to *Damaſcus*, themſelves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, vvhere it is to be thought that they ſped not half ſo well. The King of *Juda* being in ill caſe, vvas killed on his bed vvhen he came home, by the ſons of an *Ammoniteſs*, and of a *Moabiteſs*, vvhom ſome (becauſe onely their Mothers names, being ſtrangers, are expreſſed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it vvere contempt of his fortune, or fear, leſt (as Tyrants uſe) he ſhould revenge diſaſter upon them, imputing it to their fault, or 2 Chro. 24. 25. vvhatſoever elſe it vvere that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels us plainly, that, *For the bloud of the children of* Jehojada, this befell him. And the ſame appears to have been uſed as the pretence of their conſpiracy, in excuſe of the fact when it vvas done. For *Amazia*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Joas*, durſt not puniſh them, till his Kingdom vvas eſtabliſhed: but contrariwiſe his body vvas judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: vvhereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* cauſed the treaſon, vvrought againſt the King, to find more approbation, than was requiſite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his ſon, upon the Traytors, which well deſerved death.

of

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§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: *of the time when* Carthage *was built: and of* Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades*, and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Ariſtomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty ſeventh King ſucceeded unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Aſſyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which laſted forty two years. In the ſixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Seſac*, ſucceeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewiſe the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, ſome reporting it to be 70. years younger than *Rome*, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reaſon of their aſſertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Joſephus*, who had read Joſeph. cont App. l. 1. the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the ſeventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Joſephus*) are very perplexed, and ſerve not very well to make cleer the totall ſum. But whether it were ſo that *Joſephus* did omit, or elſe that he did miſ-write ſome number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whoſe books he gives us the whole ſum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might eaſily reach, This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the deſtruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time ſo long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Auſonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

ILla ego ſum Dido *vultu quam conſpicis hoſpes,* Auſon. ep. 117.
Aſſimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, ſed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec inceſtis læta cupidinibus:
(Namque nec Æneas *vidit me Troius unquam,*
Nec Lybiam advenit, claſſibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo caſtos quod pertulit enſes)
Non furor, aut læſo crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidiſſe juvat: vixi ſine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, poſitis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me ſtimulaſti Muſa Maronem,
Fingeret ut noſtræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Hiſtoricis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubituſq; canunt.
Falſidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humaniſque deos aſſimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

IAm that *Dido* which thou here doſt ſee,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not ſuch a ſoul,
As *Maro* feign'd, inceſtuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* hoaſt
Beheld my face, or landed on this coaſt.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealouſie,
I did with weapon chaſte, to ſave my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but firſt I built a Town,
Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'ſt thou ſtir up *Virgil*, envious Muſe,
Falſely my name and honour to abuſe?
Readers, believe Hiſtorians; not thoſe
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expoſe.
Poets are lyars, and for Verſes ſake,
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the firſt *Punick* war, that *Carthage* grew and flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we find in many Hiſtories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Iſle of *Sicil*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty City, until ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the mean while the Hiſtory that is now in hand.

The

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign: of* Joas *King of* Iſrael, *and* Eliſha *the Prophet.*

AMazia, the ſon of *Joaſh*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured ſo to demean himſelf, as his new beginning reign might be leaſt offenſive. The Law of *Moſes* he profeſſed to obſerve; which howſoever it had been ſecretly deſpiſed ſince the time of *Jehoram*, by many great perſons of the Land, yet had it by proviſion of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their beſt times) imitating the good, but eſpecially by the care of holy Prieſts, taken ſuch deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plauſible, who did not conform himſelf unto it. And at that preſent time, the ſlaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the ſervice of God, being ſeconded by the death of the King himſelf, even whilſt that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet freſh in memory, did ſerve as a notable example of Gods juſtice againſt Idolaters, both to animate the better ſort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to diſcourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to ſuch an evil end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the art of diſſimulation, did not onely forbear to puniſh the Traitors that had ſlain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and ſuffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheleſs, after this, when (belike) the noiſe of the people having wearied it ſelf into ſilence, it was found that the Conſpirators (howſoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor ſtrong maintainers of their perſons, but reſted ſecure, as having done well, ſeeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his gouernment well eſtabliſhed, called them into queſtion, at ſuch a time, as the heat of mens affections being well allayed, it was eaſie to diſtinguiſh between their treaſons and Gods judgments, which, by their treaſons, had taken plauſible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were ſuffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, ſeeing that their King did the office of a juſt Prince, rather than of a revenging ſon. This being done, and his own life better ſecured, by ſuch exemplary juſtice, againſt the like attempts, *Amazia* carried himſelf outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and ſo continued in reſt, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered ſtrength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, ſo *Joas* the *Iſraelite* grew as faſt in power, by following the war hotly againſt the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predeceſſors had been, worſhipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this ſin had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his ſon *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, ſufficed not to withdraw him from this politick Idolatry, ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Iſrael*, did condeſcend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miſerable ſubjects, were obſtinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they ſought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the 2 Chro.25.
Prophet, ſaying plainly to *Amazia*, *the Lord* 7.
is not with Iſrael, *neither with all the houſe of* Ephraim.

Whether it were ſo, that the great Prophet *Eliſha*, who lived in thoſe times, did foretell the proſperity of the *Iſraelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Johoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adverſity, thought it the wiſeſt way, to diſcharge himſelf in part of the heavy cares attending thoſe unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful ſon; we find that *in the* 2 King.13.
thirty ſeventh year of Joas, *King of* Juda, Joas 10.
the ſon of Jehoahaz *began to reign over* Iſrael *in* Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his fathers reign, and ſome two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did ſo well husband that poor ſtock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot, that he might ſeem likely to prove a thriver. Amongſt other circumſtances, the words which he ſpake to *Eliſha* the Prophet, argue no leſs. 2 King.13.
For *Joas* viſiting the Prophet, who lay ſick, 14.
ſpake unto him thus, *O my father, my father, the Chariots of* Iſrael, *and the horſmen of the ſame*: by which manner of ſpeech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his kingdome in more ſtead than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe.

This prophet who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael* died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raiſe a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life unto a carcaſs, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he beſtowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had uſurped, and weakning the kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his war againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtacy and overthrow by* Joas.

THe happy ſucceſs which *Joas* had found in his war againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelf might purchaſe the like honour. His Kingdom could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable men for the Wars, and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of war he had very juſt againſt the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſs of his father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exerciſe of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſdom to increaſe his forces, with ſouldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of ſilver, *an*
2 Chro.25. *hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scrip-
6 ture telleth us, though *Joſephus* diminiſheth
Jos. Antiq. Jud. the number, ſaying that they were but twen-
l.9.c.10. ty thouſand.

This great Army, vvhich vvith ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he vvas fain to diſmiſs before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet vvith ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthened himſelf vvith the help of thoſe men, vvhom God (though in mercy he gave them victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they vvere Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace, vvhich to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men, and ſome ſpoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entred couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand priſoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as Traytors, than as juſt enemies. This victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the Crown of *Juda*, vvhich might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, vvhich vvas uſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they vvere the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, vvhereby he might another year the better have purſued the conqueſt of the vvhole countrey. Howſoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other ſpoyls of the *Edomites*, vvere carryed away their gods; vvhich being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerve vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrarivviſe, I know not by vvhat ſtrange vvitchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy King *Amazia*
that *he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhip-* 2 Chro.25.
ped them, and burned incenſe unto them. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workmanſhip and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the Kings fancie; methinks, he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſehold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeems to me, that the ſame affections carried him from God, unto the ſervice of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk ſo roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and ſent away ſuch auxiliarie forces as he had 2 Chro. 25. 11. gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſaid, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his hearts deſire. But with better reaſon he ſhould have limited his deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was that *Eſau* having broken the yoak of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Iſaac* had foretold, ſhould no more become his ſervant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contended with him.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherewith men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe unto God the honour of thoſe actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to uſe their own induſtrie, courage, or foreſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeen, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgment of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of there own ex-ploits; one telling how he got ſuch a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to ſuch a battalion; a third, how he ſeized on the enemies Canon; every one ſtriving to magnifie himſelf, whileſt all forget God, as one that had not been preſent in the action. To aſcribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confeſſe, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better ſucceſſe, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happineſſe; ſo he whoſe meer wiſdome and labour hath brought things to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly bound to ſhew himſelf thankful, both for the victory, and for thoſe vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed ſo far from weakneſſe is the nature of ſuch thankſgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being ſo truely heroical, as that by which the ſpirit of man advanceth it ſelf with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which ſenſe it is a brave ſpeech that *Evander* in *Virgil* uſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque
dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philoſophy *Amazia*(as appears by his carriage)troubled not his head: he had ſhewed himſelf a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, ſince the time of *Jekoſaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould think him little inferiour to *David*; of which honour he ſaw no reaſon why the prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him looſe an hundred talents, and done him no pleaſure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diſtempered with ſuch vain thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſe of his Jos ant. 9. c. 10. impiety following) *Joſephus* doth teſtifie ſaying, That he deſpiſed God, and that being puft up with his good ſucceſs, of which nevertheleſs he would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, he commanded *Joas* King of *Iſrael* to become his ſubject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Anceſtours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Iſraelites*, whom he diſmiſſed in the Journey againſt Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the ſenſe of a late wrong had more power to ſtirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long ſince, and by himſelfe neglected thirteen, or fourteen years. Nevertheleſſe it might ſo be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call old matters into queſtion; that ſo the Kings of *Iſrael* might, at the leaſt, learn to keep their ſubjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* deſired onely recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he ſhould have had ſome reaſonable anſwer from *Joas*, who was not deſirous to fight with him. But the anſwer which *Joas* returned, likening himſelf to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him to no better than a thiſtle, ſhewes that the challenge was made in inſolent termes, ſtuft perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Joſephus* hath written) between a King of ancient race and one of leſs Nobility than vertue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that Sophocl's in Ajax Lor. when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods aſſiſtance, he made anſwer, That by Gods aſſiſtance a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without ſuch help: after which proud ſpeech, though he did many valiant acts, he had ſmall thanks, and finally, killing himſelf in a madneſs, whereinto he fell upon diſgrace received,

was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter ſuch words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, he was rewarded with ſucceſs accordingly. The very firſt counſell wherein this war was concluded, ſerves to prove that he was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Jeruſalem*, among his Paraſites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, truſting more in the ſeat of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from ſo poor beginnings had raiſed himſelf to ſuch ſtrength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thouſand men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained up in a long victorious war. But as *Amazia* diſcovered much want of judgment, in undertaking ſuch a match; ſo in proſecuting the buſineſs, when it was ſet on foot, he behaved himſelf as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing elſe to do, than ſend a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas* on the contrary ſide, having been accuſtomed to deal with a ſtronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, uſed that celerity, which peradventure had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. He did not ſit waiting till the enemies brake in & waſted his Countrey, but preſented himſelf with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid battel to *Amazia*, and ſave him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of *Juda*, who (beſides the impreſſion of fear which an invaſion beats into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the ſpoile of *Iſrael*, fully perſwading themſelves to get as much, and at as eaſie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were ſo far diſappointed of their expectation that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithſtanding, their King that had ſtomack enough to challenge the patrimony of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the ſword. The iſſue of which fool-hardineſs might eaſily have been fore-ſeen in humane reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the firſt and ominous beginning of the War. But meer humane wiſdom, howſoever it might foreſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as ſoon as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe help this wretched man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement into Jos ant. l. 9. c. 10. the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to ſhift for himſelf; which he did ſo ill, that his enemy had ſoon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into moſt abject baſeneſs. That the Army which fled, ſuſtained any other loſs than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Joſephus*, it being likely that the ſoon beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhamefull, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchief that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himſelf ſhould ſuſtain the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates may be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amazed was the miſerable captive, with theſe dreadful words, that he durſt do no other than perſwade the Citizens, to yeild themſelves to the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate held out two years againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, vvas utterly diſmaied, when the King that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jeruſalem* vvere opened to *Joas*, vvith vvhich honour (greater than any King of *Iſrael* had ever obtained) he could not reſt contented, but the more to deſpiſe *Amazia* and his people, he cauſed 400. cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entred the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he ſack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and ſo taking hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

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§. IX.

A diſcourſe of the reaſons hindering Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Iſrael, *when he had won* Jeruſalem, *and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Joas *his reign.*

VVE may juſtly marvel how it came to paſs, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo content to depart quietly with a little ſpoil, when he might have ſeized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cauſe to hope that the iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that Crown; his own nobility, being the ſon and grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him;who might alſo have preferred his form of government before that of their own Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbade the *Iſraelite* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage to the beſt uſe,we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the queſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo fair a conqueſt, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt material, I mean the deſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the *Iſraelite* for their King, it is plainly ſeen, that entring *Jeruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own proſperity. For, the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not onely into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty (eſpecially having ſure means of compulſion) he might have made his own, when they ſaw themſelves betrayed, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity preſented, he did not aim at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe, and more meanly buſied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and ſhewing what he could do, by ſpending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done,his covetouſneſs began, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelf with that which is commonly moſt ready to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborn. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*,*Hazael*, and the *Philiſtims*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*,who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the eternal God, whoſe Temple was at *Jeruſalem*. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditary charge of the treaſure*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer; 1 Chro. 16. 15. they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Iſraelite*, and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoyded; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few days, might, by comparing themſelves one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a City. It is not ſo eaſy to hold by force a mighty town entred by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadviſed fear. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits. and begin to underſtand their firſt errour, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of proviſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the evills grown out of their former cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefs to poyſon the body, which in ſuch half-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be deſired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakneſs of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard tearms, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly profeſſing himſelf either friend or foe to the State, entred the Town, with his Army, in triumphant manner, himſelf and his horſe armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell miniſtred between them and the Towns-men: ſo far forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge ſums of ready money, and the abſolute Seigniory of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptory words made the French bethink themſelves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thouſand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not only depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their Dominion,and continue their aſſured friend.So dangerous a matter did it ſeem for that brave Army, which in few moneths after wan the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true,that *Charles* had other buſineſs (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, uſually draws every Citizen to ſave his own,leaving victory to the Souldier:yet where the people are prepared and reſolved, women can quench, as faſt as the enemy,having other things to look unto,can ſet on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit,who upon the uncertain hope of deſtroying a Town, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*,as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelf within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, ſhould re-enforce itſelf,and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity,his Army being upon return,and better loaden than when it came forth;for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight,

Beſides theſe impediments, within the City and without, ſerving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aſpiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet; who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability,referred unto the fifth,ſixth,and ſeventh yeares of *Joas*: after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſs, ill might the King of *Iſrael* have likened himſelf to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judæan* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the feild three hundred thouſand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories *Jouſh* ſhould find ſome change of fortune and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the laſt of his Reign. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his abſence gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelf into new misfortunes which increaſed the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam* his ſon. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter affliction, of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the Heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the ſonne of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtening his miſery and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*,and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againſt him,by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they took to ſet upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter;or through the miſeries daily brought upon his own Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence (if not by all of theſe) *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come,and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperity, forſook alſo his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſon.

§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reign and life.*

ANy man is able to gheſs how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his own great proweſs and skill in Arms, threatning to work wonders, and ſet up a-new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncaſed of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had bin painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch as held him in diſlike; which at this time doubtleſs were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent man, ſeldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia*, (beſides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of thoſe calamities which happen by their own default) there was no child in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchief. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himſelf a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might ſee what ſpoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-ſay. The father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they have made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſte which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelites* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoon have been rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſſed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to perſwade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away 2 Chron. 25. 27. from the Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*: a manifeſt proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſs welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might alwayes be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not the firſt, nor ſecond of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battel. *David* himſelf had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious Son. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have been kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was repute'd a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſſity of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, he ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had he given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeed that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their Maſters Commandments to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his own Perſon. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune it ſelf, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſs. For had he been as haſty to fly as others were, he might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage by his Royal example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another mans words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yeild; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the field, he bad them ſtand to it and fight like men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captain, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But he that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſs foretold by a Prophet; could eaſily find how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeems that he meant to keep himſelf ſafe from her by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteen years following (ſo long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his own ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his own worth or other mens opinions, thinking the leſs regard is had of his perſon than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authority in purchaſing the name of a ſevere man. For the affected ſowreneſs of a vain fellow, doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the fear wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakeneſs of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, men might attain to be ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſ-ſpend, in ſeeking to appear ſuch as they are not. This is a vain and deceiveable courſe; procuring, in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable ſpirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, vvhat did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, vvhen of themſelves they vvere apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the beſt vvas, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his own ſecurity: but vvho ſhould take vengeance (or upon vvhom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelf, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſs of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong fury, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extream was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo general, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his preſence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſs he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Army for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt City of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territory of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the general inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leiſure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been ſhewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his fathers Reign, or the foremoſt of his ſons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly ſet down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia*, 2 Chron. 25. 2. & *King of Juda, lived after the death of* Joas 2 King. 14. 17. *King of Iſrael, fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth year* 2 King. 14. 23. *of Amazia was made King over Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that *Azaria began to reign* 2 King 15. 1. *in the ſeven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the ſixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the firſt of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Inter-regnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth year of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth year might concur with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it ſelf might have ſuffered ſome vvrong, by miſwriting twenty ſeven for ſeventeen years; and ſo, by making the ſeventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the firſt of vvhich, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſs, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, vve ſhould call the text in queſtion; vvhich could not be falſified in all copies, if perhaps it vvere in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held vvith ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five years old; but then muſt vve add thoſe eleven years vvhich paſſed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his ſixteenth year, vvhich is all one in a manner, vvith allowing an *Inter-regnum*.

But vvhy ſhould vve be ſo careful to avoid an *Inter-regnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening vvithin few years, in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*? The ſpace of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*; vvhich the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Juda*, vvhen *Amazia* vvas ſlain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the neceſſity of computation vvere not ſo apparent.

For the publick fury having ſo far extended it ſelf, as unto the deſtruction of the Kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſs of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſs, that they which already had thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheleſs expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetful ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Thelectus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Geranthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other Towns.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelf to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeen he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelf and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the Prophecy, did promiſe unto *Beloſus* himſelf the government of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſs, one of them ſtirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrel, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe four Nations armed forty thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelf, but gathering ſuch forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſs. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearful terms, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome unexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the ſame time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces joyned themſelves with his. The ſudden departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great ſecurity was unprepared for reſiſtance.

This overthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himſelf into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it having been propheſied, that *Nineve* ſhould never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Town. Of the greatneſs and ſtrength of *Nineve*, enough hath been ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and ſlain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeems that he wanted Engines and ſkill to force thoſe walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to paſs upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high ſwoln with rains, it not onely drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no means of reſiſtance left, ſhutting up himſelf into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that City and *Tharſus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verſes well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example teſtified that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince.

Strab.l.9.

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more general conſent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be known.

Diod.Sic. l.2. c.7.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Aſſyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied in offenſive, or elſe defenſive arms; yet for the moſt part of them I do better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were overpaſſed by *Cteſias*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatſoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppreſſed them.*

Diod. l.2. c.6.

Theophilus Antiochenus l.21.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIA.

§. I.

The proſperity of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the ſecond, who reigned with him in* Iſrael. *Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahia.

UZzia, who is called *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was ſixteen years old, in the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas* King of *Iſrael*. He ſerved the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a Town that ſtood near to the Red Sea, and reſtored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philiſtims*, of whoſe Towns he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundry parts of their Territories. Alſo he got the maſtery over ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous Wars, wherein (as *Joſephus* rehearſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. 2 Chron 26.14. His Army conſiſted of three hundred and ſeven thouſand men of War, over which were appointed two thouſand and ſix hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *ſhields, and ſpears, and helmets*, and other Arms requiſite; following therein happily a courſe quite oppoſite unto that which ſome of his late predeceſſors had held, who thought it better policy to uſe the ſervice of the Nobility, than of 2 Chron. 21.9. the multitude; carrying forth to war *the Princes, and all the Chariots.*

As the victories of *Vzzia* were far more important, than the atchievments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, ſince the time of *David*; ſo were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not ſuperiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For, beſides that great conqueſts are won to repay the charges of War with triple intereſt, he had the ſkill to uſe, as well as the happineſs to get. He turned his lands to the beſt uſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds convenient for ſuch huſbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great ſtore, having won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waſte ground ſerving for paſturage. For defence of his Cattel and Heardſmen, he built Towers in the Wilderneſs. He alſo digged many Ciſterns or Ponds. *Joſephus* calls them Water-courſes; but in ſuch dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. if by theſe Towers he ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, relieve themſelves therewith, queſtionleſs he took the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip over all the Wilderneſs; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extream drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the uſe of Travellers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundry Towns among the *Philiſtims*; he repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof ſome were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The ſtate of *Iſrael* did never ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diviſion of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Vzzia* prevailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damaſcus*, and he 2 King.14. 25.28. wan *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout *from the entring of* Hamath, *unto the Sea of the Wilderneſs*, that is (as the moſt expound it) unto the vaſt deſarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiſcovered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David.*

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſion of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of thoſe whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promiſed the Kingdom of *Iſrael unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again 1 Reg.10. 13. it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat* was held ſo pretious, that neither the Kingdom it ſelf given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the miſery falling upon him and his poſterity, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promiſe of God made unto *Jehu*, that his ſons, *unto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but being almoſt expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſs at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment.

When *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it ſeems in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſon ſhould forthwith have been admitted to reign in his ſtead; the Nobility of that race having gotten ſuch a luſtre by the immediate ſucceſſion of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown paſſed by election, muſt needs have appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King having been ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty years did paſs before *Zacharia* the ſon of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform conſent, received as King. The true original cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did ſtand; yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance are likely not to have been wanting upon which the wiſdom of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rend the Kingdom aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with diſſention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeild all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Vzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Vzzia*, in the laſt ſix moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time ſufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes was no leſs diſtempered than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God bleſſed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his ſervant *David.*

Thus much being ſpoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Iſrael* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reign it ſelf, which laſted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himſelf a worſhipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgment of God; whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu*'s houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the propheſie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* houſe.

Zacharia having been ſix moneths a King, 2 King.15 13. was then ſlain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the ſpace of a moneth in Samaria.* What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; ſave onely that he was a Traytor, and the ſon of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeems that he was one of thoſe, who in time of faction had laboured for himſelf, and now when all other Competitors were ſitten down, thought eaſily to prevail againſt that King, in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong party: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemy and ſup-planter then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and vvas ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the ſon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred vvas deadly, and inhumane, for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that vvere therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in revenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*, whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial men in his Countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not onely the peace of his Kingdom; but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son occupied his room.

Joſ. ant l. 9. 11.

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, he was ſlain by *Peka* the ſon of *Ramalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crown of *Iſrael*, as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem* and his ſon, ſave that they were both of them Idolaters, and the ſon (as we find in *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened unto thoſe Northern Nations the way into *Palæſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia's* life, who out-lived the happineſs wherein we left him.

Joſ. ibid.

§. II.
The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Prieſt vvas the mean to preſerve the linage of *David* in the perſon of *Joas*, ſo it appears; that the care of holy men vvas not vvanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, vvhen the hatred born to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Vzzia*, That *he ſought God in the days of* Zacharia (*which underſtood the viſions of God*) *and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.*

2 Chro. 26. 5.

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incenſe upon the Altar of incenſe. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, vvhoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civill policy, ſhould have held back *Vzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidding it. Howſoever, the King forgot his duty, the Prieſts remembred theirs, & God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gave him to underſtand how little to his honour it vvould prove, that he took upon him the office of the ſons of *Aaron*. There vvere vvith *Azaria* fourſcore other Prieſts, valiant men, but their valour vvas ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, vvhen (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough the reſt God himſelf performed. We find in *Joſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelf in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azaria* and his Companions, to puniſh them vvith death, unleſs they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed inlargeth the Story, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping up the high-ways, and ſpoiling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake he ſaith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, vvhich vvas preſently infected vvith leproſie. All this may have been true; and ſome there are vvho think that this Earth-quake is the ſame, vvhich is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; vvherein they do much miſ-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, vvas in the days of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, vvho dyed ſeven and thirty years before *Vzzia*, ſo that *Jotham* the ſon of *Vzzia*, vvhich ſupplyed his Fathers place in government of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, have been then unborn: for he vvas but five and twenty years old, vvhen he began ro reign as King. Therefore, thus far onely vve have aſſurance; that *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe up in his fore-head, before the Prieſts.* Hereupon he vvas cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, & to live in a houſe by himſelf untill he dyed, the rule over the Kings houſe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son and Succeſſour. *Jotham* took not upon himſelf the ſtile of a King, till his Father vvas dead; vvhom they buried in the ſame field wherein his Anceſtors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

Verſe 16.

Joſ. ant. l. 9 c. 11.

2 Chro. 26. 20.

§. III.
Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed ſet down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophecy but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierome's* rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporary with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo plentifully been ſought, without reprehenſion, how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquity of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeems to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, and therefore is like to have propheſied in the days of *Joas*, whileſt the afflictions of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelf intimating no leſs: by which conſequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe works are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Iſrael* are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeems, not without reaſon unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe days *Nineve* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings, now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſs promiſes of the Meſſias.

2 Chro. c. 24. v. 25. 26.

In the reign of *Vzzia* likewiſe it was, that, *Eſay*, the firſt of the four great prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger Books. The prophet *Eſay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the ſon of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, and whole Hiſtory of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangeliſt, as a Prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome* ſaith) *one would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtory of matters already paſt.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

Hier. in præf. ſuper Iſaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reaſon) was current, when *Vzzia* took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſchis* followed in the Kingdom of *Egypt*: unto him ſucceeded *Amyſis*, and theſe two occupied that Crown ſix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten firſt ran along with the laſt of *Vzzia* his Reign and Life. Of theſe and other *Egyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affairs ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſs of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt years of *Ariphron* his twenty, the ſeven and twentieth of *Theſpaius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and the three firſt of *Æſchilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Vzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeven of *Silvius Aventinus* his ſeven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the firſt of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the firſt of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his ſon *Soſarmus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to uſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the ſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palæſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

Of

§. IV.

Of the Aſſyrian *Kings, deſcending from* Phul*: and whether* Phul *and* Beloſus *were one perſon, or heads of ſundry Families, that reigned a part in* Nineve *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been ſhewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Medyan*; to vvhom the reſt of the Confederates did not onely ſubmit themſelves in that War, but vvere contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority ſentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The firſt example of his power, vvas ſhewn upon *Beloſus* the *Babylonian*, by vvhoſe ſpecial advice and help, *Arbaces* himſelf vvas become ſo great: Yet vvas not this power of *Arbaces* exerciſed in ſo tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had aſſiſted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Beloſus*, he uſed the counſel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not onely the City and Province of *Babylon*, but alſo thoſe treaſures, for embezelling vvhereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the reſt of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely the Soveraignty to himſelf, vvhich to uſe immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is ſaid, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promiſe, he deſtroyed the City of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens neverthleſs to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Perſians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his ſide, by the allurement of liberty; which he himſelf ſo greatly loved, that by ſlacking too much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he did more harm to the general eſtate of *Media*, than the pleaſure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanaſſar*, (or perhaps by ſome of his Progenitors) vvhom vve find in the Scriptures to have held ſome Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil adminiſtration was ſo diſorderly, that the people themſelves were glad to ſee that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into ſtricter terms of obedience,

How the force of the *Aſſyrians* grew to be ſuch as might in fourſcore years, if not ſooner, both extend it ſelf unto the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, and tear away ſome part of *Media*, it is a queſtion hardly to be anſwered; not onely in regard of the deſtruction of *Nineve*, and ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may ſeem at that time to have kept the *Aſſyrians* under their ſubjection, when the reſt of the Provinces were ſet at liberty; but in conſideration of the Kings themſelves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by ſome, and diſtinguiſhed by others; whereby their Hiſtory is made uncertain.

I will firſt therefore deliver the opinion generally received, aud the grounds whereupon it ſtands: then, producing the objections made againſt it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joſeph Scaliger*, with thoſe learned that ſubſcribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull caſe. Neither ſhall it be needfull to ſet down a-part the ſeverall authorities and arguments of ſundry men, adding ſomwhat of weight, or of clearneſſe one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole ſubſtance of each diſcourſe: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine own, but meerly led by thoſe reaſons, which upon examination of each part, ſeemed to me moſt forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath paſſed as current, is this; That *Beloſus* was the ſame King, who, firſt of the *Aſſyrians*, entred *Palæſtina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with ſuch as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is ſaid, that he was a ſkilfull Aſtrologer, ſubtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by compoſition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Aſſyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalaſſar* his ſon, in whoſe Poſterity it continued ſome few deſcents, till the houſe of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metaſthenes* were ſufficient proof, could not be gainſaid; for that Author (ſuch as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howſoever *Annius* his Authors deſerve to be ſuſpected, it ſtands with no reaſon, that wee ſhould conclude all to be falſe which they affirme.

They, who maintaine this Tradition, juſtifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no hiſtorie at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewiſe other Captains were with governments: but that any third perſon was ſo eminent, as to haue *Aſſyria* it ſelfe, the cheiſe Countrey of the Empire beſtowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any Hiſtorie. And certainly it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed unto a peculiar King, at ſuch time as it was not meet to truſt them in their own walls and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, becauſe thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aſpiring to recover the Soveraignty, which elſe they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage* and diſſolve the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter eſteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it ſelfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought that the *Aſſyrians* in three or foure years had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* have been (of whoſe deſervings or entermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we find no mention in the Warre againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell either by generall conſent in diviſion of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchaſe very ſoon after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe neer neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his own game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelf, and to empeach any other man that ſhould have attempted to ſeize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* Empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſs: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and ſilver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And queſtionleſs, to reſtore ſuch a City as *Nineve*, was an enterpriſe fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch means as *Beloſus* had, which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to have wanted.

Tull. contra Rullum. or. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and Lord of *Aſſyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not have been an eaſie matter for him, to paſs quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, ſeeking booty a far off in *Iſrael*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers have called *Beloſus*, *Beleſes*, and *Beleſtis* (in like manner as *Joſephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſon of *Aſtiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxeres*) then is this ſcruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palæſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus* having ſettled his affairs in *Aſſyria* towards the Eaſt and North, might with good leiſure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other ſide of his Kingdom, to the South and Weſt. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumſtance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to thoſe that were to paſs over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them, and whoſe moſt fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barren quarters, might yearly do them ineſtimable pleaſures, was not only likely to have quiet paſſage through their borders, but their utmoſt aſſiſtance: yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they who loved not *Iſrael*, ſhould for their own behoofe have given him intelligence of the deſtructions and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, ſetting up a new King in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderneſs to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in ſo good terms of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinity, the memory whereof was availeable to the *Syrians*,

Joſ. Ant. l. 10 c. 12.

in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the ſuccour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damaſco.* So *Beloſus* had good reaſon to look into thoſe parts: what a King reigning ſo far off as *Nineve*, ſhould have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to ſhew.

But concerning this laſt argument of the buſineſs which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæſtina*, it may be doubted, leſt it ſhould ſeem to have ill coherence with that which hath been ſaid of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Iſrael* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Beloſus* was either unwilling to ſtir, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt and firſt diſcovered. This might have compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough to ſeek after help from ſome Prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Beloſus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Beloſus* did paſs the river of *Euphrates*, as ſoon as he found likelihood of making a proſperous journey, then may it ſeem that the *inter-regnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leiſure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been loſt.

For anſwer, hereunto we are to conſider, what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans* was in a manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Euſebius* do concur, that the authoriry of *Arbaces* did reſtrain the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardful onely of it ſelf. Now, though ſome have conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was given to *Beloſus* (as an overplus, beſides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deſervings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that he did onely incroach upon that Province by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reign; manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſettling of that Countrey, was work enough to hold *Beloſus* occupyed, beſides the reſtauration of *Nineue*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to ſee it finiſhed in his own days. So that this argument may rather ſerve to prove that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were one perſon, foraſmuch as the journey of *Phul* againſt *Iſrael* was not made until *Beloſus* could find leiſure; and the time of advantage which *Beloſus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſs in ſome other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat upon a Country ſo far diſtant as *Palæſtina*, was likely to have been, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtory, or, if not himſelf, yet his Country to have been ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoever of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Beloſus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole Country, ending but with the ruine and utter deſolation of *Nineve*, muſt needs have ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirty years ſpace be able to invade *Palæſtina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineve*, had, in all their greatneſs, forborn to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did help to enable *Beloſus* to ſubdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Countrey, ſecure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in thoſe Kingdoms, whereinto civill diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, Friends and Couſins to the *Chaldæans* and *Meſopotamians*, did invite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be underſtood of *Beloſus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the ſame whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better known in their own Countreys, have

called *Nabopollaſſer*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our ſelves or others with framing new conjectures, This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſervations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſes* were that *Phul* which invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſer*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar* the *Babylonian* King, among thoſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is known to have reigned in thoſe years which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodech*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into peices, hope to overthrow all the premiſſes upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then it is manifeſt that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeverall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworn to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerly *Chaldean*, vvhereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

It is likewiſe proved by the Aſtronomicall obſervations, vvhich proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from vvhom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, vvas a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which vvas *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, Eſay 39.1. but more breifly in *Eſay* his prophecie, *Merodac* by the former Part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan* the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan* King of *Babel*, were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the ſixt year of *Hezikia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*; therfore if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul* *Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painfull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given ſuch offences that men refuſed thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine own part, howſoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtamp affirm, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqeamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of theſe good fellows alledged in it: I have (ſomewhat peradventure to often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Neverthleſſe, I may ſay here again, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeak not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we find, and ſerveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are thoſe honeſt and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I miſtake him not, good ſilly fellows) who ſet down the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers as a man ſhould be aſhamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doors with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force as cannot either be reſiſted or avoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaligers* reaſons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeveral names? That Aſtronomy flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer or a *Chaldæan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelf calls them. *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* Nabonaſſarum *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleep have dreampt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an Aſtrologer*.

Scal Canon l 3.

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldæans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not prove him not to have been alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Poſterity will not uſe this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar* did uſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it ſeems, that he and his poſterity, by giving themſelves wholly to the more warlike Nation; loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued, as likewiſe King *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the *Netherlands*, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two unanſwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being me-thinks none other than anſwers to ſomewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary ſide) one of them which is drawn from the unlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſs of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted, which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelf: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſave conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Eſay* concerning *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, and *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Succeſſor of *Nabonaſſar* and his beginning to reign in the ſixt year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be anſwered in haſt. I will therefore defer the handling of theſe objections untill I meet with their ſubject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a ſcruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here ſatisfie him; that how ſtrong ſoever this argument may ſeem, *Scaliger* himſelf did live to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us conſider, in what ſort they have faſhioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſtis*, have in like ſort, as was neceſſary, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſs my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent unto us the body of this Hiſtory, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have ſeen, that ſince *Joſeph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calviſius* himſelf, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar* did reign, (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet down *Baladan*, for the

ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelf revoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay down the plot of theſe divided Kingdoms, in ſuch ſort as I find it conceived by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have ſeen, ſets down the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clark of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annales were printed the laſt year; he appears to me a man of a curious induſtry, ſound judgment, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſs he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe help, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelf, he hath both uſed and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not ſpare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confeſs my ſelf to have received benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annals had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in ſome things, ſo would he have inſtructed and imboldened me to write more fully and leſs timerouſly in other things, which now I have no leiſure to reviſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leſt it had over-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and been expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were ſlain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to ſay, that they may probably be thought to have been ſome petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. But now let us conſider how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the moſt mighty, ſought to get all to himſelf, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul* a powerful man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two prevailed ſo far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diviſion thereof, as vvas long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

c.1.ſect.13.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himſelf Soveraign Lord of all, and placed the ſeat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in four years, it came to paſs by the juſt judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*; and inſtead of being Vice-Roys, made themſelves abſolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Torniellus* himſelf leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſing, reſolving to hold the later, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gheſs. Having thus deviſed how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their ſucceſſors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglatphalaſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diverſly, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſifie them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlain, *Aſarhadden* his ſon ten years; in whom that line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight years; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight years did paſs, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſix and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar* the father of *Nebuchodonoſor*; who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the original of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly reſembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the ſudden King of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a Province, as would, of it ſelf, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſs his deſerts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deviſed the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this diviſion it ſelfe, and the civill Warres that cauſed it, were never heard of? Queſtionleſſe; the enterverting of ſome treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leſſe note. Therefore I doe not ſee, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we muſt confeſſe the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or elſe his merits, and name withall, to have been ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring ſuch a ſequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Beloſus*, againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recover ſuch ſtrength in foure years, as might ſerve to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus* it was needleſſe to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeek to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were vnder his own Government, to doe what they liſted.

But it is now fit that we peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings; not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their own times, but ſpeaking of their order and time in generall. If it be ſoe unlawfull to think, that ſome of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reign in *Aſſyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his forgery (as queſtionleſs he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own ſake; though for our own ſakes we make uſe of his boldneſs, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are unwilling our ſelves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we ſhall have this commodity, that we may without bluſhing after a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, againſt whom we ſhall be ſure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his meaſure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and ſeventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; uſing the liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſave our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the ſame length of reign, which is found in *Metaſthenes*, I think there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much unto themſelves, as may very well be allowed unto a man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wiſh that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this buſineſs, wherein he himſelf hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt have done, almoſt nothing.

The like liberty we find that he uſed in the meaſuring the reigns of the *Chaldæans*, filling up all the ſpace between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight years of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might have begun his reign ſomewhat later than *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight years would ſeem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young man when he took poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortning his reign, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that he ſeems by the ſtory to have been a little leſs at ſuch time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deſerve that note (which *Torniellus* adviſedly gives) that if his reign extended not ſo far, then the reign of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldneſs of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet down as warrantable, ſuch things as depend onely upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, muſt be deſcribed

in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcovery, that is, either by leaving ſome part blank, or by inſerting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-ſtone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allows not ſuch liberty to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſs oblivion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith.

——Neque fervidis
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitium latus,
Durat æque ſole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Navitæ,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The ſubjects Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The ſubtile Shipmen way to find,
Storm never ſo the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ſerve only to miſ-lead ſuch diſcoverers as raſhly believe them; drawing upon the publiſhers, either ſome angry curſes or well deſerved ſcorn; but to keep their owne credit, they cannot ſerve alwayes. To which purpoſe I remember a pretty jeſt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spaniſh* gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Megellan*: for when I asked, him being then my Priſoner, ſome queſtions about an Iſland in thoſe Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merily, that it was to be called the *Painters wives Iland*; ſaying, That whileſt the fellow drew that Map, his wife ſitting by, deſired to put in one Countrey for her; that ſhe in imagination, might have an Iſland of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Hiſtories, we need not be ſoe ſcrupulous, For it is not to be feared, that time ſhall runne backward, and by reſtoring the things themſelves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if ſome good Copy of any ancient Author, could be found, ſhewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of theſe uncertainties? would it be more ſhame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will not ſay, that the credit which we gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of thoſe Authors whoſe names he pretendeth. Let it ſuffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather truſt *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, of his aſſertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Hiſtories than their conjecture, as in this point it ſeems to me; it having moreover gotten ſome credit, by the approbation of many, and thoſe not meanly learned.

To end this tedious diſputation; I hold it a ſure courſe in examination of ſuch opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, ſo to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them deſirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the State-houſe, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them ſhould periſh, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haſty, for as faſt as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leiſure; for in ſubſtituting of another, ſome notorious vice of the perſon, or baſeneſs of his condition, or ſufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: ſo that finding the worſe and leſs choice, the further and the more that they ſought, it was finally agreed, that the old ſhould be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

AFter the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, follows the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the ſame King *Vzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion ſo general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things unto the ſacred Hiſtory, which are found in prophane Authors, we ſhould not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to thoſe works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of activity, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the ſtate and likely ſtrength of *Hercules* his body. They took name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwiſe *Piſa*, near unto *Elis*; where alſo *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. Theſe games were exerciſed from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponeſus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

Aul Gell l. 1 ex Plut. Plut. out of *Hermippus.*

After the death of *Hercules*, theſe meetings were diſcontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-eſtabliſhed them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were diſſolved under *Conſtantine* the Great.

From this inſtitution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their ſtories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Euſebius* out of *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whoſe time the ſeven wiſe *Grecians* flouriſhed. For *Solon* had ſpeech with *Crœſus*, and *Crœſus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Plin 36. c 4.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of theſe *Olympiads*, namely, to ſet them in the true year of the World, and the reign of ſuch and ſuch Kings: but ſeeing they all differ in the firſt accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril againſt *Julian* and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Oſias*, or *Azariah*.

Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l.10. c. 3.

Euſebius, who is contrary to himſelf in this reckoning, accounts with thoſe that find the very firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundreth and ſixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Vzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Eratoſth. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom l.1.

Eratoſthenes placeth the firſt *Olympiad* four hundred and ſeven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that paſſed between; to whom *Dionyſius*, *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The diſtance between the deſtruction of *Troy* and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the deſcent of *Hercules* his poſterity into *Peloponneſus*, were fourſcore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the firſt year of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to ſeek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it ſuffice that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe games to have been in the four hundreth and eight year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, ſetting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* muſt needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good uſe we have the enſuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourſcore and ſeventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyſander*, ſeven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole ſum ariſeth to 453. years; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Vzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo upon the Aſtronomical calculation of ſundry Eclipſes of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Tul. de Div. l.1. Juſt. l.1. Euſeb. de Prep. Evang. l.10. c.3. & de Dem. Evang l.8. c. 1.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Juſtin*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good Writers in the firſt year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death ſerveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obſervations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we ſhal find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*; wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which laſted but ſeven years, we find compleat two hundred and ſeven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth year from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeventy years of the captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the Land of *Iſrael*: manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe ſeventy years, and one hundred threeſcore, and ten years more, the laſt which paſſed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For examples ſake; that which was ſeen when *Xerxes* muſtered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundred threeſcore and ſeventh year of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threeſcore and ten years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards through the reigns of the laſt Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Vzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wreſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maſtery in thoſe feats, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exerciſes that ſerved only for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour of having plaid the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were preſidents of thoſe Games, whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partiality who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three ſons crowned for their ſeveral victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es*, that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou ſhalt not clime up to heaven*: as if there could be no greater happineſs on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeaks of theſe Victors, calling them.

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cœleſtes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elæan* Garland home.

Horat. Carm. l.4. Ode.2.

Neither was it only the voyce of the People, or ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had won theſe *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour to have won the victory at Running or wreſtling in thoſe games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victory, or conqueſt of a Province.

Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæan*, which doth anſwer to our *June*; and what means they uſed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have ſhewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I ſhall meet in more ſerious imployments, when the *Perſian* quarrels draw the body of the Hiſtory into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

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§. VI.

Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

JOtham the ſonne of *Vzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the ſecond of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, was anointed King in *Jeruſalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threeſcore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides divers Cityes in the

2 King. 15. 33.

Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forreſt, Towers and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thouſand meaſures: he reigned ſix and twenty years: of whom *Joſephus* gives this teſtimonie: *Ejuſmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullam in eo virtutis genus deſideres: ut qui Deum adeo Pie coluerit, hominibus ſuis adeo juſte prefuerit, urbem ipſam tantæ ſibi curæ eſſe paſſus ſit, & tantopere auxerit, ut univerſum regnum hoſtibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domeſticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fœlix, fauſtum & fortunatum ſua virtute effecerit; This was ſuch a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him: he worſhipped God ſo religiouſly, he governed his men ſo righteouſly, he was ſo provident for the City, and did ſo greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowesſ he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, proſperous and happy.*

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himſelf was devout and vertuous.

Auckomenes about this time ſucceeded *Pheleſteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magiſtrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pauſanias* in his ſecond book with *Strabo* & *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypſelus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalaſſar, or *Teglathpeleſer*, the ſon of *Phul* the ſecond of the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* 2 King. 15 that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Iſrael*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his maſter *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took moſt of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with thoſe of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his ſon *Salmanaſſar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not aſcribe to the ſon, becauſe the *Aera* of *Nabonaſſar* begins with his ſingle reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulaſſar* himſelf, who therewith reigned 27. years.

Æſchylus, the ſon of *Agamneſtor*, about the ſame time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Eſtate changed, according to *Euſebius*. But therein ſurely *Euſebius* is miſtaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pauſanias*, and others, witneſs the contrary. *Pauſanias* Pauſ. l. 3. affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, ſucceeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the *Meſſeniack* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the ſon of *Nicander*, his royal companion.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and of the city of *Nineve*, which ſucceeded (ſaith *Joſephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Soſarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the ſecond and third Kings of thoſe parts.

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§. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHas, or *Achaz*, ſucceeded unto *Jotham* in the ſeventeenth year of *Peka*, the ſon of *Remalia*: the ſame being alſo the laſt year of his fathers reign, who began in the ſecond of the ſame *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predeceſſors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his ſon for ſacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn* 2 Kin. 16. 11. which was repreſented by a man-like brazen body, 2 Chro. 28. bearing the head of a Calfe, ſet up not far from *Jeruſalem*, in a valley ſhadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is uſed for Hell. The children offered, were incloſed within the carkaſs of this Idol, and as the fire encreaſed, ſo the ſacrificers, with a noiſe of Cimbals, and other Inſtruments, filled the air, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and divilliſh Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that c.7.19,3 this horrible ſin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuternomy*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was alſo practiſed elſewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witneſs; as *Virgil* in the ſecond of *Æneids*——*Sanguine Placaſtis, &c.* and *Silvius*——*Poſcere cæde Deos. Saturn* is ſaid to have brought this cuſtom into *Italy*; beſides the caſting of many ſouls into the River of *Tyber*, in ſtead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men ſhould be thrown in and drowned. The Devil alſo taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, inſomuch, that when their City was beſieged, and in diſtreſs, the Prieſt made them believe, that becauſe they had ſpared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had ſtirred up and ſtrengthened their

Euſeb. de Præp. Evan. lib 6 Dion lib 1. Diod lib, 20. Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their City to be ſlain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations, had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagetes*, and others, in theſe his ſervices. Further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as Acoſt de Hiſtor. nat. & mor. Ind. *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful ſervitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred up *Rezen* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who invaded *Judæa*, and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelf of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time 2 Chron. 28. 6. *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz*, was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governor of his houſe, and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon unto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and took 2 Chro. 28. *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Shocho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelf environed on all ſides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglathpileſer*, to 2 Kings. 16. deſire ſome aid from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings houſe.

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that roſe in *Paleſtina*. His Father having lately made himſelf from a Provincial Leiutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himſelf, he was content to aſſign ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmly ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his Army, firſt invaded the Territory of *Damaſcus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin* the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſhur*, or rebelled againſt him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and born theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſias* find *Anticarmus* Euſeb. in Chron. inſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. years.

Tiglath Pileſer held the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeem to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſhur *to help him.* The *Geneva* note ſays, that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe 1 King 18 16. Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I do neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath been ſaid before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, Plutarch. in vita Solo. a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joynt Kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their Kings as the *Roman* Tribunes againſt the Conſuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever ſince the fiftieth year of *Vzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his Father *Æſchylus*, and was the laſt of their Governors: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcemenon*, they erected a Magiſtrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Maſter*, or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration *Pauſanias* in his fourth Book begins in the firſt year of the eight *Olympiad*, *Euſebius* and *Halicarnaſſæus* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Silvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the ſame *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the ſame King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I think he ſhould; others ſomewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others ſquare the time of the foundation to the third year of the ſixt *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, to the firſt year of the ſeventh; who ſeem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the beſt account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

ANd here to ſpeak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations poſſeſt it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may ſeem to invite us: the rather becauſe much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of thoſe elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as firſt *Heſperia*, then *Auſonia*, the one name ariſing of the ſeat, the other of the *Auſones*, a people inhabiting part of it; one ancient name of it was alſo *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, thinks to have been the firſt that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* ſpeaks thus:

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Heſperia* name,
Ancient, and ſtrong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Poſterity,
Tis from a Captains name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have bin, it is very uncertain. For *Virgils* ſpeaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued ſo long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the firſt accepted without good cauſe. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the firſt planters of this noble Country, *Reyneccius* hath made a very painful ſearch, and not improbable conjecture. And firſt of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who ſpeaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it; Secondly, upon that of *Juſtine*, who ſaith, that *Brunduſium* was a Colony of the *Ætolians*; Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the ſame of *Temeſa* or *Tempſa*, a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*; Laſtly, upon the authority of *Pliny*, who ſhews that the *Italians* did inhabit onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is ſaid of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* who (as he ſhews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſave that the firſt Letter is caſt away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Iſland near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach.

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Juſt. lib. 12.
Strabo lib. 6
Plin lib. 3. c. 5.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apoſtata, who called the *Greeks* couſins of the *Latines*. Alſo the common Original of the *Greeks* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whoſe Image had two faces, looking Eaſt and Weſt, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was ſtamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who ſayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes between *Ætolia* and the Weſtern parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, & thereto applyes that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may ſeem ſtrengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whileſt he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſon of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*: vvhich antiquity far exceeds the the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage vvith *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting vvith her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* and her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; vvhich he vvould not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one perſon.

As for the authority of *Beroſus* in this caſe, vve need the leſs to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himſelf, vvhoſe conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams vvherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, vvherein he vvould not have ſaid, ———*Nun fama minores Italiam dixiſſe ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey, But ſeeing that, vvhen *Hercules*, vvho died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colony of the *Eleans* (vvho in a manner vvere one and the ſame Nation vvith the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldneſs to ſay, that *Italus* vvas Commander of theſe *Eleans*. Fot though I remember not that I have read of any ſuch *Greek* as vvas named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* vvritten in *Greek Aitolus*, vvas very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſon of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil's* authority ſtand vvell vvith the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of vvhich he and his people vvere.

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§. II.

Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reaſon of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* vvere moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greateſt part of it under their ſubjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatſoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Weſtern parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have bin *Arcaians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always uſurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon; becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeats ſo oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that halfe Iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo unſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Countrey was leſs fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of acceſs, and they themſelves (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtile themſelves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt ſomewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, ſhould have bin Authors of new diſcoveries, were a queſtion not eaſie to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſſe of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, inforced the ſuperfluous company to ſeek another ſeat, & that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Evander*, into the ſame parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient Nation, who ſometimes gave name to all *Greece:* but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory ſuch in *Italy*, as could long ſuſtaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Auſones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following diſturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to ſome civility; and he therefore cannonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and ſay, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is queſtionleſs a fable. For as in Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; ſo in the truth of Hiſtory, it is well known, that no King reigning in thoſe parts was ſo mighty, that it ſhould be hard to find one Countrey or another, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit, And yet, as moſt fables and poeticall fictions were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of ſpeech, or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkly expreſſe (for ſo they feigned a paſſage over a River in Hell, becauſe death is a paſſage to another life: and becauſe this paſſage is hateful, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Pain: ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtonie-hearted; and becauſe the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες, ſtones, are neer in ſound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Ducalion* ſtones converted into men, as at other times men into ſtones:) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturns* hiding himſelf was ſome alluſion to that old opinion of the wiſeſt of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence alſo *Eſay* of the true God ſaies, *tu Deus abdens te.* For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* ſhould alſo have this very ſignification, if it be derived (as ſome think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be ſought elſewhere.

See lib. 1. cap 6. ſect. 1 & ſeq.

Acts 17.23; *Eſay* 45.15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who deſcended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium.* For theſe *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them ſubjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Aſia:* viz. *in agro Elaitico, in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo.* Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Aſia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pauſanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name laſt rehearſed hath a very neer ſound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the ſtrength or weakneſs of utterance, which is found between many Engliſh words written with the ſame letters. Wherefore that theſe *Ceteans*, being deſcended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, conſidering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*; of which laſt it were ſomewhat harſh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now vvhereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language & ſimilitude of names, they might nevertheleſs differ in ſound and pronunciation of one and the ſame word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom ſome (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus:* in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that

founded the City *Elateja*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, purſuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was ſlain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evill might befall themſelves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* ſhould go ill) paſſed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Countrey: and between theſe two families the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom did paſs, almoſt interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe Poſterity it continued untill the laſt. Again, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſs reproofe, conſidering that it is not eaſy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among theſe diſagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

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§. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *untill* Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, ſave what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who ſhall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks* called by them κρόνος, or ſome other, ſtiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the ſame: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the ſoil which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) do rather make him ſeem ſome other man.

Ezekiel often calls the *Idols* of the Heathen *deos ſtercoreos:* and hence it may be that in the Evangeliſt we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus ſtercoreus:* and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an *Idol*, it pleaſed God that in a like ſenſe this name *Stercutius* ſhould ſtick unto him.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid, that he was a good horſe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Py, may well ſeem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in ſooth-ſaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having ſlain by miſchance his father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waſt grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, who was alſo his wife, as all Hiſtorians agree, ſhe was held a Propheteſs, and highly commended for her chaſtity, which praiſe in her muſt needs have bin much blemiſhed by her marriage, it ſelf being meerly inceſtuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his ſiſter any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, ſave only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

Æneid. 7.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, ſave onely that her aboad was about the River *Lyris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this only, that *Suidas* cals *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a ſon of the ſame name. This *Latinus* having obtained the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promiſe his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the ſon of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arrived in thoſe parts with fifteen ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Veſſels then uſed, about one thouſand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance, with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himſelf had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*: who incenſed herewith, ſought to avenge himſelf by war: which was ſoon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were ſhe an *Italian*, ſhe could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unleſs we ſhould wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who ſerved in the laſt year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Aſiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnaſſæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a ſurname, it may ſeem by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which ſignifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Prieſt called every Virgin whom he took to ſerve as a Nun of *Veſta*; wherefore it is the more eaſie to be thought a ſurname, howſoever *Virgil* diſcourſe of her and *Venilia* her ſiſter.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greateſt part of that Country, was eſtabliſhed in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatneſs of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of Æneas, *and of the Kings and Governours of Alba.*

Æneas himſelf being of the Royal bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Creuſa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a ſon called *Aſcanius*; whoſe ſurname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been ſurnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Aſcanius*, fled into the Woods, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and ſurnamed *Poſthumus*, becauſe he was born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was ſo evil taken by the people, that *Aſcanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and uſing her as a Queen, did foſter her young ſon his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occaſions of diſagreement, or delighted with the ſituation of the place; *Aſcanius* leaving to his mother in law the City *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new Wives name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to ſome, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his deceaſe, there aroſe contention between *Sylvius*, the ſon of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the ſon of *Aſcanius*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the ſon of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Prieſthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Poſthumus*, whoſe poſterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus ſet down:

1	*Sylvius Poſthumus.*	29	years.
2	*Sylvius Æneas.*	31	
3	*Sylvius Latinus.*	50	
4	*Sylvius Alba.*	39	
5	*Sylvius Atis.*	26	
6	*Sylvius Capys.*	28	
7	*Sylvius Capetus.*	13	
8	*Sylvius Tiberinus.*	8	
9	*Sylvius Agrippa.*	41	
10	*Sylvius Alladius.*	19	
11	*Sylvius Aventinus.*	37	
12	*Sylvius Procas.*	23	
13	*Sylvius Amulius.*	44	
	Sylvius Numitor.		

Ilia, called alſo *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. *Remus*.

The moſt of theſe Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the borders of *Latium*: who ſtanding much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* ſome think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Julius* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder ſon of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom alſo his ſon *Ægeſthus* was ſlain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nun of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceived two ſons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as ſome think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by ſome man of war. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which

ſo

ſo ordained, when the Veſtal Virgins brake their chaſtity. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdom: wherein how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the ſucceſs of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrel by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſhood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæſar* being deſcended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full aſſembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtry, valour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelf and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was ſo revived, that ſeldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calphurnius Piſo*, *Sempronius*, and others, ſeek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marſylus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Græcians* for their Anceſtors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto,* Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a Roman Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, becauſe the Romans, after Greekiſh faſhion, by ancient ordinance, do ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romans alſo worſhip the mother of* Evander. *Strab. §. f. 159.*

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others ſay, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witneſs S. *Auguſtine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his conſort, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

> *Attamen ut longè repetas longéque revolvas,*
> *Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,*
> *Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree ſo far;
Thy firſt Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was,or elſe,that I'll forbear.
meaning,either a Shepheard or a Theif.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preſervation,it is ſaid, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* ſuppoſed to be his father; that he was nurſt by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Fauſtula* a Shepheards wife. The ſame unnatural nurſing had *Cyrus*, the ſame incredible foſtering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch,the other by Birds. But,as *Plutarch* ſaith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it ſeemeth to me that he might have two purpoſes; the one, to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriouſly held the Kingdom; the other, to ſatisfie his appetite, becauſe ſhe was fair and goodly. For ſhe being made a Nun of the goddeſs *Veſta*,it was death in her,by the Law, to break her chaſtity. Fauchet f. 114. I alſo find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*,that *Meroüee*,King of the *Francs*,was begotten by a Monſter of the Sea: but *Fauchet* ſayes,*Let them believe it that liſt*; *Il le croira qui voudra:* Alſo of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to anſwer theſe imaginations in general, It is true, that in thoſe times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or paſſions of the mind, or as there were of vices and vertues, then did many women greatly born, cover ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to be forced by more than humane power:ſo did *Oenone* confeſs to *Paris*, that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Apollo*. And *Anchyſes* boaſted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by ſome man of War,or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battel, according to the ſenſe of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a ſtrong wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe properties aſcribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüee* might fancy a Sea Captain,to be gotten with young by ſuch a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a baſtard, and begotten upon ſome fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of luſt,which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurſt by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curteſans in thoſe dayes were called Wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (ſaith *Halicarnaſſæus*) *honeſtiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by an honeſter name called friends*.It is alſo written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great ſtorm of thunder and lightning: ſo was it ſaid that *Æneas* vaniſhed away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* alſo ſpeaketh modeſtly; for he rehearſeth the other opinion that the ſtorm was the fury of the Senators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkneſs, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be ſlain by thunder or lightning,it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* was ſlain with lightning; ſo was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* ſlain with a thunder-bolt: ſo *Carus* the Emperour (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whileſt he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there ſlain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtiny followed moſt of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the ſeventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid he) *Romulus* himſelf died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſæus* end this diſpute; whoſe words are theſe: *They* (ſaith he) *who drew neareſt to the truth, ſay that he was ſlain by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in puniſhment of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported,that both when his mother was raviſhed, whether by ſome man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sun was eclipſed, and all the earth covered with darkneſs like unto night,and that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whoſe life hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth contain(beſides what is here already ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles, which had ſoon been forgotten,if the *Roman* greatneſs built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ſtrong of body,patient of travel, and temperate in diet,as forbearing the uſe of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his brother,and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himſelf might be Lord alone in thoſe narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, ſingle, till he was ſlain, as is already ſhewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Prieſt-like than King-

like: wherein *Rome* it ſelf in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For having long bin ſole Governeſs, till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was cruſhed by forreign enemies, and the *Latines* diſpoyled of Imperial power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell,being driven from luxury to defenſive arms,and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her ſelf again to the Croſier ſtaff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place,by occaſion of the ſtory of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemy, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtory of the Bible.*

AS the firſt year of *Ahaz* his reign was confounded with the laſt of his father *Jotham*,ſo was the later end of his ſixteen years taken up in the three firſt of *Ezechias* his ſon. This appears by the Reign of *Hoſea*, over *Iſrael*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea* was the firſt of *Ezechia*; ſo it follows, that *Ezechia* began to reign in this Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezechia* began,and ſo the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezechia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his Kingdom,vvhen the twelfth year of *Ahaz* vvas almoſt compleat, ſome vvould find the means how to diſ-joyn the firſt of *Hezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of vvhich year,*Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But ſeeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places,it is vain labour to alter the firſt year.

2 Kin. 19. 35. In the fourteenth year of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, loſt his Army by a miraculous ſtroak from Heaven, fled home, and vvas ſlain. The year following it vvas that God added ſixteen years to the life of *Ezechia*, vvhen he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the ſame year vvas that miracle ſeen of the Suns going back; of vvhich vvonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, vvho is much commended for skill in Aſtronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, vvhich anſwered unto the twenty fift of *April*,in the *Julian* year, being then Thurſday. I have not ſeen any vvorks of *Scultet*; but ſurely to find a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome record of obſervation made at ſuch a time. Howſoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore vve may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, vvhich is uſual in like caſes, that Ahaz *ſlept with his Fathers*, & Ezechia *his Son reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not vvith his Father, than the like ſaying doth inferr the like at the death of *Jehoſaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Jehoram*; vvhereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign vvhileſt his Father lived, vve have already ſaid enough. 1 Chro. 28. 17.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*,vve find,that his very beginning teſtified his devotion and zeale. For vvhether it vvere ſo,that his unfortunate and ungracious father(who had out-vvorn his reputation) gave vvay to his Sons proceedings, vvhich perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the firſt year and firſt moneth of his reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doors of the Temple, vvere to be underſtood as 2 Chro 29. v. 3. the beginning of his ſole government; vvee plainly find it to have been his firſt vvork, that he opened the doors of the houſe of the Lord, vvhich *Achaz* had ſhut up, cleanſed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, reſtored 2 Chro. 30. the Prieſts to their offices and eſtates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many years neglected, and brake down the braſen ſerpent of *Moſes*,becauſe the people burnt incenſe before it, and he called it *Nebuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the paſſe-over with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of thoſe Tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt: But the generall multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezechia* to ſcorne.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanaſſar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *So* King of *Egypt*, againſt him, invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes, into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the ſame name, with *Anna* his Wife, were ſent to *Nineve*; in whoſe Seats and Places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians*: whoſe Places and Nations I have formerly deſcribed in the Treatiſe of the Holy Land.

Theſe latter *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the *Perſians*, which followed them, are the firſt of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred books. Theſe therefore ſerve moſt aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwiſe then fabulouſly) with the Ages following that were better known, and deſcribed in courſe of Hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we find in the Bible the ſame names by vvhich other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanaſſar*, vvith other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diverſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe ſpeak of *Salmanaſſar*, King of *Aſſur*, vvho reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, vvhom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nebuchadnezzer*, that he was the ſame whom *Ptolemy*, calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points *Bucholerus* hath well collected ſufficient proofe from the exact calculations of ſundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of *Chriſt*, there paſſed ſeven hundred forty and ſix years: at which diſtance of time the reign of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, ſpeaking of three Eclipſes of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent Embaſſadours to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall find it the ſame which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzer*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diſtance of one hundred thirty and three years: the ſelf-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For whereas *Ptolemy* ſeems to ſuffer from this accompt, making *Nabonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, wee are to underſtand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; ſo that the ſeven foregoing years added to theſe one hundred thirty and three, make the accompt of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolemy*, *Ptolemies* computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolaſſar*, there paſſed one hundred twenty and ſeven years. Now if wee add to theſe one hundred twenty ſeven, the thirteen enſuing of *Nebuchadnezzers* years, before the City and Temple were deſtroyed, wee have the ſum of one hundred and forty years. In ſo plain a caſe more proofes are needleſs, though many are brought, of which this may ſerve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar*, one hundred twenty and two years after the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more ſure than the authority of any Hiſtory; aud therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Hiſtorians and Mathematical obſervations do ſo throughly concurr.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt unanſwered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonaſſar*, *I* will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giving the Reader ſatiſfaction herein. It is true, that the next obſervations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonaſſar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the ſecond year of whoſe reign, is, according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty ſeven of *Nabonaſſar*. For the ſecond of three ancient Eclipſes which he calculates, being in the ſecond year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonaſſar* twenty ſeven years, ſeventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at high-noon the firſt day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then anſwering to the twenty ſixt of *February*; and this Eclipſe being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the firſt day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; ſo that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonaſſar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meradach*, was the Son of *Nabonaſſar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Succeſſour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to ſatisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himſelf did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But becauſe our Country-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calviſius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology; that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the ſame aſſertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonaſſar*, I have taken the pains to ſearch, as far as my leiſure & diligence could reach, after any ſentence that might prove the Kindred or Succeſſion of theſe two: Yet cannot I find in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either ſilent in this point, or adverſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this buſineſs) any ſentence more nearly proving the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was father to the other, than (that I may uſe a like example) the as near ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſidered, we may ſafely go on with our account from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomy* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtory naming ary others that reigned there in thoſe ages; and all Aſtronomical obſervations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to theſe, or numbered from them.

Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c.8.

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§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Senacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Iſrael* had undertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it ſeems) a purpoſe to invade *Egypt*, ſent one part of his Army to lye before *Jeruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he preſented *Senacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* invironed *Jeruſalem* with a groſs Army, and having his ſword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his own conditions.

2 Kin. 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counſellers, to parly with *Rabſaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who uſed three principal arguments to perſwade the people to yeild themſelves to his Maſter *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretary, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewiſh*, yet he with a louder voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a ſhort time be inforced to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould help them, *Ezechias* had formerly

2 Kin 18. 21.

broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, vvhich had been preſerved ever ſince *Moſes* time: and vvithall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations, vvhom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and thrown down; and for God himſelf, in vvhom they truſted, he perſwaded them by no means to rely upon him, for he vvould deceive them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a vvhile, vvhen he had underſtood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful Army, he himſelf left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their reſolution in *Jeruſalem*, or to confer with him concerning the Army of *Turhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly adviſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelf, uſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately been ſent to *Rabſaces*, received from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this heathen Idolater ſhould not prevail; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aid from Almighty God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Senacherib*'s letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confeſſing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Aſhur *had deſtroyed* 2 Kin. 19. *the Nations and their Lands, and had ſet fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the works of mans hands, even wood and ſtone, &c.*

The reaſon that moved *Senacherib* to deſire to poſſeſs himſelf in haſte of *Jeruſalem*, was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Army, which was departed as it ſeemeth from the ſiege of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are ſilent of that enterpriſe (which in theſe Books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, ſpeak but of the affairs of the *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Beroſus*, and out of him *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. Herod. l. 2. p. 69. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*: which he might juſtly do, becauſe *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wreſted from *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the reſt of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the ſame *Herodotus* alſo maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Prieſt; and reporteth that the reaſon of *Senacherib*'s return from *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, which he alſo beſieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in ſunder the Bow-ſtrings of his Archers, and ſpoiled the reſt of their Weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Beroſus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the ſeven and thirtieth of *Eſay*, out of the ſame *Beroſus*, as alſo in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Joſephus* citeth ſomewhat otherwiſe Joſ. ant. l. 10. c. 1. Her. Euterp. l. 2. than his words lye, reports *Senacherib*'s retrait in theſe words: *Pugnaſſe autem* Senacherib *Regem Aſſyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obſediſſe Peluſium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, veniſſe* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jeruſalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Aſſyrii peſtilentia corruiſſe, narrat* Herodotus: *& pleniſſime* Beroſus *Chaldaicæ ſcriptor Hiſtoriæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda eſt*; *That* Senacherib *King of the* Aſſyrians *fought againſt the* Ægyptians, *and beſieged* Peluſium, *and that when his Mounts were built for the taking of the City,* Tarhacas *King of the* Æthiopians *came to help them, and that in one night, near* Jeruſalem, *one hundred eighty five thouſand of the* Aſſyrian *Army periſhed by peſtilence; of theſe things* (ſaith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Beroſus *a writer of* Chaldæan *Story, whoſe credit is to be taken from their own Books.* * To wit in part, for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Jeruſalem, nor of the Army there. Out of *Eſay* it is gathered, that this deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Army was in this manner: Eſay 29. 6. *Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of Hoaſts with thunder and ſhaking, and a great noiſe, a whirlewind, and a tempeſt, and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Joſephus* hath it more largely out of the ſame *Beroſus*, an authority (becauſe ſo well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Joſ. ant. l. 10. c. 1. Senacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem ſub* Rabſacis *imperio reliquerat peſte divinitus immiſſâ deletum, primâ nocte poſt eaquam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, abſumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis ſollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum ſuum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo poſt per inſidias Seniorum è filiis ſuis,* Adramelechi, *& Se-* Selennar otherwiſe Sharezer, who ſlew him, as he was praying to Neſroc his god. lennari, *vitam amiſit: occiſus in ipſo Templo quod dicitur* Araſci, *quem præcipuo cultu dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulſis, & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Aſaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum ſucceſſit;* 2 King. 19. Senacherib (*ſaith* Joſephus) *returning from the* Ægyptian *War, found there his Army, which he had left under the command of* Rabſaces, *deſtroyed by a peſtilence ſent from God, the firſt night that he had begun to aſſault the Town: one hundred fourſcore and five thouſand of the Souldiers being conſumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which deſtruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the reſt of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where ſhortly after by the treaſon of two of the eldeſt of his Sons,* Adramelch *and* Selenner *or* Sharezer, *he loſt his life in the Temple dedicated to* Araſces, *or* Neſroth; *Whom he eſpecially worſhiped. Theſe his Sons being for their paracide chaſed* 2 King. 19. 37. *away by the people, and flying into* Armenia, 1 Eſd. 4. 1. Aſaracoldas *his younger Son ſucceeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reign ſent new troops out of *Aſſyria* to *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanaſſar*. What this *Neſroth* was, it is uncertain: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath ſomewhat of him, but nothing poſitively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worſhiped by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo was Lyr. *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Euſebius*, and *Cyrillus* witneſſe. Many fancies there are, what cauſe his Sons had to murther him; but the moſt likely it is, that he had formerly diſ-inherited thoſe two, and conferred the Empire on *Aſſarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib's* returne, ere he was murthered by his Sons, during which time he ſlew great numbers of the *Iſraelites* in *Nineve*, till the moſt juſt God turned the ſword againſt his own breaſt.

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§. III.

Of Ezechias *his ſickneſſe and recoverie; and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

AFter this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah* that he muſt dye: but after he had beſought God with tears for his delivery, *Iſaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promiſe him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* 2 Kin. 20. ſomewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a ſign to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the Sunne caſt it ſelf the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moved *Ezechias* to lament (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) was, becauſe he had as yet no ſon, and then in deſpair that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of the houſe of *David*, or at leaſt of his Seed. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the peſtilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a maſſe of Figs, laid to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wiſe-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the firſt of that houſe, he ſent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezechias* ſhewed him all the Treaſure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; Eſay 39. *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine houſe, and whatſoever thy Fathers have laid up in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeeme ſtrange, how *Ezechia* ſhould have got any treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the ſpoyl of the ſame *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezekia* richer upon the ſudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezekia* had reſt, and ſpending without noiſe that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offenſive War he made, vvhich vvas againſt the *Philiſtims*, vvith good ſucceſs. Among his other acts (ſhortly remembred in *Eccleſiaſticus*) he deviſed to bring vvater to *Jeruſalem*. Eccluſ. 28.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to ſhew them to ſtrangers. But the reaſon vvhich moved *Ezechias* (ſpeaking humanely) to entertain the Embaſſadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, vvas becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recovery of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakned the houſe of *Senacherib*, his fearfull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, uſurped that State himſelf, in the laſt year of that King, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his ſon *Aſſarhaddon*; who was not onely ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his own Maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the cuſhion, thought it as lawfull for himſelf to take the opportunity which this Kings weakneſs did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make uſe of the others wickedneſs, and ſo, finding himſelf beloved of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed, the aſſertion of this hiſtory is made by the ſame arguments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearſe. So of this new race, which cut aſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

Phul Belochus	reigned	48	years.
Tiglath Philaſſar		27	
Salmanaſſar		10	
Senacherib		7	
Aſſarhaddon		10	

But foraſmuch as the laſt year of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Senacherib* his ſon, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the laſt five and twenty were ſpent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

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§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media *during the reign of* Ezechia : *Of the difference found between ſundry Authors in rehearſing the* Median *Kings. Other contemporaries of* Hezekia : *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules..

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeveral Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeem more than indeed they were; or whether the ſons reigning with the fathers, have cauſed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themſelves of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſs; ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median* Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe writers that vary from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reigns thus:

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmon		30	
Articarmin		50	
Arbianes		22	
Artæus		40	
Artines		22	
Aſtybarus, with his ſon *Apanda*		20	
Apanda alone		30	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeem a borrower) placeth them thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmus		30	
Articas		50	
Arbianes		22	
Arſæus		40	
Artines		22	
Artabanus		40	

Aſtybara
Aſtyages the continuance of theſe two he doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeems to me an impoſſible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Soſarmus		30	
Medidus		40	
Cardiceas		15	
Deioces		54	
Phraortes		24	
Cyaxares		32	
Aſtyages		38	

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retain; but adde unto theſe, *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent,

concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any food: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reign both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia* one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven, and finally *Crœſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Crœſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeveral Countreys very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacædemonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſans*: beſides many great and famous, though private families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice of the time of their ſeveral reigns: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezekiah *in* Juda *when* Egypt *and* Juda *made a league againſt the* Aſſyrians.

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§. I.

That many names of Egyptian *Kings, found in Hiſtory, are like to have belonged only to Vice-roys. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his Hiſtory of the Holy War.*

THe emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, between, the mighty Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Aſſyrians*, do require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Countrey, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the maſtery. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to fail in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynaſties, muſt here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, vvere none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* vvas, and ſuch as vvere the Soldans in latter ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to ſeek after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian* Prieſts, delivering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names onely are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumſtances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to give unto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtorie doth afford, Firſt therefore, we ought not to believe thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Preiſts have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Chriſt* was removed onely forty two deſcents; which makes it evident, that in farre ſhorter time, namely before the *Perſian* Empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Egypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we ſhould ſquare the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the reſt whoſe names we find ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to read the nineteenth book of the Holy Warr, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelf, that it is not hard to find names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert as breifly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe, for the pleaſure and information of ſuch as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtile man, made himſelf Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jeruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an invaſion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damaſco*, for ayde, who ſends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, againſt the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: For in few dayes after, he was ſlain by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the kindred and freinds of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the adminiſtration of the kingdome, whileſt he might have the profit of it, and his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would think) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himſelfe. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damaſco*, for the conqueſt of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himſelf not ſtrong enough to expell them, much leſſe to expell the Turkiſh Armie that was likely to ſecond them: He therefore ſends Meſſengers to King *Almarick* of *Jeruſalem*, whom with large promiſes he gets to bring him ayde, and ſo drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not ſo much as ſhould make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater miſchief ariſeth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the Turks that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that falſe Prophet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakneſs of the *Egyptian*, with his own abilitie of doing ſervice in thoſe parts; offering his beſt means for the extirpation of the Schiſmaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Weſtern parts, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eaſtern Provinces are up in Arms, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, deſcendeth into *Egypt*. The noyſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his forces he haſteth into *Egypt*, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his kingdome of *Jeruſalem*, to keep the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Chriſtians his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved

him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not ſo ſoon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concerns our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in title onely, who meddled ſo little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe help all was loſt) could not well ſtay ſo long as his neceſſities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Sarazens, perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the Soldan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the *Caliph* himſelf. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are ſent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſs of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders lead them into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embaſſadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with emboſſed Works, curious Pavements, Fiſhponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange Birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the Eaſt Indies, which then was undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other Courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſs ordinary houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvaile; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, which were yet more ſtately and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the Soldan having twice proſtrated himſelf, did the third time caſt off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himſelf on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* ſate. Preſently the traverſe wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the *Caliph* himſelf diſcovered, ſitting with great Majeſty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his moſt inward ſervants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his comming, the danger wherein the Land ſtood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almerick*, deſiring the *Caliph* himſelf to ratifie them in preſence of the Embaſſadors. The *Caliph* anſwered, That he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that ſtood by thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſs condeſcenced at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæſaria* ſaw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth ſeeks no holes to hide it ſelf; Princes that will hold Covenant, muſt deal openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Majeſty of ſuch a Prince to yield ſo far. But when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchſafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants word by word, as the Earl ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors with ſuch rewards as teſtified his greatneſs.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may diſcern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelf with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the mean ſeaſon, uſing all Royal power; making War and Peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joſeph*, when *Pharaoh* ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt be over mine houſe, and at thy word ſhall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have ſet thee over all the Land of Egypt ?*

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever ſince *Joſeph's* time, have felt the burden of that ſervitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their eaſe, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient cuſtoms practiſed by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his ſon *Philadelphus*, founder and eſtabliſher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to pleaſe their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, *Eunuches*, and other Miniſters of their deſires. The pleaſures which that Country afforded, were indeed ſufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life, and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them ſecurity, whereby they might the better truſt their Officers with ſo ample commiſſion. But of this matter, I will not ſtand longer to diſpute. It is enough to have ſhewed, that the great and almoſt abſolute power of the Viceroys governing *Egypt*, is ſet down by *Moſes*, and that a lively example of the ſame is found in *William* of *Tyre*, who lived in the ſame age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and had full diſcourſe with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæſaria* touching all theſe matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that ſtile; but reſt contented with a Catalogue of ſuch, as we find by circumſtance, likely to have reigned in that Countrey; after whom it follows that we ſhould make inquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Oſymandyas. *Of* Oſymandyas *and his Tomb.*

IN this buſineſſe I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this caſe *Annius* would doe good ſervice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either ſay nothing, or that which may juſtly be ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelf contented with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, and thoſe antiquities removed ſo far out of ſight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, it ſhall ſuffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Euſebius* have not been ſilent, and that *Reyneccius* hath taken pains to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the ſame that the Greeks call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I ſet down the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and give to every one the ſame length of reign.

Acherres was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceeded unto *Chencres*, that periſhed in the Red Sea. This King ſeems to *Reyneccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures was the great *Oſymandyas*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the diſtance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Oſymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the ſeconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Joſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, becauſe he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging alſo to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprofitable uſe of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the ſeige of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peice of work, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement ſeate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattell and food: all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeverall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Oſymandy* as was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; if any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my works.* Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph*, whoſe body was preſerved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might King *Orus*, who out lived him, erect in honour of his high deſerts, among the royall ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of Cattel and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerberg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcaim*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave.

John Leo. hiſt. Afric. l. 1. & l. 8.

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. Of Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

WHen *Archerres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes* threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus and Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks* under the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hipermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſave her husband *Linceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudy ſiſters, when they dyed, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily believe, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great vvorks are not enough to prove were thoſe of *Joſeph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſs, and fifty fadoms deep. It ſerved to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow, being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fifty talents; but the lake it ſelf defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy ſweet Ointments and other Ornaments for her body. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I find not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have reigned one year and odd moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already ſpoken in the firſt Book.

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§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſty of the Larthes.

SEthoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that antient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the World was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and conſider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſty of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The Wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to have been againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palæſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand, to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynaſties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves, and that therefore I am deceived in aſcribing ſo much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For ſo we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soveraignty to himſelf) had under him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almoſt as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſs of that ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it ſkills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the ſeventeenth

John Leo 8.

Dynaſty was called of the Shepheards, becauſe *Joſeph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelves that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the buſineſs which we left.

Rameſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſix years. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt book. I find nothing worth rehearſal of this *Rameſes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter ſix and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditary.

Thuoris, the laſt of the *Larthes*, reigned only ſeven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſack of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reign laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this buſineſs, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeem to be under-Officers: for ſuch only are like to have had their reſidence about *Pharos*, and the ſea-coaſt where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelf into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptune*'s Seal-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes the ſon of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to pleaſe children, of his covetouſneſs, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning thief, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he liſt. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian *Kings, whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings are found ſcattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas* for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be *Iſeland*; and that he conſulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had been, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelf. The anſwer or confeſſion of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſſis* his work *Of the trueneſs of Chriſtian Religion*. The *Greek* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

Firſt God, *and next* The Word, *and then* The Spirit,
Which Three be One, *and joyn in* One *all Three:*
Whoſe force is endleſs. Get thee hence frail Wight,
The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I ſhould have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* uſed, and that clauſe of his giving name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giving to this King ſuch profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpicion of ſome impoſture: but the Frierly ſtuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerve to diſcredit himſelf, were it not otherwiſe apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compaſs. I will here ſet down the liſt of old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the cenſure to others.

The firſt King of *Egypt* that he ſets down, is *Mizraim* the ſon of *Cham.* After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: *Nimrod* the ſon of *Chus* was alſo called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three ſons; *Picus*, ſurnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*,and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his Father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his ſtead thirty years,and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his ſiſter and wife,and to *Belus* his ſon: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to viſit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith reſigned the Kingdom unto him.*Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threeſcore and two years,had threeſcore and ten Wives or Concubines,and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Iſle of *Crete*. The Principal of *Jupiter*'s ſons were *Faunus*, *Perſeus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy*, after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his brethren conſpired againſt him)he went into *Egypt*,with abundance of Treaſure,where, after the death of *Miſraim*, he got the Kingdom,and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*,*Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the ſon of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Soſis*, *Oſiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we ſpake before: the length of their ſeveral reigns is not ſet down. After *Thules*, was the great *Seſoſtris* King twenty years. His ſucceſſor was *Pharaoh*,called *Narecho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there paſſed from him the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long poſterity.

Theſe reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to ſet down as I find them: let their credit reſt upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when,or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curioſity, in the ſearch made after theſe already rehearſed, than of negligence, in omitting ſuch as might have been added.

Clem. Strom. l.1. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c 4. 1 Kings 9 16 & 11. v. 18. 19, &c.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Seſac*,the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way,but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Euſebius* for it. Theſe give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Paleſtina* with an Army,took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomon's* wife: though for her ſake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Seſac* his ſon did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept ſo many Wives and Concubines, beſides this *Egyptian* Princeſs.In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Seſac*, excepting the length of his reign,which muſt have been ſix and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Euſebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynaſty*.

Now foraſmuch as it would ſerve to no great purpoſe, that we knew the length of *Seſac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unleſs therewithall we knew the beginning of *Seſac*, upon which the reſt have dependance;this courſe I take.From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was ſlain, I reckon upwards the years of the ſame *Neco*, and of his Predeceſſors, unto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which accompt, the firſt year of *Seſac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomon*'s reign, and the twenty ſixt of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Seſac* ſpoiled the Temple,and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than *Joas* the *Iſraelite*, and *Craſſus* the *Roman* did; who after him ſpoiled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*.

To fill up the time between *Seſac* and *Neco*,I have rather taken thoſe Kings that I find in the *Greek* Hiſtorians,than them which are in *Euſebius* his Catalogue. For of thoſe that are delivered by *Euſebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elſewhere, ſave only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King.Hereunto I may add,that the ſucceſſion is often interrupted in *Euſebius* by *Æthiopians*,which got the Kingdom often,and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appears by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Counſellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that houſe,inſomuch that they ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the ſon of the wiſe, I am the ſon of the ancient King*. But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the Kings of *Juda*.For though it pleaſe him well to ſee how the reigns of *Joſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all,the reign of *Joſias* being miſplaced. This errour grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion *Joram* King of *Iſrael* is made to reign three

Eſay 19,11

years

years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings have their beginnings placed in ſome other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of Chemnis,Cheops,Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Hiſtorians,I place *Chemnis*,or (according to *Diodore*)*Chembis*, firſt in the rank of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*.He reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three Pyramides, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire,growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemnis* being four-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeven acres every way, and was about ſix acres high.It was of a very hard and durable ſtone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand years, without complaining of any injury that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long ſpace. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thouſand years; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemnis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers do teſtifie, that they have ſeen them yet ſtanding.

Diodor, l. 1.

Herod. l. 2.

After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſon *Chabreus* ſucceeded.*Herodotus* hath *Cheops*(who might be *Chabreas*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been ſon to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty ſix. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramides were ordained to be Tombs for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardſman that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the caſting out of their bodies; otherwiſe it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger brother or ſon,ſhould have power or leiſure to take ſuch revenge upon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deviſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe getting of every man that accompanied her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis,that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raiſing a Monument with the ſuperfluity of her Fathers proviſions.

Mycerinas the ſon of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father ſix years. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death,finiſhed not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King,for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut.But an Oracle threatned him with a ſhort life of ſix years only, becauſe of this his devotion; *For* (ſaid the Oracle) *Egypt ſhould have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years,which thy Predeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but ſix years.*It is very ſtrange, that the gods ſhould be offended with a King for his piety; or that they ſhould decree to make a Country impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerve them; or that they having ſo decreed, it ſhould lye in the power of a King to alter deſtiny,and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But theſe were *Egyptian* gods. The true god was doubtleſs more offended with the inſtitution of ſuch Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem* in the laſt year of his Father *Seſac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* ſuperſtition? Moſt ſure it is,that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinas*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights,as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſervice more pleaſing to the Devil,than the reſtitution of Idolatry durſt then ſeem, when it could ſpeed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years aſſigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been ſome errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other ſuch overſights; For I know no Author

that

that gives him ſo many years, and *Reineccius* himſelf takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeaks no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, and excelling his predeceſſors in wit. He is ſpoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved juſtice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris* whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Euſebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Aſychis*; who made a ſharp law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies ſhould be in the creditors diſpoſition, till the debt were paid. This *Aſychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more coſtly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of thoſe that the former Kings had raiſed. Beſides this *Aſyckis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anyſis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reigns of theſe two are perhaps thoſe many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but ſix years; and ſo long doth *Functius*, ſo long doth *Reineccius* hold, that theſe two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reigns of two Kings ſhould have been ſo ſoon ſpent; he may do it by taking ſome years from *Sethon* or *Pſammiticus*, and adding them to either of theſe. To add unto theſe without ſubtracting from ſome other, would breed a manifeſt inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Seſac* his reign, muſt have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as alſo the laſt of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow ſix years only to theſe two Kings, than to loſe the witneſs of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth ſpeak of *Sennacherib*'s War, at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto theſe obſcure names; for by adding unto theſe men three years, we ſhall thruſt the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwiſe it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Aſychis* and *Anyſis* out of the roll, which were eaſily done by placing *Seſac* lower,, and extending his life yet ſix years further, or more (if the like abridgment ſhall be required of *Pſammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 *King*. 14. 25.
2 *Chron*. 12. v. 2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anyſis*, it is agreed by the moſt, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not puniſhing all capital offences with death, but impoſing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whoſe toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their ſervice to hire, and performed many works of more uſe than pomp, to the ſingular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hoſea*, the laſt King of *Iſrael*, made a league with him againſt *Salmanaſſar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendſhip could not preſerve the *Iſraelite* from deſtruction.

It ſeems, that the encroaching power of the *Aſſyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about theſe times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar* having eaten ſo far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himſelf did make the firſt entrance into *Palæſtina*. This cauſed *So* to animate the half-ſubdued people againſt their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Succeſſor gave them was ſo faint, that *Sennacherib*'s Embaſſador compared the *Egyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaffe of Reed. Such indeed had *Hoſea* found it, and ſuch *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been ſupported by the ſtrong ſtaffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabſake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Chariots and Horſe-men*; but this power, whatſoever it was, grew needful, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it ſelf, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Succeſſor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Prieſts, concerning the departure of this King; ſaying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, becauſe it was often ſignified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his reign ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, unleſs he ſlew all the Prieſts in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he reſigned his Kingdom. Surely, theſe *Egyptian* gods were of a ſtrange quality, that ſo ill rewarded their ſervants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the

2 *King*. 18. 25.

property of Dogs, vvhich love their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to vvhat end the Prieſts ſhould have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be ſome device of the fearful old man, vvho ſeeing his Realm in danger of an invaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and vvithdrawing himſelf into *Æthiopia*, vvhere he had been bred in his youth. What if I ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into vvhich he vvent, vvas none other than *Arabia*, vvhereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Army againſt *Sennacherib*, vvhen he meant to invade *Egypt* vvithin two or three years after? but I vvill not trouble my ſelf vvith much enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* vvas not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* houſe) but only ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom ſo long without an Army, and many other circumſtances argue no leſs. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeak of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THe firſt year of *Sethon's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a War, the iſſue whereof was to determine whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered half Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*; to protect them againſt his own great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo near and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his eſpecial confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judæa* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to fear any more of thoſe injuries which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo became forgetful of God, *taking counſel, but not of him*. The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, That *the* Egyptians *were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelf ſhould defend *Iſrael* upon repentance, and that Aſſur *ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man*. As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vain, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill*.

Eſay 30. 1.
Eſay 31. v. 3. and 8.
Eſay 30. 7.
Eſay 3. 4.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſs. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jews* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *unto the holy One of* Iſrael, *nor ſeek unto the Lord*. *But he yet is wiſeſt.*

Eſay 31. 1, 2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did ſeem far off, being unready, when his help was moſt needful. It may ſeem that he purpoſed rather to make *Palæſtina*, than *Egypt*, the ſtage whereon this great War ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jews*, weakning one another, ſhould yeild unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with mony; for he ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *a people that cannot profit*. Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (beſides that it ſeems by the ſame place of *Eſay*; that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, which were in ſore diſtreſs, till the ſword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was ſlain.

Eſay 30. 6.
Eſay 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to bear arms in defence of him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Prieſt bemoaned himſelf to his god, who by dream promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were craftſ-men, ſhop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Camp of *Senacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bows, quivers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarmed. In memory hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription, *Let him that holds me ſerve God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how far they ſwarved from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their own King, it may eaſily be perceived. It ſeems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falſhood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this hiſtory agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure ſome borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculouſly driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did unto his Prieſt, happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he took his god now in ſo good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould have been ſlain, if the merciful King had not ſpared their lives, as it were half againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turn was not enough to ſerve as an example, that might ſtir up the *Egyptians* to piety, ſeeing that their devotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did repreſent *Senacherib* himſelf, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhameful iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Army, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town vvhere this Image was erected) might give occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Divel helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that vve may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelf in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt devotion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even ſuch of them as were moſt given to Idolatry) would have been aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed *in the Chariots of Egypt, becauſe they were many, and in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, inſtead of ſending thoſe Horſ-men and Chariots, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good luck; or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing their prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. Howſoever it was, doubtleſs the Prophecy of *Eſay* took effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame & alſo a reproach.* Such is commonly the iſſue of humane vviſdom, when reſting ſecure upon proviſion that it ſelf hath made, it vvill no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Eſay 31.1.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been ſet down by *Euſebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. Theſe have well obſerved that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are engliſhed) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chuſhites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Euſebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the firſt year of *Manaſſes* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful

ful to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my ſelf at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* Kings. The years which paſſed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I ſo divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred upon him whoſe length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are ſet down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethon's* reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year leſs. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaſſes, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickedneſs of Manaſſes. *His impriſonment, repentance, and death.*

MAnaſſe the Son of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet up, repaired, adorned and furniſhed all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelf eſteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoaſt of heaven, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his ſons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He alſo gave himſelf to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, he ſhed ſo much innocent bloud, as *Jeruſalem* was repleniſhed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Siloe*, to be ſawn in ſunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Hoaſt of the Kings of* Aſhur, *which took* Manaſſe, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel:* Where, after he had lyen twenty years as a captive, and diſpoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and moved the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliver him:

Juſt. Martyr. Cedrenus c. 91. Glycas pa. 275. Tertull. de Pat.

2 Chron. 33. 11.

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the eaſilier perſwaded to reſtore *Manaſſe* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was again eſtabliſhed, remembring the miſeries which followed his wickedneſs, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed form, deteſted his former fooliſh and deviliſh Idolatry, and caſt down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and ſacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jeruſalem*: and dyed after the long reign of fifty five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſe* was held in a cage of iron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The reign of* Pſammiticus.

THat the wickedneſs of King *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the evil which fell upon his Kingdome and perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things in thoſe parts of the World ſuch, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleaſure, upon reſpect born to his own ends, deſirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the ſtate of *Juda* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with civill diſſention, and after two years ill amended by a diviſion of the government between twelve Princes. After ſome good agreement between theſe, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their collegues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelf abſolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meer *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the diviſion of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore* who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reign of *Sabacus* and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the *Ariſtocratie*, or twelve Governours immediatly before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſention ſeems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that Kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of bloud, I have often ſhewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not ſettled untill one had obtained the Soverainty.

Theſe twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that he ſhould make a drink-offering in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileſt this unity laſted, they joyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, vvho beholding it, affirms) no vvords could give it commendation anſwerable to the ſtatelineſſe of the vvork it ſelf, I vvill not here ſet down that unperfect deſcription vvhich *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to ſay that he prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of vvhich (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt vvorks in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the work of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King vvhich lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is before the Warr of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (ſaith he) *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reyneccius* takes him to have bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*, for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reyneccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon* and others, that are found in *Joſephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children to the ſtory of *Amaſis* and *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's Amonophis* to be *Diodorus* his *Amaſis*; that *Sethon* ſhould be *Actiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are thoſe about which *Reyneccius* hath erred in making ſearch *Amaſis* was *Anyſis*, *Actiſanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of theſe twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* governed well, and was mild in puniſhing offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſaving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Prieſts, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the work of theſe twelve Princes. But I haſten to their end.

Joſ. cont. App. l.

At a ſolemn feaſt in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelf, brought forth no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith ſupplyed the want, This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was done by him upon ſet purpoſe or ill intent, they forbear to kill him, but being jealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea ſide. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I believe to have bin none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying that *Pſammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aid he vanquiſht his Companions, and made himſelf ſole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Euſebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives forty four years to his ſingle reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extream age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Euſebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Ariſtocraty*: though peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them ſet down, are more by one, than ſerve to fill up the time between the fift of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length, or elſe (which I had rather do, becauſe *Functius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himſelf alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearly agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt year of one reign with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet down in Chronologicall tables, reigned preciſely ſo many years as are aſcribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the ſurpluſage of one mans times ſupplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt year of thoſe fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelf Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Egypt* who entertained any ſtrait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Army, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Meſſages, nor by the King himſelf, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort, as they might not hear any word ſpoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeak that Language which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerved greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity, *Goropius*, *Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* ſignifies (as Baker in Engliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks uſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*, the name it ſelf of *Babel* being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Palæſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carryed it at the laſt. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

§. III.

What reference theſe Egyptian matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of Manaſſes. *In what part of his reign* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we ſhould find theſe *Egyptian* troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion both of his captivity and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their own buſineſs, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the civil Wars of *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the War between *Pſalmmiticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Pſalmmiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter unto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an Army into thoſe parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make ſure work with the King of *Juda*. The ſame occaſion ſufficed alſo to procure the delivery of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken(as *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Countrey, but onely waſt it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill ſucceſs of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargain upon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian*(to whom the *Egyptian* matters preſented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford)had no reaſon to ſpend his forces in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quiting his preſent advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes* his reign, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captivity it ſelf, how long it laſted, the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty ſeventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The firſt of their conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the opinion, are ſuch, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinal* as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the ſon of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* grown old in his ſins, *it is like that he ſhould have continued, as he did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon why the ſins of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) untill he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearfull thing, to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the ſins which are not forſaken before the age of two and fifty years, ſhall be puniſhed with finall impenitencie. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſſe than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the ſecond book of *Kings*, the evill which *Manaſſes* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeem to have taken up no great part of his life? the ſtorie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the reſt of the Acts of* Manaſſes, *and all that he did, and his ſin that* 2 King.21. 17. *he ſinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda? the other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Book, where, in rehearſing the calamities with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this* 2 King.24. 3.4. *upon* Juda, *that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſins of* Manaſſes, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent bloud that he ſhed (for he filled* Jeruſalem *with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who ſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twenty ſeven years old, he repented,

and becomming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two years of civill diſſentions in *Egypt* fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Soveraigntie: the war of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the firſt fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of war had continuall occaſions of viſiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Pſammiticus*. and the fifth of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſon of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of theſe was the year of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbear to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the firſt great maſterie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True 2 Kin.18. it is, that he hoped to ſtay *Senacherib's* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold, beſides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with great neceſſitie, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe upon him; among which it ſeems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of ſervitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifiing with men of war all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe party he had forſaken than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Joſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had been againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not been his dutie by covenant. Of this I will ſpeak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian *Wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezechia *and* Manaſſes, *Kings of* Juda.

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkable were the *Meſſenian* Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Perſian* Wars, deſerve not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* War began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the ſecond in the reign of *Manaſſes*: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I have thought it beſt to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driving the iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their ſeats, divided their lands between themſelves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a vvhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* war are ſcarce worth remembrance, they were ſo ſlight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it: vvherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerved them as a colour to accompliſh their greedy deſires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to have him yeilded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give paſture to the Cattel of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gain appointed, he ſold the Cattel, and ſlaves that keep them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtollen. Whilſt the lye was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaves that had eſcaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receive he carried the ſon of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* having refuſed, after long ſute made by the wretched

Father, to do him right againſt this Theife and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of thoſe things which he did in that madneſs, whereinto they themſelves had caſt him. So ſaid the *Meſſenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compremiſe, or ſtand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair courſe. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great deſire to occupie the fair Country of *Meſſene*, that lay cloſe by them, were not content with ſuch allegations. They thought it enough to have ſome ſhew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and ſo without ſending any defiance, ſecretly took an oath to hold War with *Meſſene* till they had maſtered it: which done, they ſeized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few eſcaped.

Hereupon the *Meſſenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Meſſenians* did ſtrongly encamp themſelves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the ſecond year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firſt of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having laſted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedæmonians* waſting the inland parts of *Meſſene*; and the *Meſſenians*, the Sea-coaſt of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both ſides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Meſſene*; the *Spartans* had, beſides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a ſecond, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obſtinacy as the firſt; ſaving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was ſtill uncertain, though in one of them the *Meſſenians* loſt *Euphaes* their King, in whoſe ſtead they choſe *Ariſtodemus*.

Many years were ſpent ere all this blood was ſhed; for peſtilent diſeaſes, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, cauſed the war to linger. And for the ſame reaſons, did the *Meſſenians* forſake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, vvhich vvas a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as ſome Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* vvere ſo obſtinate in this War, becauſe of their vow, that having abſented themſelves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives ſent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reaſon that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they ſent back all their ableſt young men, promiſcuouſly to accompany the young women, who got ſo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of theſe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſs of this *Meſſenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had adviſed the *Meſſenians* to ſacrifice a Virgin of the ſtock of* *Ægyptus*, that ſo they might be victorious againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciſcus*, *Epibolus* the Prieſt, willing to ſave her, ſaid, ſhe was only a foſtered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciſcus*: which anſwer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciſcus* ſecretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariſtodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwiſe he could not prevail, ſaid openly that ſhe was no Virgin, but that he had deflouréd her, & got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to diſprove the Lovers ſlander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other ſuperſtitions, into diſpair of prevailing againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſlew himſelf, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved moſt dearly. For after his death the *Meſſenians* loſt their courage, and finding themſelves diſtreſſed by many wants, eſpecially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with moſt rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to ſend unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make ſolemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were alſo ſworn to live in true ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Aſmæi*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

Strab. l. 6. Oroſ. l. 2. c. 21.

Diod. l. 15.

* This *Ægyptus* was the youngeſt ſon of *Creſphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypſelus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Creſphon* the chief Nobility of the *Meſſenians* was propagated.

This peace being made upon ſo uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to help themſelves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that vvere grown up in the room of thoſe *Meſſenians* vvhom the former War had conſumed, began to conſider their own ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore ſcorned to ſerve ſuch Maſters as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chief of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a Noble Gentleman of the houſe of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform deſires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open war upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battel was fought between them, and a doubtfull; ſave that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equalls. Particularly; the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one year another battel was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to help; the *Meſſenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloudy fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behave himſelf, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themſelves of making ſome good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their ſpirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* took by ſurpriſe a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all thoſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed, in the loſs of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruel butchery. The loſs was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Meſſene*, ſtanding too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was conveyed into a place of ſafety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For beſides that *Era* it ſelf was a ſtrong piece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all proviſions, neceſſary for his own people, the Slaves and houſhold ſtuffe he changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this miſchief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Countrey, ſhould be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almoſt undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeaſed this uprore with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not onely ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, ſurpriſed, and ſackt *Amyclæ*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſervices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerves to be remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to ſet upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up ſenſeleſs, and carried away priſoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt head-long ſuch as were condemned to dye for the gteateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poor men dyed with their falls; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoever it came to paſs) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be impriſoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carkaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himſelf, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, ſaved himſelf from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too ſtrait for him; and then diſmiſſed it. The Fox being looſe, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delve ſo long with his nails, that at laſt he clawed out his paſſage. When ſome fugitives of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was returned home, their tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead man was received. But when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the ſiege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains ſlain, and their Camp taken; then was it eaſily beleived, that *Ariſtomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years paſſed whileſt the enemies hovering abour *Era*, ſaw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* vvith ſmall forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a ſlave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdneſs the vvife of a *Meſſenian*, and vvas entertained by her, vvhen her husband vvent forth to vvatch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, vvhilſt the Adulterer vvas vvithin. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by vvhat good fortune hee vvas returned ſo ſoon. He told her, that the ſtorm of foul vveather vvas ſuch, as had made all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himſelf had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he vvas vvounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad neither vvas it to be feared, that the enemies vvould ſtir in ſuch a dark rainy night as this was. This ſlave that heard theſe tidings, roſe up ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his Maſter commanding in the Kings abſence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarm was preſently taken; and the extream darkneſs, together with the noiſe of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruel fight; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer deſperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the aſſiſtance which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and other paſſages, which admitted not many to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continual toyl; their Enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelves with meat and ſleep, and then returning ſupplyed the place of their weary fellows vvith freſh Companions. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for vvant of relief vvere no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed vvith all miſeries, of labour, vvatchings, fighting, hunger and thirſt, beſides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſſed round with armed men, and ſo attempted to break out through the midſt of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair paſſage to theſe deſperate mad-men. So they iſſued forth, and arrived ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt lovingly entertained.

Upon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelves to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſ-hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was already loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafety, he choſe out five hundred the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolved to march in all ſecret haſt into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town ſecure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the ſpoyl of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedy advertiſement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent back to *Ariſtocrates* was intercepted by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſhood, which being publiſhed in open aſſembly, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people, to the charge of his ſon *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Governours, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeat abroad, he reſolved himſelf to make aboad in thoſe parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he beſtowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* vvere invited by *Anaxilas* (vvhoſe great Grandfather vvas a *Meſſenian*, and vvent into *Italy* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicily*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and vvinning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, vvhich name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* vvar ended in the firſt year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after vvhich time, the reſt of that Nation, vvho ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebell; but vvere ſoon vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they vvent into *Acarnania*; vvhence likewiſe, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Country-men into *Italy* and *Sicily*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe unto themſelves a ſeat.

It is very ſtrange, that during two hundred and fourſcore years, this baniſhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cuſtoms, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forſaken Country; with a deſire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epaminondas* reſtore unto them their old poſſeſſion, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them ever after, in deſpight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth ſtood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manaſſes *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Book of* Judith. *Of the Hiſtory of* Judith.

ARdys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war, *Ardys* ſucceeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the ſecond of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the ſteps of his father, vvho encroached upon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like maner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchild, by whom they were driven out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Caſtle or Citadel thereof was defended againſt them and held ſtill for King *Ardys*; whoſe long reign was unable, by reaſon of this great ſtorm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was ſix years after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt years of *Manaſſes* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, vvas King of *Media*, three & fifty of theſe five and fifty years in which *Manaſſes* reigned. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict form, commanding more abſolutely than his Predeceſſours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed every one to deſire the wholeſome ſeverity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for defence of his perſon; he ſeldom gave preſence; vvhich alſo vvhen he did, it vvas vvith ſuch auſterity, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majeſty which his predeceſſours had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and ſeverely adminiſter juſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to inform him of all that vvas done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others, but ſtudied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and ſuch as were before him, ſeems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reigned in *Media*. *Herod. l.1.*

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtory of *Judith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame account, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlain, and *Holofernes* ſent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the laſt year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, ſome later, in the reign of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour ſpent with ill ſucceſs. The reigns of *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been ſought into, but afford no great matter of likelyhood and now of late, the times foregoing the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtory; though others herein cannot (I ſpeak of ſuch as fain would) agree with him. Whilſt *Cambyſes* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the ſtory of *Judith* is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conveniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtory; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whoſe judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſs. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtory, there muſt be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Prieſt; and a long peace of threeſcore and ten years, or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the Jews. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Viceroy or Captain General knew not the Jewiſh Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and deſolation of the City. Wherefore the brief deciſion of this controverſie is, *That the book of* Judith *is not Canonical.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and reedified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is, five or ſix years, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to have been ſo long) might give occaſion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor*, having vanquiſhed and ſlain *Arphaxad*, might then ſeek to make himſelf Lord of all, by the Army which he ſent forth unto *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in theſe times, the affairs of *Jury* were agreeable to the Hiſtory of *Judith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we ſhall need to think him: But the ſilence of all Hiſtories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelf is very hard, that a Rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Army conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo far, upon the ſtength of twelve hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand Archers on horſe back, as to think that he might do what he liſt, yea that there was none other God than himſelf. It is indeed eaſie to find enough that might be ſaid againſt this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it ſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the Reign of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantaſie, it is ſo plain that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Hiſtory, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtony field) have chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Judit.2.13 & 25.

Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the South, and over againſt* Arabia; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelf herewith; having already ſo far digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearſe what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THe firſt year of *Manaſſes* was the laſt *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen, a peaceable man, and ſeeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to ſome good civility, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no better than meer deluſions, that ſerved only as rudiments to bring the ſavage multitude of theeves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome form of milder diſcipline, than their boyſterous and wild natures were otherwiſe apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſix hundred years after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelf was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greek and Latine letters, which ſaid, that *Numa Pompilius*, the ſon of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans*, lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly conſumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of Philoſophy. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the City deſiring to have a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn oath that they were againſt the Religion then in uſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himſelf unto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been ſo fooliſh as to believe the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his own barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his grave. Had theſe Books not come to light untill the days of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed: likely it is that they had not only eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradvenure general) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſix and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirty years, buſied, for the moſt part, in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſays that they were Couſin Germans) of equal years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeveral Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equal ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and ſet upon him at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatii* was ſlain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtory, both in regard of the action it ſelf, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, againſt *Alba*; and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become ſubject unto her own Colony, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not ſubject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbear to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundry ages, and few of them remarkable conſidered apart by themſelves) until ſuch time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, ſhall grow to be the main ſubject of this Hiſtory.

The ſeventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Governours for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Abſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

Theſe Governours for ten years were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times unto thoſe years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth ſet them. For he not only profeſſeth himſelf to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the years of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Hiſtory. *Dion Hal. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45.* Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt year of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the ſame was the firſt year of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner.

In the reign of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Aſſes ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deviſed of him; eſpecially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he ſhould touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been ſtarved (his meat and drink being ſubject to the ſame transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miſerable faculty, by cauſing him to vvaſh himſelf in the River *Pactolus*, the ſtream vvhereof hath ever ſince, forſooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is ſaid he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſhed that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerved the Moons Eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or, (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained ſome power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the Eaſt of *Egypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeems to have aſſiſted them, who uſed all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power ſufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

Plut. & Euſeb. About this time *Archias* and his companion *Miſcellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuſæ* in *Sicily*, a City in after times exceeding famous.

The City of *Nicodemia*, ſometime **Aſtacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pauſanias*, lived much about this time.

* Whence in *Strabo* there is *ſinus Aſtacenus* a part of *Propontis* where this City ſtandeth.

About theſe times alſo was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miſcellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuſæ*. *Strabo* makes it ſomewhat more ancient, and ſo doth *Pauſanias*. *Pauſ. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strab l. 6. Juſtin. l. 3. Pauſ. l. 10.*

About the ſame time the *Parthenians* being of age, and baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is ſaid they founded *Tarentum*: but *Juſtine* and *Pauſanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the ſame time, *Manaſſe* yet living, the City *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, over againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long work to rehearſe all that is ſaid to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manaſſes*: that which already hath been told is enough; the reſt being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reſerving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſs that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Joſias.

AMmon the ſon of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſs wicked than was his Father before his converſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatry: for which God hardned the hearts of his own ſervants againſt him, who ſlew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Euſebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint. *2 Kin. 21. 2 Chro 33.*

Joſias ſucceeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to ſeek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda* and *Jeruſalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his ſight the Altars of* Baalim: He cauſed all the Images, as well thoſe which were graven, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and cauſed the Chariots and Horſes of the Sun to be burnt. *2 Kin. 22. 2 Chro. 34.* Of *Joſias* it was propheſied in the time of *Jeroboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a child ſhould be born unto the houſe of *David*, *Joſias* by name, and upon thee (ſaid the Prophet, ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall he ſacrifice the Prieſts of the high places, that burn Incenſe upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable. *1 Kin. 13.*

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Prieſt found the Book of *Moſes*, called *Deutronomy*, or, of the Law, which he ſent to the King: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſevere commandements therein written, the proſperity promiſed to thoſe that obſerve them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counſel of the Propheteſs *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book; who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curſes that are written in the Book which they have read before the King of* Juda, *becauſe they have forſaken me, and burnt Incenſe to other gods.* Only for the King himſelf, becauſe he was a lover of God and his Laws, it was promiſed that this evil ſhould not fall on *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* in his daies, but that he himſelf ſhould inherit his grave in peace. *2 Chro. 34.* *2 King. [illegible] 2 Chro. [illegible]*

Joſias aſſembled the Elders, cauſed the Book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Jeruſalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promiſing thereby to obſerve the Laws and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Joſias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto thoſe Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Joſias* in war got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*; when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelf againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did uſe the advantage which the faction in the North preſented unto him, and laid hold upon ſo much of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himſelf

ſelf unable to deal with *Pſammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raiſe the ſiege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manaſſes*, together with his liberty, as much in *Iſrael* as himſelf could not eaſily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had ſo long held with thoſe of *Egypt*, by caſting a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendſhip of the Jews, which had been loſt by injuries done, in ſeeking to bereave them of their own. When it is ſaid, that *Manaſſes* did after his deliverance from impriſonment, *put Captains of War in all the ſtrong Cities of* Juda; 2 Chro. 33 14 it may be that ſome ſuch buſineſs is intimated, as the taking poſſeſſion and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifeſt that he took much pains, in making *Jeruſalem* it ſelf more defenſible; yet I ſhould rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himſelf againſt the *Egyptians*, whoſe ſide he had forſaken, than that he travelled in making ſuch proviſions only for his minds ſake. The earneſtneſs of *Joſias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the compoſition which *Manaſſes* had made with that King or his Anceſtor, was upon ſuch friendly terms, as required not only a faithful obſervation, but a thankfull requital. For no perſwaſions could ſuffice to make *Joſias* ſit ſtill, and hold himſelf quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* paſſed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The laſt year of *Joſias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the ſon of *Pſammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judæa*, determining to paſs that way, being the neareſt toward *Euphrates*, either to ſtrengthen the paſſages of that River about 2 Chro. 35 20. *Carchemiſh*, or *Cercuſium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocleſian* is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it ſelf. For it ſeemeth that the travail of *Pſammiticus* had not been idlely conſumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in poſſeſſion of no ſmall part of *Syria*, eſpecially in thoſe quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damaſco*.

Neither was the induſtry of *Necho* leſs than his Fathers had been, in purſuing the war againſt *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it ſelf could afford; and the danger wherein *Aſſyria* ſtood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more abſolute Princes, began to feel it ſelf better, and to ſhew what it could do. Theſe were great helps, but of ſhorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient ſhall be noted. At the preſent it ſeems, that either ſome preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or ſome diſability of theirs to make reſiſtance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* aſcended with a mighty Army.

Theſe two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Joſias* adviſed with himſelf to which of theſe he might adhere, having his Territory ſet in the midway between both, ſo as the one could not invade the other, but that they muſt of neceſſity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were ſo that *Necho* himſelf deſired, by his Embaſſadours, leave to paſs along by *Judæa*, proteſting that he directed himſelf againſt the *Aſſyrians* only, 2 Chro 35. without all harmful purpoſe againſt *Joſias*; yet all ſufficed not, but the King of *Iſrael* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendſhip of *Egypt* could bring to thoſe that had affiance therein: as that of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Aſſyrian*, and wholy truſted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly diſappointed of his hopes, and in concluſion loſt both his life and eſtate, which the *Aſſyrian* ſo rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities alſo that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilſt that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the impriſonment of *Manaſſes*, were documents of ſufficient proof, to ſhew the ill aſſurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they vvere) vvere alwaies unready, vvhen the neceſſities of their friends required their aſſiſtance. The remembrance hereof might be the reaſon why *Neco* did not ſeek to have the Jews renew their ancient league vvith him, but only craved that they would be contented to ſit ſtill, and behold the paſtime between him and the *Aſſyrians*. This was an eaſie thing to grant; ſeeing that the countenance of ſuch an Army, as did, ſoon after this, out-face *Nabulaſſar* upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuſe of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and vertuous Prince *Joſias*, was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelf bound in Faith and Honour, to do his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremy*, nor can find reaſon to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgat to aſk the Counſel of God: and this is very likely; ſeeing he might believe that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelity and thankfulneſs due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was queſtionleſs far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret Will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give an entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias* levying all the ſtrength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountred *Néco*: and there he received the ſtroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors. His loſs was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremy* Lam 4.10. the Prophet, who inſerted a ſorrowful remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

§. II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Joſias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehojakim *Kings of* Iſrael.

OF theſe Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might paſs out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when half was done. There were conſumed in this toylſome buſineſs twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſs great enough to make the King forſake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this Expedition, he uſed the ſervice, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victory againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Necus* took the City of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelf Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Joſephus* witneſſeth. Jos. Ant. Jud lib. 10. cap. 7.

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians* Herod. l. 4. one of the moſt powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed Corn for their ſuſtenance in that long voyage, which laſted three years. This was the firſt Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama* the *Portingal* found it out, following a contrary courſe to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they beginning in the Eaſt, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africk* on the Larboord, and bend their courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſie at *Charchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his father *Joſias*. Jer.22.32 The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one moneth; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. 2 King. 34 32. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judæa*. This Country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelf came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken; which three moneths before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Joſias* his ſons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what ſhould pleaſe himſelf. Yet he did forbear to make a conqueſt of the Land, perhaps upon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had ſuffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of neceſſity to forſake that party, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Neverthleſs, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſilver, and one Talent of gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent ſome fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them ſome document in the future, of greater puniſhment than verbal anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Johoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt year; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his ſucceſſor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort reign, into the firſt year of the brother, than into the fathers laſt, the ſame arguments that ſhall maintain his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

Jehojakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedneſs of theſe laſt Kings being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſs of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea, unto the Prieſts alſo*; 2 Chron. 36.14. and therefore it was not ſtrange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrey ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbear to profeſs, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein alſo the Princes do appear to have been inſtigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgements againſt the City and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but ſuch regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embaſſadour, and ſent back to the death; contrary to the cuſtom uſed, both in thoſe dayes, and ſince, among all civil Nations, of giving refuge unto ſtrangers, that are not held guilty of ſuch inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind ſhould be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment poſſible to *Jehojakim*: for the *Aſſyrian* Lyon, that had not ſtirred in many years, began about theſe times to roar ſo loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelf Lord of all the Forreſt. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawn the houſe of *Merodach* from oppoſing the *Egyptian* in his conqueſt of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemiſh*, where ſhortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

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§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to paſs that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their buſineſs in* Syria; *which cauſed them to loſe that Province.*

M*Erodach* the ſon of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* miſadventure and death, together with the diſſention between his children, preſented, made himſelf King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Aſarhaddon* the ſon of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Aſſyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whileſt he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all buſineſs in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly ſhewed) to make over unto *Ezechia* ſome part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this moleſtation, the death of *Aſarhaddon* did not only ſet him free, but gave unto him ſome part of *Aſſyria*, if not (as is commonly, but leſs probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Aſſyrians*, I will not here ſtand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or eſtabliſhing that which he had gotten. *Joſephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* it ſelf, which we may believe; but ſurely he did not hold it long. For in the times ſoon following, that great City was free, and vanquiſhed *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon ſome capitulation: and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldæan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Aſſyrian* King, whoſe Captains took *Manaſſes* priſoner, but I rather believe thoſe that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I find little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould have looked into thoſe parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themſelves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Pſammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his ſon.

Ben Merodach the ſon and ſucceſſour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good conſent of Authors, and that ſpeak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known ſum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his ſon *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* Priſoner, and releaſed him. He ſped ill in *Syria*; where *Pſammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alledged before.

Nabulaſſar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſs in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-ſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Necho*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the coming of the *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did overflow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*; it is convenient that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*; upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſon of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf Lord of *Nineve*.

That City(as *Herodotus* reports it) having
Herod lib.1 been a Soveraign Lady was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelf ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperial ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country, yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtom of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſtical tumults between the ſons of *Sennacherib*, or forreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſs wonderful, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. He and the moſt of his Army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a leſs power than was needful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of War than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſs, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his father, and beſieged *Nineve* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the City, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came upon him whileſt he lay before it*. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War ſo dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſs as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* affairs enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which Book whoſoever was the Author, he vvas ancient enough to know the ſtory of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, vvhereof vve vvill ſpeak in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirm, that about theſe times, *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be vvell conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach* did ſeize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninevites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this unthankful People and their King rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

||. I.

The time of his expedition.

NOw that I have ſhewed what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition,

which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themſelves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them; for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War between *Cyaxares* and *Haliattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Nineve*; the ſiege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſon of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palæſtina* to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in general Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* overran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sardiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own, to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troops that infeſted their ſeveral Kingdoms; other Princes, and among theſe *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

||. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their Journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their original and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them:* There we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorites as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkneſs; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his Works the names of ſuch as lived in his own time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſs terms written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. The ſame Author, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſs War-like than their Huſbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the wars; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were near alies.

Diod. lib. 4. c. 1.

Diod. lib. 3. c. 11.

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending of a Colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Country is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Army above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and

Plutarch in the life of Marius.

finally, thinking to have ſetled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battels by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meer neceſſity enforced theſe poor Nations to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitful of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North ſide with intollerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their over-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſs, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevailed very far; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

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§. III.

Of the Cimmerians *War in* Lydia.

THe firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucaſus*. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entred the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promontory*, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeems that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their train, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to try the utmoſt hazzard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchaſer. From *Sinop*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed.

Herod. l. 4.

What battels were fought between theſe Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſs the one or other part wan and loſt, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœſus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave burning the *Mileſians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his ſon (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſs, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe Wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of War are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſors of another Land; making room for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controverſie, arm both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either win, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch invaſions. But our Iſle of *Britain* can beſt witneſs the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeek after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the Britiſh Race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found ſuch end of their enterprize, as it may ſeem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſs of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won, yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having diſburthened it ſelf of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeek their graves abroad. And ſuch (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though ſome victory of *Halyattes* may have haſtened the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeems to have done moſt, in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was ſo compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* ſhould divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eaſtern ſide of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whoſe wives and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel enſuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* ſought revenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual ſlaughters, ſhould have joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common ſafety: though otherwiſe it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom ſo far Weſtward, whatſoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the War between theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, *Herod lib. 1.* and leſs probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chaſed out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be inſtructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe *Scythians* uſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did nevertheleſs other-whiles miſs of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that laſted ſix years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding theſe Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themſelves to either of theſe Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly, they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we ſhould ſpeak.

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§. IV.

The War of the Scythians *in the higher* Aſia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their courſe Weſterly, along the ſhores of the *Euxine* ſea, ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caſpian* ſea on their left hand, paſſed between it and *Caucaſus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and ſo they entred into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whileſt *Pſammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the ſixt year of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign over *Babylon* (ſuppoſing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was King; ſo giving him good leave to provide ſecurely for the invaſion of *Syria*;

which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Joſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the Hiſtory.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſave themſelves as vvell as they might, from this terrible nation, vvhich vvhen they had no luſt to a ſecond trial of the ſword, refuſed not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded, that a little more travail would add a great deal more to their content. For they relyed ſo much upon their own valour, that they feared no reſiſtance, and being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think; *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middeſt between *Media* and *Egypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horſes in his Rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſs (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*. leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detain them there, than any force or perſwaſion that he could uſe would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his Army that ſhould keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* took the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the Wilderneſs in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Palæſtina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the ſcalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Aſcalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a Climate ſo far different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſs, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, eſpecially the Kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him vvith relief, and them vvith nevv trouble at the end of their vveary journey. Wherefore they vvere content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (beſides that hee preſerved his own Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt vvell repayed in the proceſs of his vvars in *Syria*, vvhere the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with the return of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſolving novv to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals vvith grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Country, taking vvhat they liſted from the owners; and many times (as it vvere to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caſpian* and *Red Seas*: and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſs. Happy it was for the poor people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it vvere by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it ſeems that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrey, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies there alſo it vvas that they had the fatal blow, by vvhich their inſolent Rule vvas taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, vvho in this *Herod. lib. 1.* extremity vvas no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that vvere out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force reſolved to prove what might be done by ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſs is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and ſlew them; recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Countrymen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians* which eſcaped this bloody feaſt made any ſtir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, & encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſs than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrey, took good effect, with leſs blood-ſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſs in eight and twenty years had ſo well ſetled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, & might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeak anon) having done what they could in the buſineſs, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own *Companions*. Whereas all the Families of the North are ſaid to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or deſire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar*; mens love of their wealth being moſt effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzer*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accuſtomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſs of that King may be imputed, in regard of human means, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

Herod. lib. 4.

Jer. 35.9.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were onely the children of ſlaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needs be that they were very boys, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſt. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down, as I find it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſs Commonwealth. They underſtood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-ſlaves, whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their towns, lands, houſes, wives, and all; At which news being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the Villany of their ſervants, they made the more ſpeed home, and ſo not far from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet; which ſeemed ſo terrible in the ears of their Villains, and ſtrook ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers, In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians *ever ſince have ſtamped their Coin (which they call a* Dingoe Novogradskoy, *currant through all* Ruſſia) *with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeem, that all the women of that Country have fared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of the univerſal fault: For ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelf, is the firſt preſent that the *Muſcovian* wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubjection, being well aſſured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Samarians* (for *Novograd* ſtands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Ruſ. Commonw. cap. 4.

Thus much I thought good to ſet down of the *Scythian* expedition; not only becauſe it is the moſt memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Hiſtories, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cauſe of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judæa*, which continues yet a while the center of our diſcourſe.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in theſe ages.

Having thus far digreſſed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoyd all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch Kings, and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have ſpoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the Kingdom until the one and twentieth year of *Joſias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* ſucceeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a new-come ſtranger, but very rich, prevailed ſo far by his graciousneſs among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himſelf, diſappointing the ſons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the ſecond year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave ſuccour to the *Meſſenians* againſt them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garriſons were ſoon after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himſelf Lord of *Corinth* about theſe times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for ſucceſſour his ſon *Periander*, one of the ſeven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, ſlew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the *Corinthian* women ſtark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghoſt. Hereby we may perceive, that the wiſdom of the *Greeks* was not excellent in thoſe days, when ſuch a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous lawgivers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Laws of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his Conſtitutions were ſoon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their ſtead. But the Laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unleſs it were when ſhe was drunk*; or to go forth of the Town by night, unleſs it were to ſome ſweet-hearts bed; or to dreſs her ſelf up in immodeſt bravery, unleſs it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleaſant ordinances he effected his deſire: for none would ſeem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of juſtice, that when his own ſon had committed adultery, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to ſave the young man (who alſo loſt one) from utter blindneſs.

I ſhall not therefore need ſo far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purſuing of actions collateral to the Hiſtory, for inſerting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will ſoon fall under the *Perſians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſively preſent themſelves, in their flouriſhing Eſtate, it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteen hundred years, which paſſed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we find little matter, wherein the Hiſtory of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neareſt borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in theſe many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewiſe many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elſewhere, though not following one another at any near diſtance; all which muſt have been quite omitted, or elſe reſerved unto a very unſeaſonable rehearſal, had they not been diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

§. VI.

The oppreſſion of Judæa, *and deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by the* Chaldæans.

Now to return to the Jewiſh Story, from whence we have ſo far digreſſed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet living, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who beſieging and forcing *Jeruſalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vaſſal in deſpight of *Necho*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. Alſo he took a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtayed not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Judæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelf and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as alſo far off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* horſe-men in his Army, it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to return home, and take poſſeſſion of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo far, and to bid him battel, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a reſolved contention for victory, *Necho* was ſlain, and his Army remaining forced to ſave it ſelf; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatſoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehojakim* held himſelf quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the year before; who contented with ſuch profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reſervedneſs of *Jehojakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon reſtoring *Jehoahaz*, taken priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him up as a Domeſtical Enemy, againſt his ungrateful brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents, the *Judæan* had prepared the uſual remedy practiſed by his forefathers: for he had made his own ſon *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the ſecond year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it ſhould prove idle, ſaying: *He ſhall not return thither, but he ſhall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and ſhall ſee this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having ſpent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharp ſteel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis Apres*, who reigning after *Pſammis*, did once adventure to ſhew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, uſe, of their glorious acts fore-paſſed, againſt *Joſias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſie for *Jehojakim* to give them ſatisfaction, by letting them underſtand the ſincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to work more roundly. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelf a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearful threats, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aſide all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out againſt the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtopt their ears againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeventy years. The ſame calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forſaken; and after the ſeventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame Cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judæans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* ſeems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrought all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who offered them to

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2 Chro. 36. 9.

Jer. 22. 11 & 12.

Joſep. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 7.

Jerem. 25.

the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Book in peices and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty City of Tyre oppoſed it ſelf againſt the *Chaldæan* forces, and upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the terme of ſeventy years was preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it followes of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his Reign, as having laſted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the ſeveral beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third year of *Jehojakim*, was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince his ſon, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; & then began ro reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this year it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdomes, that ſhould rule the Earth, before the comming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I find, of long diſputations: but return unto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh of his Reign.

Dan. 1. 1.
Jer. 25. 1.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to uſe them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull proviſions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neverthleſſe the judgments of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) had threatned the deſtruction; & the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor* had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt peice of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the mountain of *Lybanus* neer adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteen years were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſſe buſineſſe. Which needeth not ſeem ſtrange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Peere, and being withall aſſiſted by a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume, the work of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; ſtriving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered the accompliſhment of his own threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to uſe, either Miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calm, and adding the favorable concurrance of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the Town.

Eſay 22.
Jerem. 25.
Ezek. 26.

Ezek 29.

When he was entred upon this deſperate ſervice; whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiny in his Army, or (which is moſt likely, and ſo *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave

courage

Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his ſubjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonoſor* gave him no leiſure to doe much hurt:but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made ſo little reſiſtance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred *Jeruſalem*,and layed hands on *Jehojakim*,whom he firſt bound and determined to ſend to *Babylon*, but changing counſell, he cauſed him to be ſlain in the place,and gave him the ſepulchre of an Aſſe,to be devoured by beaſts and ravenous birds,according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his ſon; whom,after three moneths and ten dayes *Nabuchodonoſor* removed,and ſent priſoner to *Babylon*,with *Ezekiel*,*Mardochæus* and *Joſedech*,the high Prieſt. The mother of *Jechonias*,together with his ſervants Eunuches, and all the ableſt men, and beſt Artificers of the land,were alſo then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counſell of *Jeremy* the Prophet,made no reſiſtance; but ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings will: wherein he both pleaſed God, and did that which was beſt for himſelf; though at the preſent it might ſeem otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the evill that befell him,rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it ſeems that he was partaker,at leaſt of his Fathers faults, if not an inſtigator, which was the cauſe,that his ſubmitting himſelf to Gods pleaſure did not preſerve his Eſtate: for ſo we read in generall words,that *he did evill in the ſight of the Lord,according to all that his Father had done.* In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Iuda*,and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to ſay, as *the juſtice of God.* For like as *Neco* King of *Egypt* had formerly diſplaced *Iehoahaz*,after his Father *Joſias* was ſlain,and ſet up *Jehojakim*, the ſon of another mother, ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his ſon *Jechonias* Priſoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*,whom *Neco* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him,and called the living God to witneſſe in the ſame, that he would remain aſſured to the Kings of *Chaldæa*.

In the firſt year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* ſaw and expounded the Viſion of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe *Judæans* that were carried away captive, the other thoſe that ſtayed and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evill that ſhould fall upon *Babylon*, which book or ſcrole he gave to *Sheraiah*,when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*,to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to read it to the Captive *Jewes*; and then to bind it to a ſtone,and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe words: *Thus ſhall* Bable *be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the evill that I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in a way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further think, that he had ſome ſute there to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him,inciting him (as it ſeems) to thoſe unquiet courſes, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet,by Gods appointment,made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he ſent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedechias:* making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſſe and enjoy their own countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire and peſtilence.

He alſo foretold them, that thoſe Veſſels which as yet remained in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould alſo travell after the reſt, and at length they ſhould be reſtored again.

The ſame year *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, took off the woodden Chain which *Jeremy* wore in ſign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; reſtore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Veſſels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all theſe troubles. But *Jeremy*,inſtead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in ſign that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and falſe hope to the people,he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which ſeized upon him in the ſecond Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Paſſion, in the eighth year of his reign, he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whoſe reſiſtance,he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge,he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Jeremy* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himſelf: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors and falſe Prophets, that it was impoſſible that the kingdome of *Juda* ſhould be extirpate, untill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he deſpiſed the words of *Jeremy*,and impriſoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but be taken priſoner,and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen 49.10 Jer.32.& 34.

Jeruſalem being the following year ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe revolt he had been the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jewes* faithfull counſell, willing them not to have any truſt in the ſuccours of *Egypt:* for he aſſured them that they ſhould return again, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpriſe,and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jeruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries.

Jer.44. Herod lib 2.

In the mean while the *Jewes*, who in their firſt extremity had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldæan* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the ſtate of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelf unto them; aſſuring him of his own life, and the ſafety of the City, if he would ſo do. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjurie, had provided for him.

Levit. 25. 39, 40. &c.

Jer 34.

Jer 39.

Jer. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as ſome do reckon it)or,according to *Joſephus*,eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jeruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraightly beſieged, For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They ſurrounded the City with woodden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the City any ſupply of men or victuals. *Joſephus* reports, that they overtopped the Walls with high Towers raiſed upon Mounts; from which they did ſo beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their Stations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like unto theſe, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the Walls of *Jeruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides,both Famine and Peſtilence (which commonly accompany men ſtraightly beſieged) grew on faſt upon them, whereby,when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelves,as Lords of the Town,in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hopes at once; and ſhifted himſelf, together with his Wives,Children, Princes, and principal ſervants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideleſs people to the mercileſs ſwords of their enemies. Thus he,who,when *Jeremy* the Prophet perſwaded him to render himſelf, deſpiſed both the counſel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*, uſed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth,*Triſte,turpe,& infœliz: Woful,ſhameful, and unfortunate.*

2 King.25.1.

Joſ. Ant. Jud.lib 10 c. 11.

By this ſecret ſubterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his ſtealth,recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Deſarts of *Jericho:* but by reaſon of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt dear unto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued.How great ſoever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Joſephus* reports it,they, on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelf, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence,and ſhifted themſelves into the Deſarts, as they could. For vvhom God had forſaken,no man followed,but the miniſters of his vengeance; by vvhom *Zedechias* being made Priſoner, vvith his Children and Princes, he vvas conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as ſome think) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonoſor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonoſor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falſhood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be ſlain before his face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a ſpectacle ſhould be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in the world, he cauſed his eyes to be torn out of his head, and ſo carried him in a ſlaviſh manner to *Babel*, where he conſumed the reſt of his wretched life in perpetual impriſonment. Herein this moſt marvellous Prophecy of
Ezek. 12. *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipſam non videbit: I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he ſhall not ſee it.*

Thus in the eleventh and laſt year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where ſparing no ſex nor age, they committed all to the ſword that they therein found.

3534 In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the reſt of *Jeruſalem*: and after this fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had ſtood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a ſecond ſearch, *Nabuzaradan*
2 Kin. ult. (not yet ſatiated with blood) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlaughtered, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt fury, to wit, the chief, and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of War, five of his Houſe-hold ſervants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the people throughout all *Judæa*; and leaving the pooreſt labouring ſouls, with ſome that followed the party of *Nabuchodonoſor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Joſias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his juſtice and equity, by *Joſephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the War: and by *Jeremies* deſire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the ſame advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to ſubmit himſelf altogether to the *Babylonians*; who being ordained by God to exerciſe his juſtice, was therefore reſiſtleſs. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa*, or elſewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left under his charge, promiſing them favour and liberty, ſo long as they remained obedient ſubjects to *Nabuchodonoſor*, by whom he was eſtabliſhed Provincial Governour of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings houſe (who during the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, had kept himſelf out of the ſtorm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other choſen men, while *Godoliah* feaſted them in *Maſpha* or *Mitſpa*, the City of his reſidence, traiterouſly ſlew him, together with divers *Chaldæans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an eſcape, and in his way encountering with eighty perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with preſents, he ſlew the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to diſcover unto him ſome Treaſures hidden in the fields during the war. He alſo took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had been formerly diſcovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judæa being now left without a Governour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it upon him, but retired himſelf, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldæans*, reſolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and beſought *Jeremy* to ask counſel of God for them: who readily made them anſwer, that if they remained in *Judæa*, God would provide for them, and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſave themſelves in *Egypt*, that they ſhould then undoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and deſpiſing the Oracle of God, and conſtraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharao*, neer unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the deſtruction of themſelves, and the *Egyptians*, alſo, he was by theſe his own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countrymen, ſtoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri ſecundi.

THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to the time of Philip of Macedon.

THE THIRD BOOK.

Chap. I.

Of the time paſſing between the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; *and the fall of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of the connexion of ſacred and prophane Hiſtory.

THE courſe of Time, which in prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of its way hitherto paſſed, in ſome out-worn footſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſtern Countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, to diſcover the connexion of antiquity fore-ſpent, with the ſtory of ſucceeding ages. Manifeſt it is, that the original and progreſs of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt Creation: as likewiſe that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afterwards grown up, are not to be found among thoſe that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the hiſtory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us. I hold it now convenient, briefly to ſhew, by what means and circumſtances the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may be conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry metals, diſcovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful to inſiſt upon thoſe authorities which give, as it were by hear-ſay, a certain year of ſome old *Aſſyrian* King unto ſome action or event, whereof the time is found expreſſed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all ſuch computations were blotted out; the ſucceſſion of *Belochus* and his iſſue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of ſuch as were neither conſtant in aſſigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore ſuffice that the conſent and harmony which ſome have found in the years of thoſe over-worn Monarchs, doth preſerve their names, which otherwiſe might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howſoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or moſt of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Hiſtorians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more preciſely applied to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedechia*. Hence have we the firſt light whereby to diſcover the means of connecting the ſacred and prophane Hiſtories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Juda*, which ended when ſeventy years were expired; and theſe ſeventy years took end at the firſt of *Cyrus*, whoſe time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the ages paſt, and forwards into the race of men ſucceeding. The firſt year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Perſia*, by general conſent, is joyned with the firſt year of the 55 *Olympiad*; where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and ſeven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almoſt out of controverſie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the diſtance between the fall of *Troy*, and the inſtauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may eaſily arrive unto thoſe antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilſt in ſundry parts of the world, St. *Auguſtine* and others may be truſted in ſetting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and induſtry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battel of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to ſet down. But ſeeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in paſſing from the firſt unto the lateſt years of the world through any ſtory, with leaſt interruption; it is very expedient that we take ſome pains to inform our ſelves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A brief rehearſal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an anſwer to the cavils of Porphyrie, *inveighing againſt* S. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the latter of theſe opinions is founded.*

Many Commentators, and other Hiſtorians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonias* was carried priſoner into *Babylon*; eleven years before the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Zedechias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezechiel*, eſpecially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain diſtinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Nebuzaradan*, in theſe words; *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was ſmitten.* Ezek.c.1. v.2.c.3.v. 11.&5. In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was deſtroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion, that it began in the firſt of *Nebuchodonoſor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, but more eſpecially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whoſe words afford matter of diſputation, but ſerve not to make good ſo much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of Saint *Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel* have miniſtred occaſion of ſcoffing and railing at the Chriſtian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not underſtanding how the ſons of King *Joſias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhewed at large; thought that the Apoſtle had ſpoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or, according to ſome Tranſlations, the Son, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* alſo the ſame *Porphyrie* doth ſpend the twelfth of his malicious Books written againſt the Chriſtians, affirming, that theſe prophecies and viſions, remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond ſuppoſition of his,

Euſebius, *Apollonius*, and others, have ſufficiently anſwered. For, the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Teſtament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did alſo turn this Book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And, were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were ſufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Mac.1.11 For *Jaddus* the High Prieſt ſhewed Joſ.ant.11 that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jeruſalem* to have deſtroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the ſame was plainly expounded unto him; which not only ſtayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his aſſurance and reſolution was ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, as deſpiſing all future peril and reſiſtance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eaſtern Empire, in a ſhorter time than *Nabuchodonoſor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

It is true indeed, that the *Jews* themſelves give leſs authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moſes* and the *Prophets*; accompting his Book among thoſe which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they ſay *Eſdras*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But firſt, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean ſo much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; ſecondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himſelf, and not by *Eſdras* and the Seniors; we may aſſure our ſelves by teſtimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicæa*, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the ſame Council it may be ſeen; and ſo doth *Meliton* the moſt ancient Biſhop of *Sardis* number it, witneſs *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: ſo doth the ſame Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: ſo doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Pſalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Meaſures, &c. To theſe I may add St. *Hierom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For, the *Hagiographa*-Books or holy Writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbines* reckon to be theſe, *Daniel*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Heſter*, *Eſra*, *Nehemia*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Eſdras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to ſeal up the ſame to the time appointed, is an unanſwerable teſtimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all ſtrength of other proof, our Saviour Chriſt, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, Mat. 24. 15 Mark 13. 14 the laſt verſe of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Chriſt diſtributeth the riſen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the Dan. 12. twelfth, verſe the ſecond. Saint *Paul* deſcribeth *Antichriſt*, out of *Daniel*; and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* viſions.

§. III.

That the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; *not from the migration of* Jechonia.

Having thus far digreſſed in maintaining that authority which muſt often be cited in the preſent argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of theſe ſeventy years. Neither will I ſtand to trouble my ſelf and others with laying open the grounds or weakneſs of that which *Euſebius*, and ſome few nameleſs Authors, have ſometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into conſideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have ſo earneſtly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away captives to *Babylon*: Firſt, *Manaſſes*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jeconias*, and with him *Ezechiel*: Laſtly, *Zedechias*, at which time the City and Temple were deſtroyed. To the firſt of theſe Captivities, the beginning of the ſeventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the ſecond, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For beſides thoſe places of *Ezechiel* already cited, there is a ſtrong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may ſeem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, uſeth theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, After ſeventy years be accompliſhed at* Babel, *I will viſit you, and perform my good promiſe towards you, and cauſe you to return to this place.* Jer. 29.10

But it ſtands indeed with little reaſon that we ſhould ſeek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumſtances, when the

Prophecy is ſuch as doth ſufficiently expound it ſelf. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgment of God againſt the Land, for the ſins and impenitency of that obſtinate people, Jer.29.16, 17, & 18. in theſe words: *Behold, I will ſend, and take to me all the families of the North, ſaith the Lord, and* Nebuchadnezzar *the King of* Babel, *my ſervant; and will bring them againſt this Land, and againſt the Inhabitants thereof, and againſt all theſe Nations round about; and I will deſtroy them, and make them an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing, and a continual deſolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladneſs; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noiſe of the mill-ſtones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land ſhall be deſolate, and an aſtoniſhment, and theſe Nations ſhall ſerve the King of* Babel *ſeventy years. And when ſeventy years are expired, I will viſit the King of* Babel. Here we ſee preſcribed unto the Captivity the term of ſeventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*: but with the utter deſolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to thoſe that were already in *Babylon*, at ſuch time as he ſent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearſed. And ſo did the people underſtand this Prophecy, in thoſe times when they ſaw it accompliſhed; beginning the ſeventy years at the time of the deſolation, as manifeſtly appears in the end of the Hiſtory of *Juda*, 2 Chron. 36.19. where it is ſaid thus: *They burnt the Houſe of God, and brake down the wall of* Jeruſalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious veſſels thereof to deſtroy all: And they that were left by the ſword, carried he away to* Babel, *and they were ſervants to him, and to his Sons, until the Kingdom of the* Perſians *had rule, to fulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremia, *until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that ſhe lay deſolate, ſhe kept Sabbath, to fulfil ſeventy years. But in the firſt year of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia *(when the Word of the Lord, ſpoken by the mouth of* Jeremia, *was finiſhed) the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Cyrus. We ſeldom find one piece of Scripture, ſo preciſely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the ſubject of altercation. For one can hardly deviſe how either the Deſolation could have been expreſſed more ſenſibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly ſet down, than it was in the place now laſt of all cited. If it be requiſite that we bring more proof in ſo evident a caſe, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds teſtimony ſufficient, unto this expoſition of *Jeremia* his Prophecy, that *Jeruſalem* was to lye waſte ſeventy years. For in the firſt year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the laſt of the ſeventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance, that had been promiſed, by prayer, which he made upon conſideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in theſe words: Dan. 9.1. *In the firſt year of his reign, I* Daniel *underſtood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had ſpoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh ſeventy years in the deſolation of* Jeruſalem. So that howſoever the time of *Daniel* his own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jeconia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general deſolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Iſraelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of ſeventy years.

This I will not further ſeek to prove, by the authority of *Joſephus* and others affirming the ſame; foraſmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to ſatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the ſeventy years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during theſe ſeventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know; foraſmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or ſucceeding. The conqueſts, recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather ſome part of it) *Hyrcania*, Xenoph. Cyropæd. li 1. *Bactria*, and perhaps of ſome other Countries, may ſeem fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by ſome of his Anceſtors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himſelf to eaſe, and to the ſumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the houſe of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majeſty, where it may ſeem that he and his Heirs kept a great ſtate, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, in ſuch skirmiſhes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no leſs. For, whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were ſo ſtout and induſtrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finiſhed that hardy piece of work, of winning the ſtrong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad chanel of the Sea, dividing it from the main with a mole or piece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had waſhed it away, was the very greateſt of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durſt not approach nearer to the enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as ſoon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the diſtance, offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. & l. 3. Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; ſo was the diſtinction of their times, and reign of their ſeveral Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that buſineſs. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, laſted ſeventy years, we may as reaſonably forbear to ſearch into the particular continuance of two or three ſlothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* ſervitude; reſting ſatisfied in both with the general aſſured ſum.

Yet foraſmuch as many have travelled in this buſineſs, upon deſire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the ſeventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elſewhere, but by the times of the *Aſſyrians* themſelves; I will not refuſe to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and ſhewing what I think may beſt be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themſelves, and in ſetting down the years of their ſeveral reigns. The firſt, and (as I take it) the ſureſt, is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. Theſe name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthaſar*; Neither have they only the ſilence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* preciſely, and in a manner purpoſely teaching the very ſame. For God, by the mouth of the Prophet, ſhewing that he, being abſolute Lord of all, would diſpoſe of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put ſome Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, ſaith thus: Jer. 27. 7. *And all Nations ſhall ſerve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, until the very time of his Land come alſo; then many Nations and great Kings ſhall ſerve themſelves of him.* Theſe words, expreſſing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any diſtinction. But indeed I find no other neceſſity of qualification to be uſed herein, than ſuch as may grow out of mens deſire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto prophane Authours. And this deſire were not unjuſt, if the conſent of all Hiſtories were on the one ſide, and the letter of the holy Text were ſingle on the other ſide.

But contrariwiſe, the Authours which are cited in this caſe, are ſo repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are ſo ſlender and unſufficient, that the ſucceſſion of theſe Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only ſet down by ſome Authour of equal credit with the reſt, might very well have found and deſerved as good belief, as any of thoſe things which they have delivered in this point. For ſome there are, who following *Joſephus*, Joſ. l. 10. c. 11. derive that Empire, as by deſcent, from Father to Son, through five generations, beginning with *Nabuchodnoſor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years; to *Evilmerodach* 18; to *Nigliſar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40; to *Laboſardach* the Son of *Nigliſar* 9 months; and laſtly, to *Balthaſar* (whom *Joſephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonoſor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (ſave that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthaſar* the Son of *Laboſardach*) Saint *Hierom* doth follow, alleaging *Beroſus* and *Joſephus* as a ſectator of *Beroſus*, for his Authors; though *Beroſus*, as he is cited by *Joſephus*, report the matter far otherwiſe. For he tells us, that *Evilmerodach* the Son Joſ. cont. Ap. l. 1. of *Nabuchodonoſor* did reign but two years, for his wickedneſs and luſt, ſlain by his Siſters Husband *Niziglisſoroor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Laboſardach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months ſlain by ſuch as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conſpirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Joſephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them ſome authority; ſo that the names which they have inſerted, are taken as it were upon truſt. There is a third opinion which makes the three laſt Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who ſaith, that the laſt King of *Babylon* was immediate ſucceſſour to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholaſtical Hiſtory, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jeruſalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonoſor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any Hiſtory ſacred or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reaſon to follow him. *Euſebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have ſuppoſed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* were Brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchodonoſor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthaſar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonoſor* his Son. And ſo common grew this explication, that St. *Hierom* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthaſar* was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conqueror, though by the phraſe very common in Scriptures, and familiar in thoſe *Eaſtern* languages, he was called the Son.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* hits very rightly the ſeventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonoſor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonoſor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Aſſar* the eldeſt Son, three years; to *Lab-Aſſar-Dach* the ſecond Son, ſix years; and to *Balthaſar* the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole ſum of years, and in the number of generations, I have ſometime ſubſcribed; as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reaſon, than becauſe the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not ſatisfie my ſelf herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few ſuch of the Modern Writers as deſerve to be regarded, have conſented with this *Metaſthenes*; and for that in making *Balthaſar* ſucceed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly againſt *Xenophon*, whoſe Hiſtory of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Aſſyrian* war I cannot ſlightly value in many reſpects, and eſpecially becauſe it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feaſt.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumſtances that might give any light in this obſcurity, I found manifeſt proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthaſar* by *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, was far ſhort of the truth; which is enough to render all ſuſpected that he hath ſaid in diſtributing what part of the ſeventy years he pleaſed among the reſt. For in the third year of *Balthaſar*, *Daniel* ſaw a viſion, after which he was ſick certain daies; but when he roſe up, he did the Kings buſineſs: from which buſineſs, that he did afterwards withdraw himſelf, and live retired, ſo long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen uſed to ſet out his ſufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his preſence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of ſuch account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very ſtrange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole ſtory (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impoſtures.

Dan. 8. 1. & 27.
Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13
Dan. 2. 49.

Out of theſe reports of *Joſephus*, *Beroſus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For, the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and theſe years extending unto the firſt of *Cyrus*, in which courſe of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, muſt have reigned; it hath ſeemed needful to ſupply the years of theſe three deſcents, by inſerting ſome, whoſe reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Beroſus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jeruſalem* was laid deſolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, faſhion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this ſort. They ſay, that the 18 years given to him by *Joſephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, ſhould be read and numbred 28 years; and the two years that *Beroſus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach*, ſhould be written 23. In the firſt number the figure of (1) is miſtaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there ſhould have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the ſame number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonoſor* lived

after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, make 48. then 4 years of *Nigliſar*, according to *Beroſus*, nine months of *Labaſſardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar*, make up the number of ſeventy years to the firſt of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly miſtaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, ſave only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifeſtly corrupted, and ſuch as, if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into diſpute, in regard of their authority?

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§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, perſons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher ſuppoſitions, little different in ſubſtance from this of *Mercator*, I purpoſely forbear to rehearſe, as falling under the ſame anſwer. That of *Joſeph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deſerving to be conſidered apart from the reſt. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belſazer* 5. and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years ſooner, from the tranſportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been ſaid already. That which we are now to conſider, is his diſtribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldæan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquiſition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign, I ſhall hereafter upon better occaſion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very ſhort, and more preciſely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the firſt of his reign, ſhewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the daies of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the daies of his life until he died. The very ſound of theſe words (which is more to be eſteemed than the authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farr longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort ſent by God, whoſe commandment he had obeyed in yielding himſelf to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining daies he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not ſo ſhort a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was ſet at liberty, having been 37 years in the priſon, whereinto he was caſt at the age of 18 years; after which time it ſeems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is ſaid to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threeſcore years after this, as by other circumſtances of his impriſonment it ſelf.

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

Of *Belſazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him alſo *Laboroſoardoch*, I ſhould wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter's ſon, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Beroſus*, by ſhifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his ſon four of theſe years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belſazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months aſſigned by *Beroſus* to the ſon of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his ſon, and to his ſons ſon (not to his danghters ſon) that the Empire was promiſed: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to paſs it over with ſilence.

Nabonidus the laſt of theſe, whom others (deſirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the ſame ſtock or race, a *Babylonian*. I ſpeak not this to diſgrace the travel of that moſt learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not ſo wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to ſhew that he himſelf, having in ſome points diſliked thoſe Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greatet reaſon have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the ſame whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: Firſt, the phraſe of Scripture, which ſignifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not ſaying that he wann it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus*

bonidus is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the *Greek* tranſlation, which, expreſſing no force of arms, doth only ſignifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould thereupon inferr, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumſtances of *Balthaſars* death, but only the ſwift accompliſhment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to uſe the moſt expreſſive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his uſe. Now concerning the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his works printed at *Baſil*, in the year 1559. I find only thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alphæus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voice: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that ſhall come upon you, which neither* Bell, *nor any of the gods ſhall avert: There will come a* Perſian, *half an Aſs, that ſhall bring ſlavery upon you:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, he vaniſhed. Of all this I believe little or nothing, ſaving that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew before-hand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the ſilver breaſt. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* Copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonoſor* wan both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment ſo much the leſs; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vaniſhing away. Indeed that ſame title (of half an Aſs) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his parentage was more noble on the Mothers ſide than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* upon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it ſelf, I eaſily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any man believe that one ſo judicious, induſtrious, and deeply learned as *Joſeph Scaliger*, would overſhoot himſelf, in ſetting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it ſeems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath been little careful to ſatisfie men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthaſar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; either we muſt think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe we muſt bethink our ſelves what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthaſar* loſt his life and Kingdom, than that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as, by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to have done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the ſubject Provinces; inſomuch that the *Greek* Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himſelf reſembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan* King by him ſubdued. Neither was *Joſephus* to be the leſs regarded, for affirming that *Balthaſar* was deſtroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Beroſus* and others, whoſe authority elſewhere he gladly citeth. For *Joſephus* had no reaſon to believe any mans faith or knowledge of thoſe times half ſo well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he underſtood as far as was needful in this caſe. Lawful it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the ſame things that were contained in the writings of the *Jews*, to whoſe Hiſtories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeem fabulous. Even ſo do *Euſebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the teſtimonies of Heathen books making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tryed in general by the ſelf-ſame *Ethnick* Philoſophers,

but leave them where they are againſt the truth; as *Joſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheleſs in due regard his learning and judgment, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then very great.

Dan. 8. 20.

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§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Perſons and Times of Nabuchodonoſor *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakneſs, who cannot find how the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly ſay with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet have failed them in the ſlippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or heedleſs reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe only to have reigned over the *Chaldæans*, whoſe names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he ſuppoſeth by *Negliſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of ſeventy years. Firſt therefore let us conſider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth year *Jeruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who have added one year more; and ſome have made it up 45. To diſpute about the certainty were needleſs: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scriptures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certain truth.

2 King. 25. 8.
Jer. 51. 12.
2 King. 24. 12.
2 King. 25. 27.
Jer. 52. 31.

Manifeſt it is, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11 of *Zedechias* alſo that his eighth year, was the firſt year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechia* occupied all the mean ſpace, being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth year of *Jeconia* his Captivity; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eigth year (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſix and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of theſe four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign did well-neer occupy, thoſe eighteen years of his which paſſed away before the Captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining ſix and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his Son began to reign.

It is is now to be conſidered, how the remainder of the ſeventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needful: the whole ſumm being certain, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothful Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole ſeventy years, for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjectural; ſeeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more material) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s death, we are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving us ſeventeen years to *Balthaſar*, we find left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſix and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reign ſeventeen years, we have the authority of *Joſephus*, before cited in expreſs words: We have alſo the general conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long, and *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moveth me ſo much to believe this Tradition, as firſt thoſe evident places in *Daniel*, ſhewing that in the Dan.3.1. & 27. & c.5. v. 11, 12, & 23. third year of *Balthaſar* he followed the Kings buſineſs, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof ſufficient of no few years, paſſing under this man, eſpecially ſeeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the conſideration of *Cyrus* his wars againſt the *Aſſyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being alwaies proſperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Aſia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already ſhewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not ſhort, and that men of great judgment have found it moſt probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the deſire of ſatisfying *Beroſus* cauſed them to reſt content with this. And ſurely it were greatly to be wiſhed, that Books of ſuch antiquity, as thoſe of *Beroſus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark paſſages of Antiquity. I will yet confeſs, that were his works never ſo excellent, and in all things elſe unqueſtionably true, I would not therefore condeſcend unto him in ſome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much leſs ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only ſeven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the reſt? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to Jer. 27.7 his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not expreſſed; yet would we gladly know it of *Beroſus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwaies, that helping us in a particularity, he deſtroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needleſs. It is enough to ſay with others, that *Beroſus*, or *Joſephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the careleſneſs of Scribes; and that it was as eaſie for thoſe Scribes to erre in writing two for ſix and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more eaſie. For, the omiſſion of the ſecond figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character ϛ, ſignifying 6, hath a nearer reſemblance of β that ſtands for 2, than hath γ which is uſed for 3. So that the numeral notes βϛ, expreſſing 26, were not ſafe enough from being miſtaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if ſome crooked hand, or other miſchance not unuſual, had omitted the firſt ſtroke of the former letter, or added a daſh to the latter, which might cauſe them to ſeem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be ſuppoſed in κγ ſtanding for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in uſe, they were, long after the time of *Joſephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain unto this buſineſs; unleſs we ſhould gueſs that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen-conqueſt, was little occupied in the ſtudies of humanity, but in a ſort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*. If this will ſerve to make *Beroſus* our friend, ſo let it be; if not, I will not purchaſe the favour of his authority, by forſaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel* when they ſeem to be his Oppoſites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonoſor *obtained between the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and conqueſt of* Egypt.

With what actions this time of ſeventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been ſome cauſe that the time it ſelf was, and is yet, ſought to be abridged, as not having left ſufficient matter to witneſs the length of it. But by ſuch an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I ſhould except) between the beginning and laſt end of it, hath in ſome ſlothful age rather dreamt away the time, than ſpent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the poſterity of *Nabuchodonoſor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have deſired, betook themſelves to their eaſe and pleaſures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wiſdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Anceſtors, which wearied away their daies in the reſtleſs travel of purchaſing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* was ſo divided, that his youthful and ſtronger years having been exerciſed in victorious arms, no ſmall part of his life was remaining to be ſpent in eſtabliſhing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours paſt. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when deſtroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jeruſalem*, he enriched

himſelf with abundance of ſpoil, and terrified all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conqueſt of thoſe adjoyning Regions, which God had expoſed unto his ſword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydonians*, and *Egyptians*; though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerved under him, when *Jeruſalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe City was founded on an Iſland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whoſe Fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubverſion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of *Jeruſalem* (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the ſame quarrel againſt the common enemy) it appears by the words Ezek.26.2. which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for ſeeing ſhe is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already ſpoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable miſchief.

Jer.25. Iſa.23.15. But thoſe Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Eſay*, which appoint unto this deſolation of *Tyre* the ſame term of ſeventy years, that was preſcribed unto the reign of the *Chaldæans*, do plainly ſhew, that ſhe followed *Jeruſalem*, the ſame nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtleſs were memorable in the iſſue of ſo great and laborious a ſiege, are in a manner utterly loſt. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themſelves, and fled into the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems that this evaſion ſerved only the principal men, who eſcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer ſort unto the enemies fury. For, not only ſuch people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the ſword; but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which, with exceſſive labour, the *Aſſyrian* Ezek.29.18. made way for his Horſes and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonoſor cauſed his Army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army*; but was fain to reſt contented with the Honour of having deſtroyed that City, which in all mens judgments had been held invincible.

The deſtruction of theſe two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonoſor* uſed the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſs pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country ſo abounding in all riches and pleaſures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, to ſeek occaſion of quarrel againſt it; and ſo farr an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been poorer, yet either it muſt have been ſubdued, or the conqueſt of *Syria* could ill have been eſtabliſhed. Nevertheleſs it was needful, that before he entred into this buſineſs, the Countries adjacent ſhould be reduced unto ſuch terms, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his devotion, or at leaſt be unable to work him any diſpleaſure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all proſperous enterpriſes, with reaſon of State. For, the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their ſins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* ſwords, were ſuch, as regarding only their own gain, had ſome of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldæan* Army, to feed upon the karcaſſes that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonoſor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Aſſyrian* had ſatisfied his fury, he ſhould be fain to forſake thoſe deſolate parts, and leave the poſſeſſion to thoſe that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the Ezek.25.12. & 15. *Edomites* and *Philiſtims* had ſhewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good ſervice they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purpoſes, wherein they were diſappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jeruſalem*, but Ezek.25.3 Jer.49.1. preſently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took poſſeſſion; as if not the *Aſſyrians*, but they had ſubdued *Iſrael*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he ſent *Iſhmael*, a Prince of the blood of *Juda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over thoſe that remained in *Iſrael*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a deſire *Jer.*40.14 & 41.2, & 10. *Jer.* 28. 27, &c. of embroiling *Nabuchodonoſor*, with ſo many labours at once, as ſhould make him retire into his own Country, and abandon thoſe waſted Lands to himſelf and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exerciſe, whoſe pride and wrath were made fruſtrate by God; and their diſſimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All theſe Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to ſuch as live or border upon deſarts; and now the time afforded them occaſion to ſhew the uttermoſt cunning of their theeviſh wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut aſunder all their devices by ſharp and ſudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were in one *Iſa.*16.14. night; according to the Prophecies of *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatneſs and ſwiftneſs of the miſery that ſhould come upon them. With which of them he firſt began, I find not; it ſeems that *Moab* was the laſt which felt his hand: for ſo do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Eſay*, threatning *Moab* with deſtruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruin of *Jeruſalem*; the next year after it being ſpent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifeſt, that all the principal Towns in theſe Regions were burnt, and the people ſlain, or made ſlaves, few excepted, who being preſerved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-haſtily, much leſs to attempt any thing againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*; but lived as miſerable Out-laws, or at leaſt oppreſſed wretches, until the end of ſeventy years, which God had preſcribed unto the deſolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

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§. VIII.

That Egypt *was conquered, and the King thereinreigning ſlain by* Nabuchodonoſor, *contrary to the opinion of moſt Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwiſe.*

WHen by a long courſe of victory, *Nabuchodonoſor* had brought into ſubjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in ſuch wiſe, that no enemy to himſelf, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conqueſt of *Egypt* himſelf, upon which thoſe other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written ſo plainly, that I hold it altogether needleſs to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleadged out of theſe. Nevertheleſs, we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to ſtrain theſe Prophecies with unreaſonable diligence unto ſuch a ſenſe, as gives to *Nabuchodonoſor* little more than the honour of having done ſome ſpoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conqueſt of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with theſe times or affairs. So prepoſterous is the delight which many men take in the means and ſecond helps conducing to their purpoſe, that oftentimes they do preferr the Commentator before the Author; and, to uphold a ſentence, giving teſtimony to one clauſe, do careleſly overthrow the Hiſtory it ſelf, which thereby they ſought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about theſe times, are already rehearſed in the former Book: but that which they have ſpoken of *Apries*, was purpoſely reſerved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein *Herod.l.2. & l.4.* he telleth not; (unleſs we ſhould underſtand that he was victorious in the War, which he is ſaid to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sydon*); that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did ſet up *Amaſis*, as King, which prevailed againſt him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loſs which they received in an Expedition againſt the *Cyrenians*, by whom almoſt their whole Army was deſtroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleaſing to their King, who had ſent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpoſe to have them conſumed, that ſo he might with greater ſecurity reign over ſuch as ſtayed at home. So they who eſcaped, and the friends of ſuch as were ſlain, rebelled againſt *Apries*, who ſent *Amaſis* to appeaſe the tumult; but *Amaſis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them choſen King. Finally, the whole

Land

Land conſented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to truſt unto his forein Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readineſs thirty thouſand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquiſhed by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thouſand, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himſelf being taken priſoner, was gently entreated by *Amaſis* for a while, until the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet they gave him honourable burial. Such is the report *Diod. Sic. l.1.c.2.* of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth nearly agree; telling us, that *Apries* did vanquiſh the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battel at Sea, took by force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wann the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally periſhed, as is before rehearſed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his hiſtory, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the deſtruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe relations, hath greater force to compel our belief, than have the traditions of *Egyptian* Prieſts (which the Greek Hiſtorians followed) and greater probabilities to perſwade thoſe that look *Iſa.*10 4,5, & 6. only into humane reaſons. For *Eſay* propheſied long before of the ſhameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Aſſur* ſhould carry away naked, young and old, in ſuch wiſe, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Aſſyrian*, ſhould be aſhamed of their own vain confidence in men ſo unable to defend themſelves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Propheſies were nearer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this argument more preciſely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the ſervice which he had done at *Tyre*: Alſo he recounteth particularly all the chief *Ezek.*29. 20, & c.30 *Ezek.*32. 33. Cities in *Egypt*, ſaying, That theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and go into Captivity; yea that *Pharaoh and all his Army ſhould be ſlain by the ſword*. Wherefore it muſt needs be a violent expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch threatnings to an inſurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform conſent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* ſhould ſee *Pharaoh Hophra* *Jer.* 44.30 *Jer.* 45.10 delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the general opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of the ſame Prophet (which, God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould think, ſeeing he did it by the appointment of God himſelf) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, thoſe very ſtones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould be ſet, and his Pavilion ſpread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Jer.*46.25, & 26. *Behold, I will viſit the common people of* No, *and* Pharaoh, *and* Egypt, *with their gods, and their Kings, even* Pharaoh, *and all that truſt in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of thoſe that ſeek their lives, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his ſervants.* The clearneſs of this Prophecy being ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe Commentators would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the Greek Hiſtorians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place *Jun.in Jerem. c.44. v.36.* taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amaſis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lyes, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpoſe of hiding their own diſgrace and bondage. And ſurely, it may well be thought, that the hiſtory of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks, that ſcarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather believe *Joſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer ſtrangers to this buſineſs, had no great reaſon to labour in ſearching out the truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all advantage of authority, we ſhould only conſider the relations of *Joſephus*, and of the Greek Hiſtorians, as either of them might be verified of it ſelf by apparent circumſtances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or *Egyptian* Prieſts; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having been wrought by conſent of the people, but affords great matter of ſuſpicion; yea, though no man had oppoſed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform teſtimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himſelf. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having wonn great victories, did for one only loſs fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may ſerve to perſwade us, that a King of *Egypt* would ſeek, or ſo demean himſelf, that he might be thought to ſeek the deſtruction of his natural ſubjects? As for that Army of thirty thouſand ſouldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amaſis* took priſoner, is ſaid to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a foreiner, and one that armed himſelf againſt the *Egyptians*, wiſhing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as aſſuredly their own, as the ſtrength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to uſe all Arguments that might be alleadged in this caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was ſome forein Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwiſe the people would have deſired to ſave his life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to diſprove that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not have yielded, though it had ſtood upon great appearance of truth, conſidering that the voice of truth it ſelf cries out againſt it; but leave the circumſtances, proving the Conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, to be obſerved where due occaſion in courſe of the ſtory following ſhall preſent them.

Joſ. Ant. Jud.l.10. c.11.

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§. IX.

How Egypt *was ſubdued and held by* Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loſs, that the general Hiſtory of the World hath ſuffered by the ſpoil and waſte which Time hath made of thoſe Monuments that ſhould have preſerved the memory of ſuch famous actions as were accompliſhed by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonoſor*; wherein, whether this Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were ſuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may eaſily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his 30 Chapter (beſides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may ſeem to have reached out into *Mauritana*, as people ſubdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumſtances of theſe Wars are in a manner utterly loſt; but that the victory was eaſie and ſwift, any man ſhall find, who will take the pains to conferr the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular obſervation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himſelf moſt ſafe in *Egypt* by the well defenced ſituation of his Country, did very unwiſely in ſuffering his enemies to ſweep the way clean unto his own doors, by conſuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this buſineſs did more harden, than weary the *Chaldæan* Army; ſo the confidence and vain ſecurity of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult paſſages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deſarts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themſelves, did little avail them in proviſion for the War, and much aſtoniſh them (as may juſtly be thought) in the time of execution: it being uſually ſeen, that the hearts of men fail, when thoſe helps fail, in which they had repoſed more confidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flouriſhed under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thouſand five hundred and fourſcore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatneſs; yet ſo, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having ſaid of that people, *I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule the Nations.* For, whereas it hath been ſaid of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wiſe, I am the Son of the Ancient Kings*: And whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himſelf was taken and ſlain, and that ancient linage quite extinguiſhed. This came to paſs in the firſt year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*; at which time (ſaith *Joſephus*) *He ſlew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to* Babylon *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country.* Now concerning

Ezek.29. 13,14,& 15.

Iſa.19.11. Ezek.29.9.

Joſ. Ant. Jud.l.10. c.11.

cerning the time which *Joſephus* gives unto this buſineſs, and the buſineſs it ſelf, I have already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, & carrying away thoſe unto *Babel*; who inhabited the miſerable ruins of that great City, which was in the ſame *three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) think that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the Prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*; a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*; who were, before the *Egyptians*, become ſubject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Egyptian* name; unleſs we ſhould think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Egypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gueſs; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome Succeſſour of his) was afterwards taken and ſlain by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelf, and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and believe what they liſt. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garriſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiſtorians, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cauſe them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdom.* If the *Egyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace, then are they little to be regarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Je. 25.30

Ezek. 30. 13,& 14.

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§. X.

Of the ſundry accounts drawn from ſundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Ninive, *by him; the time of which action is uncertain.*

THeſe victories brought the greatneſs of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third year of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s firſt year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; it could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-ſhewing the ſucceſs of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which referr ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that *Egypt* ſhould be given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in the

Dan. 1.2.

the ſeven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for theſe years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to ſome memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eaſie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain ſearch.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, I do not read: excepting that againſt *Nineve*, the deſtruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been ſhewed) and together with the reſt of *Aſſyria* made ſubject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who, rebelling againſt the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Juda*, had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame fortune. That the deſtruction of *Nineve* followed the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City, that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But, how long after this came to paſs, it is (methinks) impoſſible to find out. For, whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, the place of
Nahum 3.8 *Nahum* laſt cited, is enough to diſprove it. Whereas it is referred by ſome unto the firſt of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this deſtruction, or other circumſtances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonoſor* in perſon, or by his Lieutenants, were ſomewhat like unto the vain curioſity of *Tiberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he ſhould take, who would ſeek to learn what woman that *Huzzah* Queen of *Nineve* was, whoſe woful Captivity the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did fore-tell.

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§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madneſs, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch ſpent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, ſave thoſe which we find among the Prophecies of *Daniel*. Among theſe we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleaſed himſelf ſo well, that he brake out into thoſe glorious words: *Is not this great* Babel *that I have built, for the houſe of the Kingdom, by the* Dan.4.17. *might of my power, and for the honour of my Majeſty?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Joſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Beroſus*, and *Megaſthenes*, he might well delight himſelf with the contemplation of ſuch goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is ſaid, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that, beſides other ſtately works, he raiſed thoſe huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which moſt ſumptuous Frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to have been reared, and finiſhed in fifteen daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, than that (which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider) his over-valuing of his own greatneſs abaſed him unto a condition inferiour to the pooreſt of men. And not undeſervedly fell theſe judgments of God upon him. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happineſs in his own life, but with a diſcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheleſs became ſo forgetful of God, whoſe wonderful power he had ſeen and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet up and worſhipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly will and pleaſure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof St. *Hierom* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum ſervum Dei quaſi Deum adoraverat, nunc ſtatuam ſibi fieri jubeat, ut ipſe quaſi Deus in Statua adoraretur: A haſty forgetfulneſs of the truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped* (Daniel) *the ſervant of God, as if he had been God himſelf, ſhould now command a Statua to be erected unto himſelf, wherein himſelf might be worſhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleaſed God to reclaim him, by the ſtrange and wonderful delivery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refuſing to commit Idolatry, were aſſiſted by an Angel; preſerved from all harm of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with

gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgment hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *break off his ſin by righteouſneſs, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his errour.* Hereby it ſeems that injuſtice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatned: but this threatning ſufficed not unto his information. For, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eat graſs as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgment, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leiſure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſs of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve months, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo over-joyed and tranſported with a vain contemplation of his own ſeeming happineſs, that, without all fear of Gods heavy judgment pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe lofty words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Majeſtical works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his Majeſtical perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame hour.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings; it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy, or any paſſion of the mind, to keep a juſt meaſure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *David*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been known to have been puniſhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a note of much unthankfulneſs to entertain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds hindring the influence of that bleſſed Light, which clarifies the ſoul of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſs of eternal felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent Greatneſs, forgetting the whilſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very Being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia, The evil joyes of the minds* were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latin Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than ſorrows, cares, and fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when theſe unreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that ſhould have been humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgment of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For he ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven years he lived, not only as a ſalvage man, but as a ſalvage beaſt; for a beaſt he thought himſelf, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* L. 2. de Reg. pri. noteth, and therefore fed himſelf in the ſame manner, and with the ſame food that beaſts do: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as Med.l.2.de Recta in Deum fide, c. 7. he appeared a Beaſt to other mens eyes, as St. *Hierom* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* Dor. in Synopſi. Ep. in vit. Dan. dreamed: but, according to St. *Hierom*'s expoſition of theſe words, *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem; When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his humane ſhape, but his underſtanding.* Seven years expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his underſtanding, and his eſtate, for which he acknowledged and praiſed God all the reſt of his life, confeſſing his power, and everlaſting being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Dan.4.32, 34.

wrought without reſiſtance what he pleaſed in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his ſalvation; namely St. *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthuſianus*, and others. And for that place of *Eſay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the ſame to *Balthaſar*; becauſe *Eſay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, ſpeaketh of the King, and the deſtruction of *Babylon* joyntly.

§. XII.

Of Evilmerodach.

HAving already ſpoken what I could of the ſucceſſion and years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s poſterity; the moſt that may be ſaid of him, is ſaid of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearſe.

He loſt ſome part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a war that conſumed it to aſhes. He loſt *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amaſis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, ſaying, that he died in the third year of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyſes* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but ſeven and thirty years, which paſſed between the ſecond year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the firſt of *Amaſis*) and the fifth of *Cambyſes* his reign, wherein he wann *Egypt*; of which ſeven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Pſammiticus*, the Son of *Amaſis*, reigned three: ſo that *Amaſis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But ſeeing that theſe two *Greek* Hiſtorians have been abuſed by *Egyptian* Prieſts in the ſubſtance of that which was ſpoken of *Amaſis*, it is no marvel though they were alſo deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain anſwer to this objection. For to ſay, either that the numbers were miſ-written, and four and forty ſet down inſtead of four and thirty; or that *Amaſis* did temporize a while with the *Aſſyrians*, and not bear himſelf as abſolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a ſuperfluous excuſe.

Whether theſe *Egyptian*-troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in preſent forces; or, whether (as I rather think) ſome foil received by the *Aſſyrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Egyptians* to rebel againſt him; I will neither undertake, nor ſeek to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the firſt ſervice of young Cyrus in war, was under *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a proſperous fight againſt the *Aſſyrian* Prince, who did ſet upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or ſixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threeſcore and three years (as he is ſaid to have died well ſtricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no ſhort life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the ſame reckoning it ſhould follow, that the war began more early between theſe Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumſtances inſinuating as much, are found in the ſame place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or deſtruction of *Nabuchodonoſor* gave courage unto thoſe that had felt him a troubleſome neighbour, to ſtand upon prouder terms with the *Aſſyrians*, than in his flouriſhing eſtate they durſt have uſed. Howſoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the laſt ruin of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digeſt the loſſes which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the Perſians, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the leſſer *Aſia*, with gifts and ſtrong perſwaſions, hoping ſo to overwhelm his enemies with a ſtrong Invaſion, whom in vain he had ſought to weary out with a lingring War.

Xenoph.Cyroped.l.1.

Xenoph.Cyroped.l.8.

This happened after the death of *Aſtyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amaſis* took poſſeſſion of **Egypt**. So that the *Aſſyrian* having his hands already full of buſineſs, which more earneſtly did affect him, ſeems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Eyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which, by long diſtance of place, did ſundry times find occaſion to rebel in after-ages, and ſet up a King within it ſelf, againſt the far more mighty Perſian.

The iſſue of theſe great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* againſt the *Medes*, was ſuch as opened the way until the fulfilling of thoſe Prophecies, which were many years before uttered againſt *Babel*, by *Eſay* and *Jeremy*.

For, the *Aſſyrians* and their Confederates, who, truſting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Perſians* under their thick ſhowers of arrows and darts, were encountred with an Army of ſtout and well-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was ſlain. So, that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and upheld, being ſhaken and grievouſly crackt under his unfortunate Son, was left to be ſuſtained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; ſerving to make good thoſe things, which are cited out of Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of* Balthaſar.

THough I have already (as it ſeems to me) ſufficiently proved that *Balthaſar* was the Son, and immediate Succeſſor to *Evilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the conjectures of thoſe Writers, which, following *Beroſus*, inſert *Nigliſar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his Son *Labaſſardach* between them; as alſo that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew, by what means it was poſſible, that ſome errour might have crept into the Hiſtory of thoſe times, and thereby have brought us to a needleſs trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of loſt Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. Firſt therefore I obſerve, that the time which *Beroſus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddenneſs of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſs the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reaſon judge, what courſe was like to be taken by the great Ones of the Kingdom, for ſetling the Government, whilſt the King was thus diſtracted, we ſhall find it moſt likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to reſtore it unto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſs it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to ſupply the utter want of underſtanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripeneſs of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, might eaſily either commit the inſolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Siſter *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Siſter) was a woman of an high ſpirit; it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying, That ſhe was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and uſeful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of **Babylon** againſt the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Aſſyrians*, and amongſt them *Nineve*. Wherefore it were not unreaſonable to think, that ſuch a woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers miſ-government, uſed practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Beroſus* (as *Joſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Siſters Husband; which argues this to have been the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the Son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine months reign he were for his lewd conditions ſlain by the Nobility, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth; it ſeems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reſtitution (whoſe term of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here uſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was ſlain by his Siſters Husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jechonia*, do plainly teſtifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the laſt of his life.

Herodot.l.1.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to have ſucceeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have ſo done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthaſar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had ſuch conditions, as

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a miſchievous nature; having in his Fathers time ſlain a Noble young man that ſhould have married his Siſter, only for ſpight and envy to ſee him kill two wild beaſts in hunting, at which himſelf having thrown his Javelin had miſſed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, becauſe a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, ſaid, It were a happy woman that ſhould be his wife. Such barbarous villanies cauſed many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as ſoon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he loſt all; ſitting ſtill, and not once daring to give battel to them that daily took ſomewhat from him. Yet careleſly feaſting when danger had hemmed him in on every ſide, and when death arreſted him by the hands of thoſe whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was baſe and miſerable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcuſable ſecurity, yet had not that happineſs, ſuch as it is, of a death free from apprehenſion of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful viſion; which had ſhewed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilſt he was drinking in that wine, which the ſwords of his inſulting enemies drew out of him, together with his lateſt blood. It is therefore in this place enough to ſay of him, That after a diſhonourable reign of ſeventy years, he periſhed like a beaſt, and was ſlain as he deſerved. The reſt that concerneth him in queſtion of his time, hath been ſpoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, ſhall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whoſe ſtory, that of *Balthaſar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and firſt greatneſs of the Perſians.

§. I.

That the Medes *were the chief actors in the ſubverſion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguiſhed in *Balthaſar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Aſſyria*, was joyned firſt to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus*, became Lord and Monarch, both of *Aſſyria*, and of *Media* it ſelf.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings beſides himſelf, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metaſthenes*. Theſe two Provincial Governours having cut down the laſt branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eaſtern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the laſt of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthaſar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the houſe of *Achæmenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Perſia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Perſian* Kings, we ſhall hereafter find occaſion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* deſcended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings ſoon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaſpes*, and *Diodore* ſpeaketh of *Pharnus* with his ſeven Sons, ſlain by the *Aſſyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of theſe who ſucceeded *Arbaces* the firſt, that freed his Nation from the *Aſſyrians*, I take the liſt and number from *Euſebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have ſpoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are theſe:

Arbaces	reigned	28 years.
Sorſamus		30 years.
Medidus		40 years.
Cardiceas		13 years.
Diocles		53 years.
Phraortes		24 years.
Cyaxares		32 years.
Aſtyages		38 years.
Darius Medus		

And though the *Greeks* aſcribe the Conqueſt of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Perſians* his followers, but that the Army victorious over *Balthaſar* was his; as the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire alſo was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom being threeſcore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleaſed him to ſet over the Kingdom. And ſo was it propheſied by *Eſay* long before: Cap. 13. v. 17. 51. v. 11. & 28. *Behold, I will ſtir up the* Medes *againſt them, &c.* And by *Jeremy*; *The Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *for his purpoſe is againſt* Babel *to deſtroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verſe, *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the* Medes, *the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* Theſe Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which alſo agreeth with *Strabo*, where he ſaith, That as the *Medes* were Lib. 16. ſubjugated by the *Perſians*, ſo before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* were maſtered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Juſtin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes *to the* Perſians.

HOw the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians; but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of thoſe who give the Conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſians* only. For ſome there are who deny that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtyages* (whom he calleth *Aſtigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquiſhed him in battel, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Cteſias* often cited, and ſeldom followed, and himſelf ſometimes very juſtly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned hiſtorian of this age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and before them *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any ſuch Succeſſor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, St. *Hierom*, or St. *Auguſtin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Succeſſor to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet ſeeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negativè*, doth never inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alleadged notwithſtanding) to affirm, that either *Aſtyages* himſelf muſt have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; or elſe to give him ſome other Succeſſor, according to *Joſephus* and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth Zon. l. 1. c. 19. Joſ. An. l. 10. c. 13. Xen. l. 8. Pæd. *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and ſubject to his authority; the ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelf for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the ſubverſion of any State or Monarchy how powerful ſoever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that ſervice did rather aſcribe the glory to him that was the beſt man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling upon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Hiſtorians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, they took all things from the relation of the *Perſians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fift, and ſixt Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himſelf not only lived a great Officer under

King *Darius*, but that he continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniel*'s death, could not have been diſtinguiſhed from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus* permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's *relation of the War with the* Medes *and* Perſians, *made with joynt-forces upon the* Aſſyrians *and others.*

THeſe Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our underſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe Wars: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his ſubjection, there ſhould not then be left any Nation adjoyning, able to make head againſt him. For, the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threeſcore thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, to which the forces of *Perſia* being joyned, made an exceeding ſtrong Army.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, invited *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treaſure, and with him other Lords of *Aſia* the leſs, to his aſſiſtance, alledging, that thoſe Eaſtern Nations were very powerful, and ſo firmly conjoyned by league, and many alliances, that it would not be eaſie, no not poſſible, for any one Nation to reſiſt them. With theſe incitements, and ſtrengthned with great Preſents, he drew to himſelf ſo many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thouſand foot, and threeſcore thouſand horſe; of which, ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot were led by *Crœſus*, who had great cauſe of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them againſt his Father *Alyattes*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Perſian* forces, utterly broken: Upon which defeat the *Aſſyrian* King being alſo ſlain, ſo many of the *Aſſyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it ſelf could not longer be aſſured without the ſuccours of Mercenaries, waged with great ſumms of mony out of *Aſia* the leſs, *Egypt*, and elſewhere. Which new gathered forces were alſo ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, poſſeſt himſelf of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœſus* himſelf was alſo made priſoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following ſoon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Siſters Son, prevailed againſt *Balthaſar*, as in due time ſhall be ſet down.

Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbred thirty thouſand foot-men, of which a thouſand were armed Gentlemen, the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, or ſuch as uſed the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he deſcribed in *Cyrus* the pattern of a moſt Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: ſo it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and groſs of his Narration was founded upon meer Hiſtorical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every ſpeech and circumſtance he hath preciſely tyed himſelf to the phraſe of the ſpeaker, or nature of the occaſion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the ſame to the times and perſons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick diſcourſe, and examining but the Hiſtory of things done, it will eaſily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken ſubject in ſuch ſort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any ſort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The eſtate of the Medes *and* Perſians *in times foregoing this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perſes*, being Governour of *Perſia*, did aſſociate himſelf with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himſelf the Dominion of thoſe Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Aſſyrians*; as alſo that they conveyed over the ſame honour and power to their poſterity: which in *Media* was not abſolutely Regal, but with ſome reſtraint limited, until ſuch time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authority and majeſty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are uſually accounted about an hundred and forty years; in the laſt ſixty whereof, there reigned in *Aſſyria* mighty Princes, namely,

namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors; whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſs, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive war againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable, that the league continued as yet between theſe the ſucceſſors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninety years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had been but an unadviſed enterprize of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*; and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not Maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time; it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa*, or *Suſan*, the chief City thereof. It it true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœſus*, which, after ſome ſix years diſpute, was compounded.

How the affairs of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I do not find any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſs of the mountainous Country which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſs which they afterward obtained, would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſs thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of theſe Wars, and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; ſo it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Perſia* from Father to Son for many deſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Zenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a mean man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her Son (whoſe nativity he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For, what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the Son of his Daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child ſhould have encreaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and, as I think, the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſs, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperity, did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf;

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpeus.*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue-male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royal family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes*, and *Atoſſa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtona* and other Daughters.

Cambyſes had

Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had

Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlain by his Brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond, were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped Royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdom of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for thoſe that were afterward called the *Magi*, or Wiſe-men. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But

Euſ. l. 6. c. 8. de Præp. Evang.

that

Gen. 10. Iſa.11,21,22. Jer.25.29. Ezek.32. Dan.8. Eſd.4. 2 Mac.9. 1 Mac.6. that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Eſdras*, in many places confirm: Which alſo St. *Hierom* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and alſo in his *Hebrew* queſtions, approveth, ſaying: *Elam, à quo Elamitæ Principes Perſidis*; Elam, *of whom were the* Elamites *Princes of* Perſia.

And that City which the Author of the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elemais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the war againſt thoſe *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

Chap. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his Name, and firſt actions.*

Strab.l.15. As touching the Name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a River which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a Father in the *Perſian*-Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the people.

It is true, that for his Juſtice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a Father; but that the Name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I think it be miſtaken.

Plut. in vit. Artax. *Plutarch* hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sun, in the ſame Language. Howſoever it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, *Thus ſaith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.*

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto ſubject, together with the taking of *Crœſus* himſelf, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in the laſt war againſt *Crœſus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been uſed (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it ſelf, which in due place I have anſwered. The latter ſeems to have reference to the ſecond War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the moſt of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Crœſus *the King of* Lydia, *who made War upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the laſt Book ſpoke ſomewhat of *Crœſus*, of his race and predeceſſors, as alſo of thoſe Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*: which Family extinguiſhed, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations; *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favourite, he was by the ſame *Gyges* (thereto

urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day ſlain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atys* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœſus*. Herod.l.1. Eiuſ.l.5. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and ſeventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœſus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerful, and maintained it ſix years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Aſtyages the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelf greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Crœſus* Siſter, whom he married.

But *Crœſus* ſo far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal ſtrength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Palæſtina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Crœſus*, notwithſtanding the men and treaſure ſpent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet maſtered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces poſſeſt by the *Greeks* in *Aſia* the leſs, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he alſo inforc'd the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him, notwithſtanding they compaſſed their City with *Diana*'s Girdle, Her.l.5. Athe.l.14.c.17. *Herodotus* witneſſeth: Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Beroſus* (which alſo confirmeth) makes report of a Signal Victory, which *Crœſus* obtained againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting alſo that his proſperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himſelf, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he preſented with marvellous rich gifts) what ſucceſs he might hope for againſt *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; Crœſus *paſſing over the River* Halys, *ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion.* For the Devil being doubtful of the ſucceſs, payed him with merchandize of both ſide alike, and might be inverted either way; to the ruin of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Crœſus *his Expedition againſt* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœſus* being reſolved to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, deſpiſed all the arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the ſoft ſilk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beaſts; not fed with ſuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant, and proſperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himſelf in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and ſubjected, ſo great would his loſs appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the ſame could neither haſtily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithſtanding this ſolid counſel, *Crœſus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the ſame toward *Media*, but in his paſſage he was arreſted at *Pterium*, a City of great ſtrength in *Cappadocia*; which while he ſought by all means to ſurprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferiour to other in ſtrength or opinion, I do not find: for, out of doubt, *Crœſus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; ſo was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But, as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they favoured a diſturber and uſurper of the Common-weal againſt him who fought for the *Roman*-liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encreaſe and period from divine Ordinance: ſo, at this time was the Winter of *Crœſus* proſperity at hand, the leaves of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in groſs troops: ſupplies from both Kings thruſt on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Perſians* had ſomewhat the better of the day, ſo when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Crœſus* doubting what ſucceſs the riſing Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all ſpeed poſſible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his firſt City and Regal Seat, without any purſuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing ſuſpecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he diſmiſſed the Souldiers, and ſent the troops of his ſundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conqueſt of Lydia *by* Cyrus.

CYrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to purſue them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heels, as to be diſcovered. But having good intelligence of *Crœſus* his proceeding, he ſo meaſured his marches, as he preſented not himſelf before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Crœſus* had diſpoſed his Army to their wintring garriſons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he ſurrounded *Sardis* with his Army; Wherein *Crœſus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes ſiege the ſame was entred by aſſault, and all executed that reſiſted. *Crœſus* having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts ſtrongly encompaſſed, thruſt himſelf into the heap and miſerable multitude of his vaſſals, and had undergone the common fortune of common perſons vanquiſhed, had not a ſon of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of paſſion and fear enabled) cryed out to the Souldiers to ſpare *Crœſus*. Who thereupon being taken and impriſoned, deſpoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon. To which when the fire was ſet and kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he firſt uſed ſilence; but urged again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told him, That many men in the race and courſes of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could diſcern himſelf for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate ſuam quiſque habet fortunam, Curt. *Memoriam metus perimit: timor, vocis eſt incitamentum, &c.* Solin. *c.7.*

Of which anſwer *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune, and his own mortality, he commanded his Miniſters of Juſtice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to ſave *Crœſus*, and to conduct him to his preſence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perſwaded him? or what ſelf-reaſon had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus anſwered; It was thy proſperous, and my unproſperous deſtiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Crœſus* War againſt *Cyrus*.

Homo qui in homine calamitoſo miſericors eſt, meminit ſui, Caſſ.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Crœſus* anſwer, and bewailing his eſtate, though victorious over it, did not only ſpare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, ſhewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed. *Quæ non cauſam, ſed fortunam ſpectat.*

And herein is the real difference diſcerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis*: A thief ſometime ſparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjuſtly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cauſe and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Crœſus* at the firſt ſight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already ſet down, that he ſhould have been burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroical Prince, thought an intent ſo cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearſed, as too much miſ-beſeeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerneſs of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwiſe vicious) from ſo cruel a purpoſe againſt his Grandmothers brother. Howſoever it was, the moral part of the Story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it paſs for currant, though the truſt repoſed in *Crœſus* afterwards may ſeem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not uſe him inhumanly at the firſt.

For, as *Herodotus* himſelf telleth us, when *Cyrus* paſt with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœſus* to accompany and adviſe his ſon *Cambyſes*, Governour of the Empire in his abſence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow

Cambyſes into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

AFter this *Lydian* War, enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſs between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheleſs I do not think to have been wholly occupied in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have been ſpent in ſetling the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained againſt *Crœſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſs, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that City, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and ſurrounded with waters unfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a City ſo well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſs of this courſe, the Beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch and ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their Commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occaſion were offered, than to uſe much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yeſterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoak of ſervitude. Whilſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitful and vain gladneſs, that is the ordinary fore-runner of ſudden calamity, *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed, by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he ſtayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads un-cut, between the main river which ſurrounded the City, and his own Trenches.

Xenoph. Cyroped. l.7.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakneſs within, nor any poſſibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous Feaſt, publick

Playes, and other Paſtimes; and thereto invited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobility, beſides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his proviſions were either ſufficient, not only for all needful uſes, but even for jollity and exceſs; or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many diſtreſſes, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bell* his moſt reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all theſe reſpects. And he was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equal, but (uſing *Daniel's* words) *he lifted himſelf up againſt the Lord of Heaven:* for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made carowſing cups of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom, he praiſed his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Braſs, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit ſtultitia in vaſibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a fooliſhneſs was it* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praiſe gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthaſar* was in this ſort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall oppoſite unto him, certain words which he underſtood not: wherewith ſo great a fear and amazement ſeiſed him, as the joynts of his loyns were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the Dan.5.6. other. Which paſſion, when he had in ſome part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldæans*, Aſtrologians, and Southſayers, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment, the Queen hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, uſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the daies of thy Father, light, and underſtanding, and wiſdom, like the wiſdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King* Nebuchodonoſor, *thy Father, the King (I ſay) thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Aſtrologians,* Chaldæans, *and Southſayers, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and underſtanding, &c. were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This Queen, *Joſepus* takes for the Grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings Wives, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banquetting, ſhe came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonoſor*, Grandfather to this *Balthaſar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joſeph. Ant. 10.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to read and interpret thoſe words miraculouſly written; to whom *Daniel* made anſwer in a far different ſtyle from that he uſed towards his Grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonoſor*, he wiſhed that the ſame might befall his enemies; but to this King (whoſe neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he anſwered in theſe words, *Keep thy rewards to thy ſelf, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation*. Which, before he had performed, he gave him firſt the cauſe of Gods juſt judgment againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence, whereof the King and all his Wiſe men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath Dan.5.18, 19,20. this effect, That forgetting Gods goodneſs to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he deprived him of his eſtate and underſtanding, ſo upon the acknowledgment of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King, notwithſtanding, lifted himſelf up againſt the ſame God; and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe veſſels dedicated to holy uſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharſin*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finiſhed it; That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods Juſtice, and found too leight; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthaſar* feaſted and periſhed, *Cyrus*, either by his eſpials, according to *Xenophon*; or inſpired by God himſelf, whoſe enſign he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no leſs filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear of Gods judgment, he cauſed all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the preſent, by whoſe chanel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to diſturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleep and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, unleſs they ſaved themſelves by flight, as ſome did, who ran away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthaſar*, and betaken themſelves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected company to the Kings Palace; which having eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, ſlew both him and them without any mercy, who ſtrugled in vain to keep thoſe lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the Prophecy Jr.27, Iſa.47. of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Eſay*, two hundred years before this ſubverſion; who in his ſeven and fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and lively, as if he had been preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter there committed, and had ſeen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrows and bewailings of every ſurviving ſoul thereunto ſubject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in theſe words; *Come down, and ſit in the duſt, O Virgin Daughter of* Babel: *ſit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And again, *Sit ſtill, and get thee into darkneſs, O daughter of the* Chaldæans; *for thou ſhalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God uſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the Idolatry of the *Judæans*; yet *Eſay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execu- C.p.47.5 tion of his judgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercy, but thou didſt lay thy very heavy yoke upon the antient. I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew.* Iſa.14. To wit, Evilmerodach and Balthaſar. And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, ſhall be ſtricken thorow: whoſoever joyneth himſelf, ſhall fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the ſame to poſterity after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatneſs and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors ſet down, might ſeem altogether fabulous: for, beſides the reports of Saint *Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the ſecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the reſt was taken three daies Diod.l.3. after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compaſs thereof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, that ſix Chariots might paſs in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and five foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compaſs, reckoning the ſame at three hundred fourſcore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty mile and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickneſs but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is alſo very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourſcore Furlongs circle; the thickneſs of the wall he meaſures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regal cubit. For entrance, it had Her.l.1. an hundred Gates of Braſs, with poſts and Hooks to hang them on of the ſame metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly Iſa.47.13. intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſs and Glory of Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had wonn her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlave; dividing not only all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelves as bond-ſlaves upon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have laſted only ſeven years: in which time he made ſuch Conſtitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royal power to themſelves and their poſterity.

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§. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THe laſt War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diverſly written. *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* deliver, That after the Conqueſt of *Aſia* the leſs, *Cyrus* invaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an incounter between the *Perſians*, and theſe Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Army, and her Son *Spargapiſes* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond battel beat the *Perſian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* priſoner, cut off his head from his body, and caſt the ſame into a bowl of blood, uſing theſe words; *Thou that haſt all thy life time thirſted for blood, now drink thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelf.*

It ſhould hereby ſeem, that *Cyrus* knowing the ſtrength and multitude of thoſe frozen Nations, was perſwaded to abate their fury by ſome forcible invaſion and depopulation, becauſe in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Aſtyages*, thoſe *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Aſia* the leſs, and held the ſame in a ſervile ſubjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metaſthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, laſted (ſaith he) ſix years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the ſame which *Cyrus* made againſt the *Sacians*, before the conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the ſucceſs of that War otherwiſe than *Herodotus* doth: *Vig prim. part. Bib.* The rather (ſaith *Viginier*) becauſe *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* ſurprized the *Sacians* by the ſame ſtratagem by which *Juſtin* ſaith, he defeated the Son of *Cte. l. 15. hiſt. part.* *Tomyris*. And the ſame *Cteſias* alſo reporteth, That the laſt War which *Cyrus* made, was againſt *Amorrhæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the reſt) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he ſuffered three daies after.

Strab. l. 15. *Strabo* alſo affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Paſagardes*, which himſelf had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is ſaid to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego ſum* Cyrus *qui Perſis imperium conſtitui, puſillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invideas; O thou man, whoſoever thou art, or whenceſoever thou comeſt; for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldſt come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the Perſian Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, *Q. Curt.* either upon hope of treaſure, ſuppoſed to have been buried with him (or upon deſire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be ſet upon it. Theſe things well conſidered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, *Xen pæd. 8. Zon. l. 1 c. 20.* ſo they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And ſurely, had *Cyrus* loſt the Army of *Perſia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would ſo ſoon have tranſported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, ſo far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyſes* been able in ſuch haſte to have undertaken and performed ſo great a Conqueſt. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, ſaying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himſelf, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and, after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelf, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the puniſhments and rewards following the good and ill deſerving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the ſtrongeſt arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelf had read the Prophecy of *Eſay*, wherein he was expreſly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of reſtoring the holy Temple and City of *Jeruſalem*, was in true conſideration the nobleſt work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in

other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, uſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Government in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſs, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon earth; which muſt laſt for ever, though heaven and earth ſhall periſh.

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§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jeruſalem.

HAving therefore ſpoken of his great Victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſervice done unto him that was Authour of them and of all goodneſs: I hold it meet at length to ſpeak of the Decree made in the firſt of his Reign, being perhaps the firſt that ever he made after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* ſhould return again into their own Territory, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, he gave order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſary and wanting. He alſo reſtored unto them five thouſand four hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the Grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned *1 Eſd. 2. 2 Eſd. 7. Phil. in bre.* out of *Chaldæa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the ſon of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the ſon of *Joſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they built an Altar *1 Eſd. 3. 3. Eſd. 5. Eſd. 4. & 5. Joſ. Ant. 11.* to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their own law, and afterward bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no ſooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of thoſe Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not *1 Eſd. 2. 16.* only thoſe which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of leſs place, but *Cambyſes* himſelf; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authours make doubt, that whatſoever *Cambyſes* did when *Eſd. 2. 16.* himſelf had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: *1 Eſd. 5. 33. 1 Eſd. 4. 5.* they may herein reſolve themſelves out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindred all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themſelves affirm, as it is written in the ſecond of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in ſetting up, having received ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

And if we ſeek the natural and politick courſes which moved *Cambyſes* to withſtand his Fathers Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himſelf became ſole and Soveraign Monarch, we ſhall find them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; *Eſd. 1. c 4.* that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having it in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judæa*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is *Ezek. c. 2* written in *Ezechiel*, Egypt *was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jews*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of* Iſrael, *and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and*

and Darius,*and* Artahſhaſte *Kings of* Perſia. Laſtly, in the ſeventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after theſe things, in the reign of* Artahſhaſte *King of* Perſia: which was as much as to ſay, after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Hieruſalem.* Which action though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus.* The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon.* At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldeſt ſon *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger ſon to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Juſtine*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his iſſue: and whether* Atoſſa *were his daughter, or (as ſome think) were the ſame with Queen* Heſter.

CYrus had iſſue two ſons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis.* *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did he *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers have ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Tranſlation calleth a *Macedonian*) had againſt the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Joſephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite.* But it is hard to be underſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould have been *Eſther*, whoſe Hiſtory ſeems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, or of *Xerxes.* The deſire of *Atoſſa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby ſhe thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-woman. Wherefore I cannot give aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa*, (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to have been one perſon. For though it be true that *Eſther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus.* Certain it is, that *Eſther* did at length diſcover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Hiſtories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and eſpecially the Nobility, muſt needs have underſtood the truth: who nevertheleſs did ſo well know the parentage of *Atoſſa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſon *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, againſt whom alſo he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

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CHAP. IV.

The eſtate of things from the death of Cyrus *to the reign of* Darius.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Perſian *Kings.*

OF the ſucceſſors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the *Perſian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* joyntly.	2	
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priſcus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	years.
Darius Nothus.	19	
Ataxerxes Mnemon	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arſes, or *Arſames.*	4	years.
Darius, the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus*, for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melancthon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus.*

There is a ſecond Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have alſo a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheleſs *Euſebius*, and moſt of the
Chro. Kren. fo. 135. Latins follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered; and, as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort do the *Greeks* marſhal the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reigns.

Melancthon gives Cyrus but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30	
	Cambyſes with the *Magi.*	8	
	Darius Hyſtaſpes.	36	
Melanct. but 20.	*Xerxes.*	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	years.
	Darius Nothus.	19	
Melanct. but 40.	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43	
Melanct. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	23	
Melancl. 4.	*Arſames.*	3	
	Darius the laſt.	6	

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt Chronologers, and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Perſian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtorical Animadverſions, hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *verſ.* 22, 23 *Ezra* 1. *ch.* 1. *verſ.* 1. and ofren elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* underſtands that place; but, under correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the ſixth verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus.*

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great War which he ſhould make againſt the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeven, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſtha*, *c.* 4. *l.* 1. *Ezra v.* 7. and *chap.* 7. *v.* 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *v.* 24 and *cap.* 5. *v.* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *v.* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. cap.* 2. *v.* 1. who was Father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the Son of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Euſebius*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Crœſus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this hiſtorical demonſtration is *Alm l.* 3, *cap.* 6. confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who referrs the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonaſſar.* And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſix and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolemy*, we ſhall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty daies from *Nabonaſſar* to the ſixteenth of *July* in the ſeventh year of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeventh year, in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad*: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomy* the two hundred and ſix and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſerving the differences of *Nabonaſſars Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz*. eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Joſephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, ſaving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, The diſagreement and confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* Kings formerly rehearſed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being conſtant in it ſelf, accordeth alſo with the computation of other Hiſtorians, and Aſtronomers, and likewiſe with the holy Scriptures.

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§. II.

Of Cambyſes, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of *Perſia* to *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, ſaving the deſire to increaſe the greatneſs of his Empire: whereof he was poſſeſt in his Fathers time, while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Cteſias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before received.

Lib.2: c. 2. Her. l. 3. pag.83,84, 85. In the fifth year of his ſole reign, and in the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Euſebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Pſammeniticus*, he not only cauſed him to be ſlain, but alſo did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the moſt of his children.

Herodotus and *Cteſias* give for cauſe of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyſes*) that when he ſent to *Amaſis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amaſis* preſented him with *Nitetis* the Daughter of *Apries* his predeceſſor, which *Cambyſes* diſdained.

Howſoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyſes* gathered an Army fit for ſuch an enterprize, and cauſed the ſame to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amaſis* died, and left *Pſammeniticus*, whom *Cteſias* called *Amyrteus*, his ſucceſſor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the beſt Copies of *Herodotus*) but ſix months, though other Chronologers give him ſix years.

But how long ſoever he held the Crown, in one battel he loſt it, and was himſelf taken priſoner.

It is ſaid that *Cambyſes*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only ſpare life to the conquered King, but that he alſo truſted him with the Government of *Egypt*, and that, upon ſome revolt, or ſuſpicion thereof, he cauſed him to be ſlaughtered. But the race of this King was not ſo extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who cauſed the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Pſammeniticus* was at the firſt entreated gently by *Cambyſes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is alſo written of him, That he ſo much hated *Amaſis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he cauſed his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities uſed, commanded the ſame to be burnt, contrary to the cuſtom both of the *Egyptians* and *Perſians*. For the *Egyptians* uſed to powder their dead bodies with ſalt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * *Perſians* durſt not conſume them with fire, which they eſteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

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§. III.

The reſt of Cambyſes *his Acts.*

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Army into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iſland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelf in *Egypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia*, to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his *Oratory*, raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of the Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

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* Neither did the *Romans* ever conſume their dead to aſhes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who cauſed his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, becauſe himſelf had untombed the carkaſs of *Caius Marius* after his death. *Her. l. 3. Plin.l.6.c.54. Stra. & Juſt. l. 1. Pag. 87, 88. Her.l.3.Sen.l.*

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that, diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conduct into thoſe parts; but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troops had tryed, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *Engliſh* Proverb, *Go, ſaith the King*; *Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in ſervice of him that only is, and liveth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dream it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the Royal Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Siſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws, he committed a moſt cauſeleſs and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelf with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*, That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiouſly the Ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges, and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Siſter; it being his own intent ſo to do: The Judges (who had alwaies either Laws or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtoms, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings, to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and ſo, as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occaſionem*: that is as much to ſay, The Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjuſt judgment given, and the ſame his hide to be hung up over the judgment-ſeat. After which, beſtowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment. *Her.p.89, 90.*

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the Son of his beloved *Praxaſpes*, was very ſtrange and ungrateful. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; only it was by many obſerved, that he took more than uſual delight in the taſt of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And, Are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſs, whether in this report they have done me right: for, if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſs the mark, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects believed. This being ſpoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the ſtroke, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the Arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying inſtead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaſpes, *thou mayſt reſolve thy ſelf, that I have not loſt my wits with Wine, but the* Perſians *theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his domeſtical affairs, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*; and in mounting haſtily on horſe-back, his ſword diſ-ſheathing, peirced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he ſoon after gave up his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or

Zon.Com.2. p.117. *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the ſame was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly ſeated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iſland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Siſter *Meroe*.

§. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum *between* Cambyſes *and* Darius.

Cyrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapa's*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achæmenes* the firſt *Perſian* King) having diſcovered the fraud of this impoſture, joyned their forces together, ſurprized and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions and Aſſiſtants. In which action (ſaith *Juſtin*) *Intaphernes* and *Aſphatines* were ſlain: but *Herodotus* otherwiſe, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the ſeven Princes were preſent at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, theſe Princes grew into a conſultation how the ſame might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one on the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities ſhould confederate, and by juſt Laws defend their Libertie in equality, giving divers reaſons for his Opinion, being, as it ſeemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyſes*: As firſt, that it was not ſafe to give all power to any one, ſeeing greatneſs it ſelf, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is moſt apt to inſult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly uſe the ſervice of wicked men, and favour them moſt; they uſurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and deſtroy whom they pleaſe without judgment.

Megabyſus was of another Opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgment, run into buſineſs and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is ever found, that excellent Counſels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgment, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe even among few diuturnity of concord is ſeldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, far ſafer to obſerve the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperial Government, by God eſtabliſhed and made proſperous. And, to avoid partiality, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeven Princes ſhould mount on Horſe-back, and on him the Kingdom ſhould be conferred, whoſe Horſe, after the Sun- Her.l.3.p. 100,101. riſing, ſhould firſt ney or bray. In the evening, after this appointment was made, it is ſaid, that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his Horſe *Oebarus*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was reſolved of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as ſoon as he came into the ſame place, was the firſt Horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other ſix Princes deſcended from their Horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the ſeven Princes, whereof *Darius* himſelf was one, that delivered the Empire from the uſurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into ſeven Governments; *Herodotus* ſaith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the ſon of* Hyſtaſpes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage.*

Darius was deſcended of the antient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal ſucceſſor. For in this ſort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the firſt, who had
Teiſpius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arſamnes, the father of
Hyſtaſpes, the father of
Darius, ſirnamed *Celes*, the father of
Xerxes. Cuit. l.4.

Hyſtaſpes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars againſt the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia*; others ſay to be impriſoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Perſian* Her l.1. *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyſes* into & 3. *Egypt*; he then joyned with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horſe, or, as others affirm, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelf by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

* Her. pag. *Hyſtaſpes*, according to * *Herodotus*, had, 137. beſides *Darius*, theſe three ſons, who were Pag.154. Pag.130. great Commanders in the War which *Darius* P.101. made in *Aſia* the leſs, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and & 202. P.180. *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artaba-* 190. *nus*, who diſſwaded *Xerxes*, from the ſecond Her.l.6.p. *Grecian* war. *Hyſtaſpes* had alſo a Daughter 180. P.186. married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardoni-* 190. *us*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in P.179. P.200. *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Da-* 204. *rius*, *Artoſoſtre*, his Coſen german.

& p.213. 285,286. *Reineccius* gives to *Hyſtaſpes* five ſons, *Da-* P.214. *rius* who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, *Artabanus*, 254. *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two De Reg. Perſar. l.32. Daughters.

§. II.

Of Darius *his Government, and ſuppreſſing the rebellion of* Babylon.

Darius deviſed equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the ſame being formerly promiſed by *Cyrus*. He gave acceſs to all his Subjects, and behaved himſelf ſo mildly to all men, that many Nations deſired and offered themſelves to become his Vaſſals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accuſtomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thouſand five hundred and threeſcore talents, ſaith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyſes* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Perſia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertiſed, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the ſame a difficult work, he uſed the ſervice of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Noſe, and with other wounds yet freſh bleeding, he ſeemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for ſuccour, to whom he accuſed the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the ſiege of their City, had in this ſort diſmembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandement of their greateſt forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable over-throws given to the *Perſians* upon ſallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his Her.l.3. hands, who had lyen before it twenty moneths.

§. III.

Of Darius *his favour to the* Jews *in building the Temple.*

IN the ſecond year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hieruſalem* ſhould go on, and commanded that the ſame ſhould be finiſhed at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of thoſe Provinces which are ſituate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Ezra.c.6. Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyſes* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they ſhould not thence-forth come neer unto *Jeruſalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they ſhould withdraw themſelves, and get them far off till all were finiſhed, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your ſelves far from them*; In our *Engliſh*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He alſo made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whoſoever ſhould thenceforth hinder the ſetting up of the Temple of God, that his houſe ſhould be torn down, and the diſturber hanged on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He alſo in the ſame Decree maketh invocation to Ezra 6.11. God; *That hath cauſed his Name to dwell there (to) deſtroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to deſtroy this houſe of God which is in Jeruſalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree (the *Jews* being really Ezra 6. furniſhed with money and all things neceſſary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finiſhed, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the ſixth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and in the two and fortieth after their firſt return.

§. IV.

Of Darius *his Scythian War.*

AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whoſe King *Juſtin* Her. l.4. Juſt. l.2. calleth *Lauthinus*; and ſaith, that *Darius* undertook this war againſt him, becauſe he refuſed him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of ſmall Veſſels over the River *Iſter* or *Danubius*, and gave the cuſtody of the ſame in charge (among others of *Aſia* the leſs) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the *Aſian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the ſame was reſiſted by *Hiſtiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation, being a *Colonie* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Country, Diod. l.11. becauſe they joyned themſelves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good ſlaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Maſter, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of ſhaking off their bondage, when they were preſented with as fair an occaſion of liberty as could have been deſired. For the great Army of *Darius* entring the deſart Country called *Beſſarabia*, found in it neither people to reſiſt them, nor any ſuſtenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their poſterity, at this day, all horſe-men, uſing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graſiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Paſture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but uſed for Houſes the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. Theſe Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleaſure. Neither hath the Emperour himſelf, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than ſuch as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himſelf, and waſted his proviſion in thoſe deſolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refreſh him, nor any houſes, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himſelf might make uſe of, or by deſtroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet ſetting a good face upon a bad game, he ſent brave meſſages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to ceaſe his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battel; Or, if he acknowledged himſelf the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Perſians* uſed to demand as a ſign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphical* anſwer; ſending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouſe*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb ſhew *Darius* interpreting by his own wiſh, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein thoſe creatures live, and his weapons withal into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the ſeven Princes, who had

ſlain the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Perſians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our arrows.* And this interpretation was ſoon verified by the *Scythians* themſelves, who aſſailed the *Perſian* camp, drave the horſe-men into the trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were ſo fearleſs of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his ſight, they did not forbear the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſs of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ſick and weak behind him, and ſo with all ſpeed marched away towards the River *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians*, who miſt him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* King ſhould never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe fail to meet, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Perſians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

DArius having thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Pæonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoon after ſubjected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the ſon of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe judgment. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and [a] *Cardia* likewiſe taken in from the *Perſian*, who having now reduced under his obeyſance the beſt part of *Thrace*, did ſend his Embaſſadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own ſtrength, entertained the Embaſſadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a ſolemn and magnificent feaſt; the *Perſians* greatly deſired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be preſent: which being granted, the Embaſſadors, who were well filled with wine, and preſumed upon their greatneſs and many Victories, began to uſe ſuch embracings, and other laſcivious behaviour towards thoſe Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings ſon, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, diſdaining the *Perſians* barbarous preſumption, beſought his Father to with-draw himſelf from the aſſembly, continuing notwithſtanding all honourable reſpect towards the Embaſſadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refreſh themſelves for a while; promiſing their ſpeedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* cauſed the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themſelves in the ſame garments, and to uſe the ſame attires which the Ladies had worn at the feaſt, giving them in charge, That when the *Perſians* offered to abuſe them, they ſhould forthwith tranſpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpoſe, which was accordingly performed. Charge was ſoon after given by *Darius* for a ſevere revenge of this murder. But *Alexander* ſomewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his ſiſter *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius* forces on that ſide, who perſwading her husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invaſion of *Attica* intended, ſo prevailed, as *Alexander* eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall upon him very ſuddenly; the war of *Aſia* the leſs, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

Her. l.5.
* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Conſtantinople*.
[a] *Cardia*, a City upon the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lyſimachia*. Pto. Pauſ.

§. VI.

The firſt occaſion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearſal of the government in* Athens, *whence the quarrel grew.*

NOw the better to underſtand the reaſon and motives of that great War, which followed ſoon after, between the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which City endured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* invaſion on that ſide the Sea, with admirable ſucceſs. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſs as gave fire to thoſe wars, which never could be throughly quenched, untill in the ruin of this great *Perſian* Monarchy. *Perſepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatneſs, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently Governed, the ſame being already ſet down, though ſcatteringly, and in ſeveral times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eaſtern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judæa*; ſo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two laſt changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained ſtill their ancient polity under Kings, though theſe alſo after ſome fifteen deſcents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the ſafety of his people, was therefore ſo honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to ſucceed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchical to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the firſt, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of theſe there were twelve Generations beſides *Medon*, to wit,

Ageſtus.
Archippus, in whoſe times the *Greeks* tranſported themſelves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourſcore years, according to *Euſebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (ſuch as follow *Euſebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.
Therſippus.
Phorbas.
Mezades.
Diogenetus, in whoſe time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans*.
Pheredus.
Ariphron.
Theiſpeus, in whoſe time the *Aſſyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces*.
Pauſ. pag. 159. *Agamneſtor.*
Dionyſ. l. 3. Pauſ. p. 169. *Æſchylus*, in whoſe time the *Ephori* (according to *Euſebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.
Pauſ. 170. Pag 331. *Alcamenon*, the laſt Prince for life, after whoſe death the *Athenians* elected *Decennial* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and ſixteen years. The firſt of thoſe that Governed for ten years, or the firſt *Archon*, was
Charops, then
Æſymedes.
Elydicus.
Hippomenes.
Leocrates.
Abſander.
Erixias was the laſt *Archon* of the *decennial* Governours, which form continuing threeſcore and ten years, was then changed into *annual* Magiſtrates, Maiors, or Burg-maſters, of which *Theſeus* was the firſt, according to *Pauſanias*: others find *Leoſtratus*; and then
Anthoſthenes.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damaſias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, and others, who are the leſs to be regarded, by reaſon of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were publiſhed, according to *Gellius*, in the three & thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and were in after-ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magiſtrates in *Rome* created for that purpoſe) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But theſe goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own dayes violated, and for a while almoſt quite extinguiſhed. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the ſtate of *Athens* was very ſoon changed into a Monarchy by *Piſiſtratus* the ſon of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens diſtracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occaſion by their contention and inſolency to raiſe a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plauſible, for that he ſeemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himſelf, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been ſlain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men ſurpriſing the State-houſe, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himſelf Lord of the Town; *Hegeſiſtratus* being then Governour. But the Citizens, who in every change of Government had ſought to remove themſelves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could ſo ill brook this uſurpation of *Piſiſtratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as ſoon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulſion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the diſſention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; ſo was it ſoon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the uſual practice of the weaker ſide) call in the common enemy *Piſiſtratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet ſo, that *Piſiſtratus* by their power was made Maſter both of them and all the reſt. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and eſpecially *Megacles*, being incenſed againſt *Piſiſtratus* for his miſdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practiſed with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treaſon ſo ſecretly, and ſo far, that *Piſiſtratus* (upon the firſt diſcovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himſelf to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his eſtate, he governed *Athens* ſeventeen years, according to *Ariſtotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, ſaith *Elianus*, but, as *Juſtin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his ſeveral expulſions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son ſix and thirty years; *Ariſtotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Succeſſors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with ſuch moderation, as they rather ſeemed the Lineal ſucceſſors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and ſome three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. The cauſe why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural luſt after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that ſcandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, firſt ſought to diſcover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who, becauſe ſhe would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, enter into a ſtrait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whoſe Son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But ſome three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what ſtrong practice againſt himſelf, he began to uſe the Citizens with great ſeverity, which neither *Piſiſtratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himſelf had ever exerciſed, during their uſurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing leſt that this diſeaſe might rather increaſe, than diminiſh in *Hippias*, they ſtirred up *Cliſtines*, one of the nobleſt and beſt able of their City, to practiſe their delivery: who, calling to his aſſiſtance the baniſhed *Almæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, ſo affrighted *Hippias*, as by his compoſition he gave over his eſtate, and the poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himſelf, took Land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia* governed by *Æantides*, who preſented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his eſtate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perſwading and practiſing the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great diſhonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had reſigned his eſtate.

Her. l. 12. *Eretria* a City of *Eubæa*, by thers called *Melane*, by *Stephanus Eretria*. Pol. 5. Heraclid. apud Elian, pag. 162. Juſt. p. 28. Her. l. 6. Thucyd. l. 6. 6. 10.

Lampſacus a City of *Myſia* upon he *Helleſpont*. Her. l. 5. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1.

* *Sigeum*, a promontory oppoſite to the Iſle of *Tenedos*, which *Ariſt.* in 5. *Animal* calls *Idæ promontorium*.

Thus far I have digreſſed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the cauſes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be reſtored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him ſolicit and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the moſt urgent.

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§. VII.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion, which was the principal cauſe of the Wars enſuing between* Greece *and* Perſia.

ANother, and a ſtrong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Aſia* about the ſame time. The Colonies tranſported out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, which occupied the greateſt part of the Sea-coaſt, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Perſia*.

But as it is the cuſtom of Nations half-conquered (witneſs *Ireland*) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Grecians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeek by all means poſſible to free themſelves.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurr them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in ſubjection. Every one of thoſe Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe only might they held the people in ſubjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they uſed all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwiſe had been loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſervice *Hiſtiæus* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own deſires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſs, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Hiſtiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kind uſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpial upon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtilty enough to diſcover the King's purpoſe, which ill agreed with his own deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great King's Table, and hear the Counſels by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelf an idle beholder, and enjoying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a private man might beſtow upon himſelf.

Wherefore he bethought himſelf of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which, if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authority in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deal as occaſion ſhall require. Reſolving upon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his kinſman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, adviſing him to ſtir up ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in fear of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that had waſted the King's treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſel: and the better to draw the whole Country of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he took and ſold as ſlaves to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had ſurprized in his firſt breaking out, together with the principal Officers, and Captains; ſo that now he thought himſelf able to deal with the great King's forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſs he were able to raiſe an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſs beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Embaſſadours which had been ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on a pace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient kindneſs that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafety, than by retreating himſelf into the Caſtle, which the *Græcians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Perſians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place, ſtrengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Grecians*, and found them near *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Army, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight, *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Erætrians* periſhed: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perſwaded to make any ſecond trial of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noiſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſs which the *Perſians* had in one or two skirmiſhes, could raiſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, wonn a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take ſharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes*, againſt *Athens*: To which the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave only ſome form and aſſiſtance: the buſineſs, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had periſhed, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* againſt many of the Iſlanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Iſlanders moreover did help to furniſh out a Navy of three hundred and ſixty ſail againſt him. Theſe provocations did rather breed in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed: neither was that victory of any uſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whoſe aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Perſian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old ſubjection. So had the *Perſians* likewiſe by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as alſo they had recovered the Towns upon *Helleſpont*, with ſome *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Ariſtagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, deſirous to ſeat himſelf in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whoſe Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the ſame time, *Hiſtiæus*, the firſt mover of this inſurrection, came down into thoſe quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this Evaſion preſerved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perſians*, and haſtily beheaded, leſt the King ſhould pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it ſeems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Hiſtiæus had ſought to put himſelf into *Miletus*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keep him out, and make ſhift for themſelves, without his help. The ſtrength of their City by Land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promiſed unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermoſt, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the cauſeleſs flight of thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted them. Neither was it long before the Town it ſelf, being aſſaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens ſlain, their wives and children made ſlaves, and their goods a booty to the *Perſians*, whom for ſix years ſpace they had put to ſo much trouble.

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§. VIII.

The war which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with the battell of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

Herod. l.6. Whether this City or People were of *Peloponneſus in Sicyonia*, or of *Ægæa*, between *Theſſalia* and *Macedon*, I do not know; but thoſe borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the reſt far off. There is alſo a City called *Ægiuum*, not far from *Ægæa*, *Livie*, 32,33,&c.

This War with good ſucceſs finiſhed by the *Perſians*, and ſome attempts made on *Europe* ſide with variable ſucceſs; *Darius* obſtinate in the enterpriſe and Conqueſt of *Greece* (though at firſt he pretended to make the War but againſt the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who jointly aſſiſted the *Ionians* againſt him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Embaſſadours, demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, ſome of them not ſo well reſolved as the reſt, ſubmitted themſelves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquiſh the party of the *Perſians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this war, and cauſed his companion-King *Demantus* to be depoſed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reaſon of theſe diſcords, alienations, and civill wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagorus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to tranſport his Army over the *Helleſpont*: the ſame conſiſting of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and aſſiſted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia* the leſs. Theſe Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-ſide, imbarked themſelves in ſix hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Aſia* the leſs, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieve themſelves in the paſſage, and ſhroud themſelves from all ſudden tempeſts and out-rage.

To this end, they firſt poſſeſt themſelves of *Samos*; ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the inhabitants deſpairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Iſland *Darius* did not only forbear to ſack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered theſe & other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſix days aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayls. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

In Herod.

The *Athenians*, finding the time arrived wherein they were to diſpute with their own vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devil, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victory, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battell, to aſſiſt them, and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, & promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven. which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand only of the *Platæans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witneſs their thankfulneſs and grateful diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Platæans*. In the end, and after great diverſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troups: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troup advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſs the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troup of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the Victory being doubtfully balanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Grecians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed; the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their ſhips.

The *Perſian* Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſs, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Pannici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Army, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet down, in their diſorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Juſtin's* report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* Army were ſlain, the ſame hath no appearance nor poſſibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlain, ſaith *Juſtine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*.

Ad. Att.

The greateſt honour of this Victory was caſt upon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the trial by battel, and behaved himſelf therein anſwerably to the counſel which he gave. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but young and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Grecians*, of mark and commandement, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the ſhore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the firſt year of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſæus*.

In vita Ariſt.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned back into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an employment againſt the Iſlanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and paſſing over his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſix and twenty dayes aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelf being made unable, and his Companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his ſervices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envy of the better ſort to each other, with their private Factions, aſſiſted by the unthankful and witleſs people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubjection and ſlavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one ſon called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferiour to his Father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in underſtanding, but exceeded them both in Juſtice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than ſorrow for the loſs received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike proviſions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great ſtrength and revenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the re-invaſion of *Greece*. The diſſention alſo among his ſons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by ſo great a mother as *Atoſſa*, diſdaining to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And laſtly, Death, who hath no reſpect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his conſultations and enterpriſes, and joyned him to the earth of his Anceſtors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned ſix and thirty years. He left behind him five ſons, namely, *Artabaſanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who ſucceeded him, *Achæmenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Maſiſtes*, and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparations of Xerxes *againſt Greece.*

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made againſt the *Egyptians*, which he finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the ſame was performed: the other againſt the *Græcians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the ſucceſs ridiculous. In the conſultation for the proſecution of this War, which was chiefly bent againſt the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perſia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had alſo *Hyſtaſpes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his ſiſter *Artozoſtres*, perſwaded by many arguments the *Europæan* War. But *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counſel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous ſucceſs of the two late Invaſions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counſel: The one in perſon upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore beſought *Xerxes* to be right well adviſed before he did too far imbark himſelf in this buſineſs. For whatſoever undertaking hath deliberate and ſound counſel for conductor, though the ſucceſs do not alwayes anſwer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing elſe thereof to vaunt, than the variableneſs of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can conſtrain.

But ſo obſtinate was the reſolution of *Xerxes* in proſecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Viſions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all thoſe that oppoſed his deſire to this War (changing opinion and counſel) aſſiſted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were conſumed in deſcribing and gathering an Army for this invaſion: which being compounded of all Nations ſubject to the *Perſian* Empire, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſemen, beſides Chariots, Camels, and other Beaſts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number leſs by ſeven hundred thouſand footmen. Herod.l.7.

The Commanders of the ſeveral Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Perſia*, either by marriage in the Kings houſe, or otherwiſe; for to theſe were all commandments of this nature given, ſome few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was beſtowed on *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobrias*, by a ſiſter of *Darius*, to whom were joyned ſome others of *Xerxes* his neereſt kindred, as Generals over all; ſaving that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the immortal Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlain, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thouſand horſemen were led by the ſons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabignes*, the ſon of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſs of *Halicarnaſſæus*, and the Iſlands adjoyning, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the* Helleſpont: *and the diſcourſe between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Army.*

When this world of an Army was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the border of *Celænas*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*; which make ſo many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the Preſent. But ſoon after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelf was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his own ſon) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his carkaſs ſhould be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the half Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus*, or Neck of Land it ſelf: a work of more oſtentation, than of uſe, and yet an enterpriſe of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſs in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* between *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of bredth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torn aſunder & diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlain that were maſters of the work, and cauſed ſix hundred threeſcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtry of the *Phœnicians*, was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and rayled, the whole Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven dayes and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Army brought neer to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happineſs, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Army and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Unkle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelf which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few dayes given us in the world, there is no man among all theſe, or elſewhere, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſs, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be proſperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſs? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the Kings reſolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtain more & more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of means to feed ſuch an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diſ-inable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it ſelf both by Sea and Land, which ſoon after followed. Theſe cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacy had not miſpriſed them. For to invade by Sea upon a perillous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, not ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of ***Philip*** the ſecond upon ***England*** in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counſel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point; It is very likely, that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it leſs than two millions of Souls, beſides his beaſts for Service and Carriage, ſhould after a few dayes ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans couſteo; die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yield food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the ſharpned points of their weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred twenty men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwer was, That it was impoſſible to provide for all things; and that whoſoever ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he ſhould never purſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatneſs, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; & therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were never undertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſity had inforc'd him to that war. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more then could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperity of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father ***Darius*** had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was

anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſs and end agreeable to the weak counſell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which he tranſported, and yet in his own judgement not ſufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whom he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, ſed pondus; & impedimenta potius ſunt, quàm auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aid.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhall ſuch a world of men in one Army, ſo the divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, bred the ſame confuſion among the *Perſian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thouſand choſen Souldiers in each, and ſent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furniſhed, he had either prevailed by the ſword, or forced them to forſake their territory, brought them into obedience by neceſſity and famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes* reſolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a ſea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himſelf, conducted by his fear, fled ſhamefully into *Aſia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which, wintred in *Theſſaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perſwaded the enterpiſe, was in the ſummer following utterly defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

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§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemiſium.

After ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported the Army over the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the deſcription of his paſſage along that Coaſt, and how the River of *Liſſus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the lake neer to *Piſſyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeak of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible overthrows which he received. As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which did divide *Theſſaly* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had raiſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole; beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Army of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Army by one handful of thoſe men whom not long before he had utterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and ſo might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Army might aſcend the ledge of mountains, and ſet upon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Army had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians* with his three hundred, and ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him refuſe to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having loſt in this laſt fight, together with twenty thouſand other Souldiers and Captains, two of own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not been preſent at theſe battels, with whom he knew that he ſhortly was to deal. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great fear, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this triall, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* arrows was ſo thick as would hide the Sun, he anſwered thus; It is very good news, for then ſhall we fight in the cool ſhade.

Such notable reſolution having as freely been expreſſed in deeds, as was uttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſel of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well adviſed and inſtructed him in the things of *Greece*, what courſe were fitteſt to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces ſhould aſſemble together to defend the *Iſthmus*, that ſtreight neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he adviſed, That three hundred ſhips well manned, ſhould be ſent unto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours buſied at home, whilſt *Xerxes* at his leiſure having ſubdued the reſt, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining deſtitute of ſuccour, would be too weak alone to make reſiſtance. To this purpoſe alſo the ſame *Demaratus* further adviſed, That the ſaid Fleet of three hundred ſhips ſhould ſeize upon the Iſland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coaſt of *Laconia*, might ſerve as a fit place of *Randezvous* upon all occaſions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient ſpeech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* ſhould be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Iſle drowned in the Sea, than ſtand ſo inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counſel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not eaſie to gheſs. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the ſafer. For the *Perſian* Fleet had been ſorely vexed with a grievous tempeſt, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were loſt upon the Coaſt of *Magneſia*, four hundred ſhips of War, beſides other veſſels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeen, that if any ſuch calamity ſhould overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them ſuccour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perſwaded his Brother not to diſperſe his Fleet; for if (ſaid he) after the loſs of four hundred ſhips we ſhall ſend away other three hundred to ſeek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be ſtrong enough by Sea to encounter the reſt of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counſel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-Army and Fleet, ſhould each of them ſtand the other in good ſtead, whilſt both held one courſe, and lay not far aſunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the ſame time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewiſe made a ſorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artimeſium*, in the ſtraits of *Eubœa*, where the *Perſians* thinking to encompaſs them, ſent two hundred ſail about the Iſland to fall upon them behind, uſing a like ſtratagem to that which their King did practiſe againſt *Leonidas*, in a caſe not unlike, but with far different ſucceſs. For that narrow chanel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the ſame ſort held by a Navy of two hundred threeſcore and eleven ſail againſt the huge *Perſian* Armado, as the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of thoſe two hundred ſhips that were ſent about the Iſland, and the cauſe of their voyage, was too well known in the *Perſian* Fleet, and ſoon enough diſcloſed to the *Greeks*, who ſetting ſail by night, met them with a counter-ſurprize, taking and ſinking thirty veſſels, inforcing the reſt to take the Sea; where, being over-taken with foul weather, they was driven upon the Rocks, and caſt all away. Contrariwiſe, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increaſed by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ſhips, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the laſt fight. As theſe new forces encouraged the one ſide, ſo the fear of *Xerxes* his diſpleaſure ſtirred up the other to redeem their loſs with ſome notable exploit. Wherefore ſetting aſide their unfortunate policy, they reſolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and caſting themſelves into the form of a Creſcent, thought ſo to incloſe the *Greeks*, who readily did preſent them battel at *Artemiſium*.

The fight indured from noon till night, and ended with equal loſs to both parts. For, though more of the *Perſians* ſhips were ſunk and taken, yet the leſſer loſs fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greeciſh* Fleet, which being ſmall, could worſe bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may ſeem to have had the worſe, that they forſook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and ſpoils to the enemy, who nevertheleſs were fain to abandon preſently even the paſſage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ſhips were ſorely cruſht in the battel, and eſpecially becauſe they had received advertiſement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they weighed Anchors, *Themiſtocles*, General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks*, or ſtand neutral; which perſwaſion, he hoped, would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoyning: as for the Inhabitants, they choſe rather to fly, and reſerve themſelves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his Army he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertain a covetous deſire of inriching himſelf by committing ſacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licenſe to chaſtiſe his impiety, in ſuch manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that
Mal. 3.8. Holy One, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoil his*
Jer.2 9,10 *gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iſles of* Kittim, *and behold, and ſend to* Kedar, *and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things*. Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybele*'s Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize againſt *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſs ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer miſchance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefly thus: *He came to* Athens, *which finding forſaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel, and Temple, which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by ſome of more courage than wiſdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle; *That* Athens *ſhould be ſafe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Paliſſadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relyed upon the Prophecy: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent need, than faſhioning the buſineſs to words.

§. V.

How Themiſtocles *the* Athenian *drew the* Greeks *to fight at* Salamis.

THe *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whilſt they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Iſle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Iſthmus*: which neck of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by Land and Sea, leaving the reſt of *Greece*, as indefenſible, to the fury of the enemy. So ſhould the Iſlands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecurity) have been given over into mercileſs bondage. Againſt this reſolution, *Themiſtocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition; but in vain. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with fear of loſing their own, which they would not hazard, that no perſwaſions could obtain of them to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies. Many remonſtrances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*; As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the ſelf-ſame fear which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himſelf to the defence of his own City and Eſtate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he ſhewed, that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ſhips, to determin the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*; which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gave him ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retain the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſs of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A baſe and ſhameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſs, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a reply ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-near two hundred good ſhips of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Town he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians*, in proceſs of time, ſhould build it a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulneſs. The *Peloponnenſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*: whoſe affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak terms, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might enforce the reſt to yield to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroical reſolution, of leaving their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſity ſhould enforce them ſo far, for the preſervation of their liberty, did employ the moſt of their private wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Navy. By theſe means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to paſs, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either preſent death, or perpetual ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and fourſcore bottoms. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their own condition, which would have ſtood upon deſperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them, were ſoon perſwaded, by the greater fear of ſuch a bad event, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceived of the *Perſians*; and laying aſide their inſolent bravery, they yielded to that moſt profitable counſel of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Perſians *conſulted about giving battel: and how* Themiſtocles *by policy held the* Greeks *to their reſolution; with the victory at* Salamis *thereupon enſuing.*

In the mean ſeaſon, the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were convenient to offer battel to the *Greeks*, or no. The reſt of the Captains giving ſuch advice as they thought would beſt pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in perſon, was of contrary opinion: Her counſel was, that the King himſelf directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſs, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of proviſion) ſhould preſently be diſſevered, and every one ſeeking to preſerve his own City and Goods, they ſhould, being divided, prove unable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battel; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which we ſhall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loſs, in caſe it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we deſire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, *it is* more than they would have done, we ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worſt, the journey to *Peloponneſus* is utterly daſht, and many that now declare for us, will ſoon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the Fleet, related unto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captains, and withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King, well pleaſed with her advice, yet reſolved upon following the more general, but far worſe counſel of the reſt; which would queſtionleſs have been the ſame which *Artemiſia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgment, which they thought to be moſt conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perſwaſion of much good, that his own preſence upon the ſhore to behold the conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-ſide, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Ægalæus*; which is oppoſite unto the Iſle of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The neer approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again ſo terrifie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no entreaty nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madneſs to fight for a Country already loſt, when they rather ſhould endeavour to ſave that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelves what miſery would befall them, if, loſing the Victory, they ſhould be driven into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut up, and beſieged round in a poor deſolate Iſland.

Hereupon they reſolved forth-with to ſet ſail for *Iſthmus*: which had preſently been done, if the wiſdom of *Themiſtocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had ſtopt up their ears againſt all good counſel, did practiſe another courſe, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholſome decree; not ſuffering the very hour of performance to find him buſie in wrangling altercation. As ſoon as the Council brake up, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſty Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Navy about the Iſland, which incompoſing the *Greeks*, might prevent their eſcape; giving them withall falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than believed theſe good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own aſſured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them; which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what ability their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with reſtitution of their City, and Territories. By theſe means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themſelves incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all that night, ſending many of their ſhips about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſittalea*, which lyeth over againſt *Salamis*, to ſave ſuch of their own, and kill ſuch of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune ſhould be caſt upon the ſhore. Thus did meer neceſſity enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battel in the ſtraights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, ſtemming the foremoſt of their enemies, and chaſing the reſt, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battel to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a weariſom task of writing down many diſaſters that befel the *Perſian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it ſelf that day, doing no one piece of ſervice worthy the preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well ſeem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was aſcribed to thoſe of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ſhips of *Ægina* having poſſeſt the Straights, did ſink or take them, whilſt the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon thoſe that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of reſiſting.

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§. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis: *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

AFter this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had beſt merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the firſt place write down his own name, but, in the ſecond place, as beſt deſerving next unto himſelf, almoſt every Suffrage did concur upon *Themiſtocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as ſoon as her own turn was ſerved. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcern his faint heart through his painted looks. Eſpecially *Mardonius*, Authour of the War, began to caſt a wary eye upon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſel ſhould be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purpoſing rather to adventure his life in purſuit of the Victory, than to caſt it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he adviſed the King to leave unto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces he promiſed to reduce all *Greece* under the ſubjection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardiſe of thoſe *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than ſlaves, who had ſo ill behaved themſelves in the late Sea-ſervice, did not concern his honour, who had alwayes been victorious, and had already ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the War was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who preſently betook himſelf to his journey homewards, making the more haſte, for that he underſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſail to *Helleſpont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould have been, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* give counſel, that by no means they ſhould attempt the breaking of that bridge, leſt neceſſity ſhould inforce the *Perſians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, under pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe advertiſement unto this timorous Prince, adviſing him to convey himſelf into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his bridge were diſſolved: which counſel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torn in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driven to imbark himſelf in ſome obſcure veſſel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did moſt willingly imbrace the latter of theſe reports. Howſoever it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Country, that was thereby diſburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locuſts, had before overwhelmed it.

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§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as alſo between the* Athenians *and the* Lacedæmonians, *after the flight of* Xerxes.

MArdonius with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawn himſelf into *Theſſaly*, whence he ſent *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſadour to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own deſires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be ſecure, till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, underſtanding what fair conditions this Embaſſador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, leſt he ſhould find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewiſe very ſpeedily diſpatch their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, uſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had only threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themſelves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injuſtice could not leave them. We know, ſaid they, that ye have endured great calamities, loſing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forſake the Town, the houſes thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongſt us, as long as the War ſhall continue, hoping that ye, who have alwayes procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into ſlavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oaths are of no aſſurance. It was needleſs to uſe many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave anſwer to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Embaſſadours; That whilſt the Sun continued his courſe, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which he might ſeek to make purchaſe of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtain themſelves, only deſiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Army to march, foraſmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in *Theſſaly*, having once received ſuch a peremptory anſwer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſs to invade *Attica*, they found themſelves nothing deceived. For he, as ſoon as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the ſecond time quitted it, and conveyed themſelves into places of more ſecurity abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he ſent his Agent unto them, with inſtructions, not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promiſes to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forſaking their houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerve them from fire, & to have thoſe which were already laid waſte, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederates, whoſe ſuccors did very ſlowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpoſe; all which projects, if they ſhould fail, the deſtruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to pleaſe his Maſter, King *Xerxes*; who muſt thereby needs underſtand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the ſtrongeſt part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the *Athenians* ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*, adviſed the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counſel-houſe, heard what he had ſaid, immediatly ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or mony, that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, and in the Iſle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſel, and bad end, aſſembling together did enter his houſe there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſs of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themſelves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardneſs in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlacknes, & threatning withal, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers; which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* fleet lay upon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navy contained it ſelf within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to do ſervice where need ſhould require at home, and withal to ſhun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being diſtracted from the reſt) had ventured over-far. So mutual fear preſerved in quiet the Iſlands lying in the midſt of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demy-Iſland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſal of their own dangers, were very careful to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadours, who not brooking their delaies, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſs; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journy, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſs contented with the final concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, whoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

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§. IX.

The great battel of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearſal to ſhew all that happened in many skirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battel: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſleightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſervice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to fail, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promiſed Victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the *Oracle* deſigned. For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewiſe the memorials of thoſe Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, upon Mount *Cithæron*; and the ground ſerved well for footmen againſt horſe; only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful *Oracle*, the *Platæans*, to make all clear, did freely beſtow their land on that ſide the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* underſtanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* and *Perſians* had felt heavy proof, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braveſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battel, and oppoſe himſelf to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro.

Some attempt the *Perſians* made that day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſs to themſelves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did ſerve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themſelves to diſlodge; and part of the Army being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being incouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meer cowardiſe) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the enemies horſe, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlain, and ſome of eſpecial mark loſt, before any ſign of good ſucceſs appeared in the entrails.

But as ſoon as *Pauſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens, which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did ſit upon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pauſanias*, came in a-pace to ſuccour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, becauſe the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Perſians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheleſs, the *Spartans*, with other their aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquit themſelves, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius*, with many thouſands more ſlain in the field; the reſt fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themſelves with ſuch courage, as deſperate neceſſity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long purſued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found warily buſied in aſſaulting the Camp, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelves undertook it, and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage thorow the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greeks* entred with ſuch fury, and juſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand, they are ſaid not to have left three thouſand alive, excepting thoſe who fled away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Perſian* Army firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpecial cauſe of it was the fooliſh retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelves into it greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeveral Nations and Languages, and having loſt their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, againſt an Army of men, far more valiant than themſelves, and enflamed with preſent victory. Therefore the ſame Wall, which for a few hours had preſerved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the ſlaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was ſent by *Mardonius* upon ſome piece of ſervice: For he well knew, that had they underſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would have been hoſtile unto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe favour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind and loſt, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he ſhipped his men over into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus* had foreſeen, and rather worſe, for as much as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, deſpiſed and ſought to have been brought into ſlavery. Hereby it may ſeem, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelf, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubverſion of the *Perſian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater conſideration of their own ſtrength, and the weakneſs of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale; *with a ſtrange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.*

THe ſame day on which the Battel was fought at *Platæa*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Aſia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode.

Lutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the requeſt of ſome Iſlanders and *Ionians*, did ſail into thoſe parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Perſian*. *Xerxes* himſelf at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-ſide, having left threeſcore thouſand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia*, and the Sea-coaſt. Therefore when *Artayntes*, and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Perſian* Fleet, underſtood that the *Greeks* bent their courſe towards them, they did forth-with draw their ſhips aground, fortifying with *Paliſſadoes*, and otherwiſe, as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their ſtrength, and reſolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally cloſe aboard the ſhore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear, than good will, were encamped among the *Perſians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, and uſe the fair occaſion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themiſtocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, truſting that either theſe perſwaſions would prevail, or, if the *Perſians* did happen to underſtand them, that it would breed ſome jealouſie in them, cauſing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not ſeem ſtrange, that this very ſame ſtratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themiſtocles*, did now very happily ſucceed. For *Xerxes* being in his full ſtrength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perſwade thoſe Inhabitants of *Aſia* to revolt; who now in his declining eſtate, gave a willing ear to the ſweet ſound of liberty. The *Perſians* likewiſe, who in their former bravery, little regarded, and leſs feared, any treaſon to be contrived by their ſubjects, were now ſo wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongſt them, they took away their arms; the *Mileſians*, whom they did ſuſpect, but would not ſeem to miſtruſt, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the ſtreight paſſages of *Mycale*; pretending that theſe *Mileſians* did beſt of all others know thoſe places. But theſe devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon ſuch weapons as came to hand, aſſailed the *Perſians* manfully within the Camp; which examples the *Ionians* preſently followed, being very glad to have found ſome that durſt begin. It is ſaid, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour ſuddenly rann in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the Battel of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the ſame day.

The like report of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four daies, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of, the ſame day in *Peloponneſus*: That of the Battel againſt the *Tarquinians* and the *Latins*, preſently noiſed at *Rome*: And (which is moſt remarkable) the victory obtained againſt *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelf Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was ſuddenly reported, that *Antonius* was ſlain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publick joy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better enquiry was made, and the Author of theſe tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Domitian* betook himſelf to his journey againſt the Rebel; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertiſement by Poſt, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome*, of the ſelf-ſame victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thouſand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) aſunder. It is truly ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very ſtrange, if among ſo many rumours, begotten by forgery or miſtakings, and foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not be

found (as happens in dreams among many thouſand vain and frivolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himſelf doth ſometimes uſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume upon their own ſtrength, by theſe light means of tumultuous noiſes: as he raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threaned *Senacherib*, ſaying, Iſa. 37. 7. *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a noiſe, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch means as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, leſt their own adventure ſhould by no means fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be ſubdued by *Mardonius*, whilſt they went wandring to ſeek out Enemies a-far-off, upon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But, the fame of the Battel fought at *Platæa* being noiſed among them, every man deſired that his own valour in the preſent fight, might be ſome help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of ſpirit, they divided themſelves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and ſtreight paſſages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet upon the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honour of the day to themſelves, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way thorow the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelves Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſave themſelves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſervice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Mileſians*, who upon the like jealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages, did now (as if they had been ſent of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſervice, for the buſineſs was diſpatched ere they came in: Only they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troops; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Army levied againſt *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offenſive War.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a tranſition from the* Perſian *affairs to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

XErxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great loſſes, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his deſire by force. Becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it beſt to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occaſion of ſuch familiarity as might work out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he ſoon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himſelf in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This young Lady having once deſired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, cauſed the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands converſation with her, which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt whom thereupon ſhe conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feaſt, wherein the cuſtom was, that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craved that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelf with the like, to whatſoever ſhe ſhould inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the requeſt; and ſending for his Brother, perſwaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeems, that he underſtood how villainouſly that poor Lady ſhould be intreated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himſelf had loved. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her away; alleging his own love, her deſerving, and their common children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reaſons important to move him to keep her. But in moſt wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, ſaying, That he now ſhould neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promiſed unto him. *Maſiſtes* was much grieved with theſe words, but much more, when returned home, he found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queen *Ameſtris*, who had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off; and her Breaſts in like manner, which were caſt unto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and ſome friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebel and avenge himſelf: But *Xerxes* underſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Perſian* Government; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, ſaid, That he doubted, whether in regard of his virtue, he ſhould again erect it; or, for the miſchief done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely, whatſoever his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſs.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſs and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worſe Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almoſt equal to that which did eſtabliſh it. In wars againſt the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had been, very good; but againſt the general eſtate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his poſterity, did ever make offenſive war, but received many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerved but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his own doors, than in a forein Country: whereof good trial was made forth-with, and much better proof as ſoon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtory of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſs, many ages following, in ſuch wiſe, that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom, repreſenting the Majeſty of a great Empire.

But this greatneſs depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions, or none, that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unweildy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſors were fain to defend their Crowns with mony and baſe policies; very ſeldom or never (unleſs it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the tryal of plain Battel with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealouſie urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours walls, and thereby diverted the ſwords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of Conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that paſſed in Greece *from the end of the* Perſian *War, to the beginning of the* Peloponneſian.

§. I.

How Athens *was re-built and fortified.*

AFter that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their laſt blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leaving the purſuit of the War to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta*, and

and other places, out of which they had been leavied. The *Athenians* in the mean while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtened his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themſelves the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Iſlands, and at *Træzen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they reſolved firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themſelves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by Sea, than either themſelves, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any private miſlike or jealouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelves than heretofore, the ſame would ſerve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to give them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadours very ſpeedily. But being reſolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuſe, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealouſie (for by the arrival of divers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were ſpeedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleaſed to ſend ſome of their own truſty Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolve themſelves, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his own, by whom he adviſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retain them a few dayes, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelf, and the other *Athenian* Embaſſadours, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to return. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociats and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whenſoever it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians* they would know them for ſuch as right well underſtood what appertained to a Common-weale and their own ſafety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themſelves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the reſolutions of their own counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous War againſt the *Perſians* they found their own judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leſs fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Judges of their own affairs, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the Walls of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diviſion; and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embaſſadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might under covert imbark themſelves upon all occaſions.

§. II.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatneſs, and proſperous war made by that State upon the* Perſian.

THE *Athenians* having ſetled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the purſuit of the War againſt the *Perſians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, ſtrengthened by the reſt of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing having poſſeſt themſelves of many principal places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Perſians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanias*, behaving himſelf more like a Tyrant than a Captain, eſpecially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accuſed of many inſolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treaſon againſt his Country. In his ſtead they imployed *Docres*, who either gave the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that War, practiſed the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wiſe and vertuous behaviour of *Ariſtides*, General of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable ſincerity, had been able to make a good Commander ſeem ill in compariſon of himſelf; and therefore was much more available, in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſs wearied of the War, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honour which they deſired: for all the *Greeks* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubjected themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſs in that preſent age, and of their ruin in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treaſurers, and began to levy mony, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſs, and the Iſlands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threeſcore Talents, which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that juſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates referred themſelves, and no one man found occaſion to complain of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the general love, which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe four hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to ſix hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had coverted their followers into ſlaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treaſure-houſe wherein theſe ſums were laid up, and where, at the general Aſſembly, the Captains of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for form ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by Sea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt up the common treaſure in an Iſland, under their own protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon*, the ſon of *Miltiades*, who firſt took *Eiona*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariſtii*, and brought into ſervitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking upon them and uſurping a kind of ſoveraign authority over the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own perſons, and given up altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in mony, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the proviſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Wars; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Navy and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable ſervices, at the coſt of thoſe, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, levied upon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians*

at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral ſcouring the Aſiatick Seas, took in the City of *Phaſelis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet ſail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode, being of ſix hundred ſail, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the ſhoar; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*; the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere ever they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoon preſented with a third. For fourſcore ſail of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* command) thinking to have joyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſs than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they only ſought to run themſelves on ground; by which mean, preſerving few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo break the courage of the *Perſian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſail to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treaſon of* Artabanus.

BEſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace upon any terms not altogether intollerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were near unto him, began to repoſe leſs hope of Safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Soveraignty, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treaſon, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelf had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſon of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſs he got the Kingdom, and held it ſeven months; or whether, intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and ſurpriſed, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extream torments, according to the ſentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe;

Raró antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.
Seldome the villain, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The baniſhment of Themiſtoles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Perſia; *and his death.*

ARtaxerxes being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and having ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greeks*, than he or his predeceſſors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their own merits in that ſervice, that they not only thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Iſlands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government than meerly *Democratical.* Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integrity nor good deſert was able to preſerve the eſtate of any ſuch as had born great office, longer,than by flattering the raſcal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themiſtocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatneſs upon popularity, yet now preſuming upon his good ſervices done to the State, he thought that with great reaſon they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwiſe, they were ſo highly offended with his often rehearſing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the puniſhment of *Oſtraciſm*, whereby he was baniſhed for ten years, as a man over-burthenſome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accuſation was brought againſt him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of conſulting with *Pauſanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themiſtocles*, finding no place of ſecurity againſt the malice of two ſuch mighty cities,was driven after many troubleſome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himſelf into *Perſia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly ſetled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Themiſtocles*, proved altogether fruitleſs. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infeſted *Egypt*, cauſing it to rebell againſt the *Perſian*) had ſent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and ſcouring thoſe Eaſtern Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can underſtand) to the manifeſt breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King ſend his Letters to *Themiſtocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which had given, of aſſuring the *Perſian* eſtate againſt the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themiſtocles* perceived much unlikelineſs of good ſucceſs, in leading a great army of daſtardly *Perſians* againſt the warlike people of *Greece*; or elſe (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to ſeek honour by the ruine of it; ſure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces againſt the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulneſs to his well-deſerving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deſerving people, by finiſhing his life with a cup of poyſon.

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§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the peace,which to their great honour they had made with the* Perſian , *were ſhamefully beaten in* Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to uſe the ſervice of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* war, wherein it appeared well, That a juſt cauſe is a good defence againſt a ſtrong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred ſayl ſtrong was ſent forth under *Cimon*, to take-in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: which conqueſt ſeemed eaſie both to make and to maintain; the *Perſian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Iſland. Now although it were ſo, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept ſincerely by the *Perſian*, who had made ſo good proof of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing deſirous to build any ſhips of War(without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one ſhould be found ſayling towards *Greece*,the peace was immediately broken; and, if not his whole eſtate, yet all the Sea-coaſt (no ſmall part of his Dominions)expoſed to the waſte of an enemy too far over-matching him,Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, leſt the league which in his own worſer fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore ſought to get ſuch aſſurance into their hands, as might utterly diſable him from attempting ought againſt them; or whether the increaſe of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Iſland to their Empire, cauſed them to meaſure honour by profit; they thought it the wiſeſt way, to take,whileſt they might, whatſoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Iſle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the ſtreights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, is very fitly ſeated for any Prince of State,that being mighty at Sea, doth either ſeek to enrich himſelf by trade with thoſe Countreys, or to infeſt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpoſe of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Iſland,was on the ſudden well-

nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſnatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily have ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exhauſted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceived rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy*,could make on the ſudden of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garriſons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Countrey not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and, after a revolt, very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoon break faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdom than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelf that the people, unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance, would eaſily be drawn to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly ſlain *Achemænes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themſelves for him, and proclaiming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their indeavour for proſecution of the War. But he conſidering his own weakneſs, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceived well, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein imbarqued;he invited the Commanders to ſhare with him the Kingdom of *Egypt*, as a far greater reward of their adventure, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly ſorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equall ſhare, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unneceſſary. He was poſſeſſed of the peoples love, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affairs was ſuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally.

Yet had the beginning of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſs: For they entred the Land, as far as to *Memphis*, the principall City; and of the City it ſelf they took two parts:to the third part,which was called, the White wall, they laid ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were ſtrong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well adviſe what means to uſe for the recovery of that which was loſt, or for the preſervation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope, was; by ſetting the *Lacædemonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to employ the reſt of his money and means, to their relief who had now the ſpace of ſix years defended his maſters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſon of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was firſt encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him maſter of the Countrey, whileſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great City.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayre, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*:ſure it is,that when *Megabazus*,having reduced the Country to obedience, attempted the City it ſelf, whether his former ſucceſs had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themſelves, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*,and purſued them ſo neer, as they were forced to fortifie themſelves in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen moneths ſiege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſave a few that ſaved themſelves by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainment had fifty other Gallies, which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, which is called *Mendeſium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies, and the *Perſian* Army; ſo as the *Perſians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſix years War in *Egypt*, and the reward

Proſopites an Iſland between the rivers of *Taly* and *Pharmutiacus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

Medenſus is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Buſiriticos*, & *Dielcos*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium* runneth into the ſea by the City *Panæphyſis*.

of their vanity and indiſcretion to undertake many enterpriſes at once.

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§. V.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians *for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, about the ſame time.*

NOtwithſtanding theſe overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great Victories ſoon after; the one over the *Peloponneſians*, neer unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, neer unto *Ægina*, where they ſunk and carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſudden, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight with equall loſs, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to ſet up their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons, and *Megarians*, to their great loſs and diſhonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited near to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſemen turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore days after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oeteus*, and evened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hoſtages for Tribute: the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories, they ſackt and ſpoiled many places upon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacædemonians*, wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſix years, that a part of their forces made war in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſaly*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over thoſe that reſiſted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips; but they were again allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Wooddy parts of *Egypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixty of their ſhips. The reſt of their Army failing in their enterpriſe at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iſland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Egypt*.

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§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh *the husband of Queen* Heſter.

THeſe *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable: whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, ſome allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſs. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*; as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needleſs travell; conſidering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appears in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proof, it may ſuffice, that *Ahaſhueroſh* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumſtances of the Hiſtory, and uſed the counſel of the ſeven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continual wars which exerciſed King *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with ſundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his firſt wife *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, ſhe being mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King, do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Jojachim* the High-Prieſt the ſon of *Jeſua*, cauſed the feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jeſua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage muſt have been celebrated) came not near to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſhueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Prieſt, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaymed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that ſeventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royal Feaſt, as is deſcribed in the beginning of *Heſter*. This is the ſumm of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Heſters* ſtory by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who adds the authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely, one hundred fourſcore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponneſian *War.*

BUt it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their civil wars, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many ages to reſt in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the war called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Iſle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the baniſhed *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, & maſtered two of their own Towns poſſeſt by the *Athenians*, which they ſoon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians* (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all ſlain or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their priſoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* took ſuch courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertiſed that the *Megarians* (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had ſlain the *Athenians* Garriſons, and joyned themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sycionians*, and *Epidaurians*. Theſe news haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whoſe return *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Countrey of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After ſix of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themſelves upon moſt lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ſhips, to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to reſtore whatſoever had been taken by themſelvs, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which, followed that long and cruel

Peloponneſian War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the ſame contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Countrey at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian *War.*

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *ſtood at the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *War,*

GReece was never united under the government of any one Prince or Eſtate, until *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League againſt the *Perſians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any abſolute ſubjection. For every Eſtate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by their own Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perſian* war (deemed the General quarrel of *Greece*) & took the profit and honour of the victory, to their own uſe and increaſe of greatneſs. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under ſuch obedience, as differed little from ſervitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with arms, and ſometimes with gifts, preſerve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deſerved beſt the plague of tyranny, having firſt given occaſion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakned all the Countrey by perpetual War. For, until theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other ſide, and ſo gave beginning to the *Peloponneſian* War (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not, before the time that *Philip* had over-maſtered all, foraſmuch as every concluſion of one war afforded henceforth matter of ſome new diſtraction of the whole Countrey) the wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* & another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controverſies were ſoon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Councel of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe aid was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of victory.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponneſian* War began. Their education was only to practiſe feats of Arms; wherein they ſo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which ſufficed to maintain him in ſuch manner as they uſed. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was ſimple, their feaſts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They uſed money of yron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, ſave that they uſed no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to paſs that in all enterpriſes, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they ſought wealth, & meaſured the honors of their victories by the profit; they uſed mercenary Souldiers in their wars, & exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the moſt part Ilanders compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in courſe of life, ſo in conditions natural, the difference between theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſs, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought honour, and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubjection. But the Signiory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their obedience; impoſing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War againſt the *Perſian*; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conqueſt of ſuch Iſlands and Haven-Towns of their Country-men, as ſtood out againſt them. All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealouſie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Eſtates. Wherefore at ſuch time as the *Thebans* would have oppreſſed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for ſuccour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, That they ſhould ſeek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did only ſerve to encreaſe their honour and puiſſance.

§. VII.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into War.*

NEvertheleſs, many Eſtates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, becauſe that City grew very inſolent upon ſudden proſperity, and, maintaining the weaker Towns againſt the ſtonger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iſland *Corcyra*, their Colony which had rebelled againſt them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their Fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge, which elſe they would have taken. Now, howſoever it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redreſs by war the injuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore, ſeeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed againſt the gods; whereto having for anſwer, That they themſelves ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of ſome Towns, oppreſſed by the State of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reverſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſs, that if they might obtain it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making War.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by ſeeming to have obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerve their reputation without entring into a War, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to ſet at liberty ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the

Athenian

Athenians did as far exceed them in all proviſions of mony, ſhipping, engines, and abſolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater uſe in ſuch need, than the willing readineſs of friends, who ſoon grow weary, and are not eaſily aſſembled.

§. III.

The Beginning of the Peloponneſian *War.*

THe firſt and ſecond years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were waſted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a moſt furious peſtilence grew in the City, ſuch as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Iſle of *Lesbos*, and the ſiege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durſt not adventure to raiſe, beſides ſome ſmall overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſembling as great forces as they could raiſe out of *Peloponneſus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, waſting and deſtroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not ſuffer the people to iſſue into the field againſt them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but uſed to ſend a Fleet into *Peloponneſus*, which waſted as faſt all the Sea-coaſt of their enemies, whilſt they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponneſians* being the ſtronger by Land, wan the Town of *Platæa*, which wanted reſcue; the *Athenians* likewiſe being more mighty by Sea, did ſubdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be ſuccoured from *Sparta*. By theſe proceedings in that War, the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with ſuch enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly waſted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to ſuch harm as they themſelves might, and did, receive. The Confederates began to ſet forward very ſlowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all neceſſaries, which came by the Sea from the Iſlands that were ſubject unto that Eſtate; and therefore theſe invaders took but ſmall pleaſure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in waſting a forſaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilſt afflicted. Wherefore they began to ſet their care to build a ſtrong Navy, wherein they had little good ſucceſs, being eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ſhips, and were ſo skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Veſſels of theirs durſt undertake a great number of the *Peloponneſians*.

§. IV.

Of the great loſs which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other loſſes which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very ſore blow, that compelled them to ſue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ſhips bound for *Corcyra*, waſting in that paſſage, as their manner was, the coaſt of *Laconia*, and all the half-Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, was by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a ſtrange neck of Land. Before it there lyes a ſmall barren Iſland of leſs than two miles compaſs, and within that a creek, which is a good harbour for ſhips, the force of weather being born off by the head-Land and Iſle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haſte they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was ſupplied by the natural ſtrength and ſite of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reaſon expected many advantages againſt their enemies. For the Country adjoyning was inhabited by the *Meſſenians*, who in ancient times had held very ſtrong and cruel war with *Sparta*; and (though quite ſubdued) they were held in ſtreight ſubjection; yet was not the old hatred ſo extinguiſhed, that by the near neighbourhood and aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-ſlaves as could eſcape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incurſions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almoſt in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to ſurround all *Peloponneſus*, and waſte it at their pleaſure. The news of theſe doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponneſians* thither in all haſte out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-ſaw, little fearing the grievous

loſs at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a general aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land, finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choiſe men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iſland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a chanel that leads into the Port; but ſo narrow, that only two ſhips in front could enter between the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeven or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further chanel, between the Iſland and the Main. Having thus taken order to ſhut up this new Town by Sea, they ſent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuff, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all ſides. But in the mean ſeaſon the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and ſink many of their enemies veſſels; took five, and ſo inforced the reſidue to run themſelves aground.

Now was the Town ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iſland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their cuſtom in great dangers) to adviſe what were beſt for the publick ſafety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, than by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver up all the ſhips which were in the Coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſs into the Iſland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them back, at whoſe return the truce ſhould end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they received them. The Embaſſadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelves had begun the war, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, adviſing them to make an end of War, whilſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For inſtead of concluding upon even terms, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſs ſuſtained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be reſtored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, unleſs the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred unto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they ſhould, according to their Covenant, reſtore the ſhips which had been put into their hands. Whereto anſwer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one Article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) ye have aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer ſhifts; yet profit ſo far overweighed honour, that better anſwer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to uſe many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, theſe priſoners ſhould all be ſlain. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo far from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendevous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians *hardly, and to their great diſadvantage, obtained a Peace that was not well kept.*

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were ſo puffed up with continuance of good ſucceſs, that having ſent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or loſs, they baniſhed the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default, that the Iſle of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelf, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated ſhortly after, by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where, in a battel which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlain; which two had moſt been adverſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation; ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, againſt ſuch as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſs, ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſs they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The eſtate of *Argos*, which had antient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong City, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little elſe to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrel ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whoſe ſake the War was undertaken, have been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponneſians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as ſeemed equal and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themſelves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their ſecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, untill ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtreight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offenſive and defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for

peace at their hands, as ſoon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did ſhew themſelves plainly unwilling to give ear to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that, by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late War, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appear) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jealouſie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction between two ſo powerful Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, beſides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual conſent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſs, that they who lately had borne chief ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, *by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that City was compelled to take and ſeek peace, upon terms not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens uſually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himſelf priſoner, nor that any misfortune ſhould have been ſo great, as ſhould have drawn that City to relieve it ſelf otherwiſe than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpecial mark, being overlaid by enemies, in the Iſland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelf, ſticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down, and ſeek to refreſh it ſelf by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leſs Cities joyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whoſe ability to do much, they conceived a ſtrong belief, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh envy is become almoſt natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers, which we know to be wanting in our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſhed their diſlike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatneſs of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent War. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alleging as grievances, that ſome Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantinæans*, who during the time of War, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependancy upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous fortune that began to fill their ſails, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens a full and abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſs to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to do as the moſt did. What inconveniency might ariſe unto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; & therefore ſent Embaſſadours to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchief had been hatched. Theſe Embaſſadours found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that Reaſon did as well bind them to hold themſelves contented with the peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their antient confederacy; foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their aſſociats, that the conſent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the War wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe alleged by the Embaſſadours, did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late Peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in Reaſon and Religion to uſe all means of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leſs to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to joyn themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſs that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*; theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incurr the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſs having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomack than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in Peace as in War, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly find any Signiory, that hath been ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſs that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them & the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to have been excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadours had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but uſed ſuch baſe concluſions as ſtood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having deſtroyed a Town that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that year, in *Sparta*; & *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, riches, and favour with the people, made him deſire War, as the mean whereby himſelf might procure ſome honourable employment; uſed all means to ſet the quarrel on foot, whilſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, untill they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open war, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates unto their ſociety, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they ſhould have had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſability. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vain joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecurity from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noiſed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their own Embaſſadours, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſs the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſtick upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction, to retain the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who coming to *Athens*, with full commiſſion to make an end of all controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Council-houſe, to make the truth of things appear, ſaying; That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panacte*: concerning which Town, or any other buſineſs, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable audience was given to this propoſition, the rather, becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was daſht on the ſudden, by the practiſe of *Alcibiades*, who, ſecretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unleſs they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadours believed him, and faſhioned their tale in the aſſembly of the people, as he had adviſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſincerity, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthning themſelves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly have ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill been ſeconded, with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadours, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo far did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the buſineſs was put off, until he himſelf, with other Embaſſadours, might fetch a better anſwer from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeem a great wonder, how ſo poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadours might have caſt the load upon his own ſhoulders, by diſcovering the truth: But the gravity which was uſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untruſty men, had they profeſſed themſelves ſuch as would ſay and un-ſay for their moſt advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the pains to rebuild *Panacte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them underſtand, that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no mind to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more, than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeem to have effected nothing) ſwear a-new to keep the Articles of the league between him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embaſſadors, a new league was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantinæans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample proviſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed over with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt, that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it ſelf chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe, who having reſtored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their own (priſoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſs of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in ſundry paſſages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whoſe Amity, they had left ſundry of their own friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* by the treaty of peace, had recovered the moſt part of that which they loſt in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſs of new Confederates.

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§. VII.

How the Peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found buſineſs wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on work, and make uſe of this conjunction. For, preſuming upon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hoſtility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their ſeveral friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their enſigns. One victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valour in a ſet Battel, near to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argive*-ſide, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yielded them no great profit. The civil diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelf, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almoſt thrown down the whole frame of the now combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo far, as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in expreſs words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude prevailing, reverſed all this, and having chaſed away their ambitious Nobility, applied themſelves to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſides theſe uproars in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſs for execution, prevented ſome things, revenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining ſtill that enmity in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

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§. VIII.

The Athenians *ſending two Fleets to ſack* Syracuſe, *are put to flight, and utterly diſcomfited.*

DUring this intermiſſion of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*; whither they ſent a Fleet ſo mighty, as never was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to baniſh himſelf, for fear of ſuch judgement, as elſe he was like to have undergone among the incenſed people; partly by the invaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilſt the forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with mony.

Neither was the ſucceſs of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For, although in the beginning, the enterprize had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Syracuſe*, the chief City of all the Iſland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong aid from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe, that their Fleet was ſhut up into the haven of *Syracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon their terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accuſtomed to make weariſome yearly journys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſel of *Alcibiades* (who ſeeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily excurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſometimes give alarm unto the City it ſelf.

In theſe extremities, the perverſe obſtinacy of the *Athenians* was very ſtrange; who leaving at their backs,& at their own doors, an enemy little leſs mighty than themſelves,did yet ſend forth another Fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no leſs puiſſant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a proſperous event makes fooliſh counſel ſeem wiſer than it was; which came to paſs many times among the *Athenians*, whoſe vain Conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turn unto the beſt. But where unſound advice, finding bad proof, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be juſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have ſerved to convey home the former that was defeated, after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the *Syracuſans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy,which was there before) quite vanquiſhed, and barr'd up into the haven of *Syracuſe*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for ſuccour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in ſuch wiſe that ſcarce any man eſcaped.

This miſchief well deſerved,fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly ſent into that Iſle, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeed there was not any means or poſſibility to have made War. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Nicias*, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather chuſe to hazard the ruin of his Country by the loſs of that Army,wherein conſiſted little leſs than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own eſtate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of ſhameleſs accuſers, and the ſentence of Judges before his tryal reſolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuſe*, when wiſdom and neceſſity required it. *For* (ſaid he) *they ſhall give ſentence upon us, who know not the reaſon of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would ſpeak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to ſuſpicious and vain rumours that ſhall be brought againſt us:yea theſe our ſouldiers, who now are ſo deſirous to return in ſafety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleaſure of the lewd and inſolent multitude.*

This reſolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honeſt and valiant man, to do what reaſon willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to meaſure honour or diſhonour by the aſſurance of his well-informed conſcience, rather than by the malicious report and cenſure of others)yet it may be excuſed;ſince he had before his eyes the injuſtice of his people, and had well underſtood that a wicked ſentence is infinitely worſe than a wicked fact, as being held a preſident and pattern whereby oppreſſion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was ſuch,as a conſtant man could not eaſily have over-maſtered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of ſafety than the faint hope of a ſecret flight, he was ſo terrified with an Eclipſe of the Moon, happening when they were about to diſ-lodge,that he would not conſent to have the Camp break up till ſeven and twenty daies were paſt. His timorouſneſs was even as fooliſh and ridiculous, as the iſſue of it was lamentable. For he ſhould not have thought that the power of the Heavens,and the courſe of Nature would be as unjuſt as his *Athenians*;or might portend leſs evil to the ſlothful, than to ſuch as did their beſt. Neither do I think that any Aſtrologers can alledge this Eclipſe, as either a cauſe or prognoſtication of that Armies deſtruction, otherwiſe than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confuſion. Had *C. Caſſius* the Roman, he who ſlew *Julius Cæſar*, imitated this ſuperſtition of *Nicias*, he had ſurely found the ſame fortune in a caſe very like. But when, he retyring, the broken remainder of *Craſſus* his Army,defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was adviſed, upon ſuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were paſt the ſign of *Scorpio*; he made anſwer,that he ſtood not in ſuch fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made ſuch a ſafe and honourable retrait, as did both ſhew his noble reſolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

> —*Sapiens Dominabitur aſtris.*

Thus we ſee that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means,deprives the Governours of underſtanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedneſs of unjuſt men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of thoſe who might have done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell, after the great loſs of the Fleet and Army in* Sicilia.

THe loſs of this Army was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leſs calamity to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the walls, when the City about ſeven years after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebel: of whom, ſome they reduced under their obedience, others held out; ſome for fear of greater inconvenience were ſet at liberty, promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very unſeaſonably, that the principal men of *Athens*,being wearied with the peoples inſolency, took upon them to change the form of that Eſtate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe, conſpiring with the Captains which were abroad,they cauſed them to ſet up the form of an Ariſtocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this Innovation,being ſlain at *Athens*,the Commonalty were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeak againſt the Conſpirators,whoſe number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majeſty of *Athens* was uſurped by four hundred men, who obſerving in ſhew the ancient form of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only ſuch as were firſt allowed in private among themſelves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give conſent: for whoſoever preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murther. By theſe means were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new authority, which nevertheleſs endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the four hundred uſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes* his Lieutenant,made unprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilſt his ſervice done unto that State,was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counſel and good performance he ſo far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſs was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo far yielded her ſelf to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himſelf unto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beauty,ſweet converſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoon became the Maſter of that barbarous Viceroys affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and Forces in thoſe parts.Then began he to adviſe *Tiſſaphernes*,not ſo far forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſel he made way to other practices,wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the only Favourite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his baniſhment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the four hundred)he laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers,partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, and partly for that themſelves,being leſs regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatneſs of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power,or ſafety at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted, than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the four hundred (or the moſt and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition; from which upon juſter ground the Enemy was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield ſome fair opportunity to the deſtruction of it ſelf, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſs. And upon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navy of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the City, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſs, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſdom, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoyning, any terrour of the War. For the diſſention within the walls might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred, by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repel forein Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themſelves from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full reſtitution of the ſoverein command unto the people, or whole body of the City, but only to five thouſand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who ſeldom aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important victories for the* Athenians; *was recalled from exile; made their General, and again depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the City, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſs in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great Battel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrival with eighteen ſhips, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their City, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon Letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſs of the Army, in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; Mindarus *is ſlain*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even in thoſe daies was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to baniſh himſelf again, only becauſe his Lieutenant, contrary to the expreſs command of *Albiciades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the Fleet.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades*, was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the firſt; and the loſs which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) leſs to be pitied of others, than that which enſued upon his former exile. For, whereas at the firſt, he had ſought revenge upon his own City; now, as inured to adverſity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of ſuch danger, had caſt out him that ſhould have repaired their weak eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himſelf after injury received. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he preſented Battel to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not

ſo confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himſelf, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſs of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was publiſhed in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himſelf to a Town upon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The Battel of Arginuſæ, *and condemnation of the victorious* Athenian *Captains by the people.*

AFter this time, the *Athenians* receiving many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraitly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege, neceſſity inforced them to man all their veſſels, and to put the uttermoſt of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginuſæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerved his own reputation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, ſhould for that good daies ſervice, and ſo happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe, they were forthwith called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe ſhips were broken and ſunk, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them up, they might have ſaved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very juſt anſwer, That they purſuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under ſufficient men, to ſave thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a tempeſt ariſing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That he himſelf eſcaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by thoſe who were in peril of drowning, to deſire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ſtrange, that upon ſuch an accuſation maintained with ſo ſlender evidence, men that had well deſerved of their Country ſhould be overthrown. But their enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcal multitude, that no man durſt abſolve them, ſave only *Socrates* the wiſe and virtuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Veſſels in the ſtorm: but the Captains which were abſent eſcaped; for when the fury of the people was over-paſt, this judgment was reverſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelves from the infamy of injuſtice, but the divine Juſtice was not a-ſleep, nor would be ſo deluded.

§. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, *wherein the whole State of* Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

THe *Peloporneſian* Fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Helleſpont*, where (landing ſouldiers) it beſieged and took the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſail, made thither in haſte: but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the River called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival, they preſented fight unto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather; neither near enough to any Town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, nor ſo far off as had been more expedient. *Seſtos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as ſoon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lye at *Seſtos*, which was not far off, or at leaſt to conſider how near their Enemy was, whoſe fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo far deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo have done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his followers, over the Streights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leave their ſhips to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſel no better than hath been rehearſed, he left them to their fortune; which how evil it would be, he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelf by the advantage of his Haven, was not careleſs in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſerving their doings, related unto him what they had ſeen. Therefore underſtanding in what careleſs faſhion they romed up and down the Country; he kept all his men a-board after their departure: and the fifth day gave eſpecial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* diſ-imbarking, as their cuſtom was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith return, and hang up a brazen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſs, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their ſhips, nor many near them, and all in great confuſion upon the news of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtry which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips, which knowing how much that loſs imported, gave over *Athens* as deſperate, & made a long flight into the Iſle of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came into the reſcue, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had laſted ſeven and twenty years, with variable ſucceſs, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe never afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lyſander*, having taken ſuch Towns as readily did yield upon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſail for *Athens*, and joyning his forces with thoſe of *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, ſummoned the City; which finding too ſtubborn to yield, and too ſtrong to be won on the ſudden, he put forth again to Sea; and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Iſlands, and ſuch Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to ſubmit themſelves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all proviſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries, from the City, and inforced the people by meer famine to yield to theſe conditions; That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port, ſhould be thrown down; That all Cities ſubject to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet at liberty; That the *Athenians* ſhould be Maſters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they ſhould keep no more than twelve ſhips; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the wars.

Theſe Articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of thoſe who had born diſpleaſure to *Athens*; and not without ſome conſultation of deſtroying the City, and laying waſte the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former inſolencie and injuſtice over their Captains, by oppreſſing them with all baſe and intolerable ſlavery.

The only ſmall hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertiſed the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) ſoon effected his ſudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponneſian* war. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abuſing the reputation and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities againſt them, were diſpoſſeſſed of their high authority, even in that very age in which

they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his education. By theſe *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the ſeveral Eſtates and Signiories of *Greece*, were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſs, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelves with the weaker party, did ſo counterpoize the ſtronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her juriſdiction ſo far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whoſe fore-fathers had been dependants, and followers, yea almoſt meer Vaſſals to the Eſtates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making uſe of their factions, to bring them all into ſervitude, from which they never could be free; till the *Romans* preſenting them with a ſhew of liberty, did themſelves indeed become their Maſters.

* * *

Chap. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian *War, or ſhortly following it.*

§. I.

How the affairs of Perſia *ſtood in thoſe times.*

During the times of this *Peloponneſian* War, and thoſe other leſs Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Perſians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Baſtard, whom the *Greek* Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing over *Xerxes* the ſecond, and *Sogdianus*, as Uſurpers, and for their ſhort reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the ſecond; who, and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (ſeeming to have been the Sons of *Heſter*) held the Kingdom but one year between them, the younger ſucceeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I have ſaid before) to purſue the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſal of all the particulars, otherwiſe than as they ſhall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a month or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he ſlew unjuſtly *Bagorazus* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Baſtard, had not he fore-ſeen it, and by raiſing a ſtronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leavy, ſeized at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having ſlain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian*, rebelled againſt him, and having partly ſlain, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelf ſo firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his poſterity, who (notwithſtanding the fury of their civil Wars) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a ſubject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelf with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before ſpoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Iſlanders and others, ſubject to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impoſſible to advance the War againſt the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his aſſiſtance, which he granted unto them, firſt upon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelf, though afterwards the Articles of the league between him and them, were ſet down in more preciſe terms; wherein it was concluded, That he and they ſhould make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that ſhould rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia* which had formerly been his, or his Predeceſſors, ſhould return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War enſuing (of which I have already ſpoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had loſt in *Aſia*. Likewiſe by aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jaſus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to ſuccour him. Neverthelesſ *Egypt* ſtill held out againſt him; the cauſe whereof cannot be the imployment of the *Perſian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occaſions, but they wanted manhood, which cauſed him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was inſufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his own Siſter, who bare unto him (beſides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to ſay, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of ſingular virtue, and accounted, by all that knew him, the moſt excellent man that ever *Perſia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes* the Inheritance of the great Empire, did caſt a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Kieutenant of the lower *Aſia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cauſe his Father ſent for him, with intent to have taken ſome very ſharp courſe with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between theſe Brethren, and ſummarily of *Artaxerxes*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the ſubverſion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponneſian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſity of the times did ſo require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that ſuch men ſhould give judgment in particular cauſes, to whoſe judgment the Laws themſelves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become ſubject. But theſe thirty, having ſo great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deſerve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellows as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by Law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethink themſelves, how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirty men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of Government, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captain of which was ſo well entertained by the Thirty, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons invaded the principal men of the City, ſending armed men from houſe to houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked form of Government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and unable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his fellows to bethink

themſelves, and provide for their own ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelf a Captain of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gave unto them ſome part of the publick authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and having thus increaſed their own ſtrength, and weakned their oppoſites, they began a-freſh to ſhed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of ſuch whoſe mony, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that every one of them ſhould name one man, upon whoſe goods he ſhould ſieze, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was moſt tyrannical, accuſe him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main priviledge of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accuſtomed trial) he took upon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and ſo reduced him under the trial and ſentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which conſideration, he adviſed them all to conceive no otherwiſe of his caſe, than as of their own, who were liable to the ſame form of proceeding: but every man chooſing rather to preſerve his own life by ſilence, than preſently to draw upon himſelf the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poyſon.

§. III.

The Conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, and their depoſing.

AFter the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to uſe ſuch out-rage, as excelled their former villanies. For, having three thouſand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauſed them to fly into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their lives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazzard their lives in ſetting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had been treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the firſt undertakers, who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territory of *Athens*. No ſooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſs of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormy weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the City which above all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their guard, and two companies of horſe, to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were increaſed from ſeventy to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming the thirty had reſolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleuſine*, to their own uſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſave themſelves from any ſudden peril. It may well ſeem ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Juſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefs which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed a gain by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were ſlain to the number of ſeventy only, yet the Victory ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations uſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirty were depoſed. Nevertheleſs there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who having communicated with the thirty in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadours were ſent to *Sparta*, who craving aid againſt *Thraſybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by land and ſea, under the conduct of *Lyſander*, and his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raiſing an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the jealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had been the moſt bitter enemies to *Athens*, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alledging that it ſtood not with their oaths, to make war againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauſanias* took this anſwer in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſs the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he envied. Therfore having in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſibulus* his party, made a ſhew of war, he finally wrought ſuch means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and ſuch others as were like to give cauſe of tumults, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themſelves to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innovation; whereupon the whole City riſing againſt them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and ſlew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerved, the City returned to her former quietneſs.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt againſt his Brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* ſtanding upon ſuch terms, that no one Eſtate durſt oppoſe it ſelf againſt that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully proſecuted the War againſt *Athens*, did ſend his meſſengers to *Sparta*, requeſting that their love might appear no leſs to him, than that which he had ſhewed towards them in their dangerous War againſt the *Athenians*. To this requeſt, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a ſuitable anſwer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all ſervice that he ſhould require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly diſcovered himſelf, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his aſſiſtance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Perſia* ſhould have been the recompence of his deſerts; or that, he periſhing in battel, as after he did, the ſubverſion of that Empire had forthwith enſued. But it pleaſed God, rather to ſhew unto the *Greeks* the wayes, which under the *Macedonian* Enſigns, the victorious foot-ſteps of their poſterity ſhould meaſure; and opening unto them the riches, and withall the weakneſs of the *Perſian*, to kindle in them both deſire and hope of that Conqueſt, which he reſerved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whoſe hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Perſia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger ſon, being ſeconded by the earneſt favour of the people, and ready deſires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers old age, to aſpire after the Succeſſion. But being ſent for by his Father (as hath before been ſhewed) whoſe meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings favour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any means of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfavour himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſs, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neareſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardiſe, trechery, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, uſing by the way all fair ſhews of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen *Paryſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had uſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alledging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilſt his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning: then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcover his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Upon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily believed, *Cyrus* was arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and ſent back into his own Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his firſt entry into the War.*

THE form of Government which the *Perſian* Lieutenants uſed in their ſeveral Provinces, was in many points almoſt Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; uſually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet ſometimes one with another: which was the more eaſily tolerated, becauſe their own heads were held only at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his will, whatſoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelf, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdom; the ſmall aſſurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himſelf. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waiting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whilſt yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than only queſtionable. Hereupon he firſt began to quarrel with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized upon many Towns of his Juriſdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in private quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, and cowardiſe deſpiſed, although he durſt not adventure to take arms againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Mileſians* were about to give up themſelves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preſerve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occaſion to take arms, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In levying Souldiers he uſed great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whoſe lives were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſaly*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſs the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeveral Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exerciſe, and ready in arms upon the ſudden. *Cyrus* having ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his aſſiſtance, being thirteen thouſand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eaſily have forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſs: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters; that was to be imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſigns. Pretending therefore that the *Piſidians*, a people of *Aſia* the leſs, not ſubject to the *Perſian*, had invaded his Territory; he raiſed the ſiege of *Miletus*, and with all ſpeed marched Eaſtward, leaving *Tiſſaphernes* much amazed, who had no leiſure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himſelf, when he conſidered, that ſo great an Army, and ſo ſtrong, was never levied againſt the Rovers of *Piſidia*, but rather againſt the great King his Maſter. For which cauſe taking a band of five hundred horſe, he poſted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *took his journey into the higher* Aſia, *and came up cloſe to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, againſt *Paryſatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom ſhe called the Author and occaſioner of the war. But whilſt the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haſted upon him very faſt. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increaſed by the repair of his Country-men, though moſt ſtrengthened by the acceſs of ſeven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the ſame Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by tryal in a Muſter, which (to pleaſe the Queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the reſt of his Army, which contained a hundred thouſand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled a-main, the victuallers and baggagers forſaking their Cabbins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful ſpectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the ſame temper, and the more unlikely to make reſiſtance, becauſe they were preſt to the war againſt their will and diſpoſitions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheleſs he found it a very hard matter to perſwade the *Greeks* to paſs the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to ſeek excuſes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, againſt whom he requeſted them to aſſiſt him. By ſuch devices, and exceſſive promiſe of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where ſome of the *Greeks* conſidering, That who ſo paſſed the River firſt, ſhould have the moſt thanks, and might ſafely return if the reſt ſhould refuſe to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby all were finally perſwaded to do as ſome had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they reſolved to ſeek out *Artaxerxes*, whereſoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raiſed an Army of nine hundred thouſand men, was not ſo confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thouſand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ſtrong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to ſeem impregnale, had quitted the paſſage, and retired himſelf toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face; who deſpairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have tranſported his Army. I do not find that this cowardiſe of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp, till five daies were paſt after the battel, received either puniſhment, or diſgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himſelf, were all made of the ſame metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermoſt bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perſwaded not to abandon ſo many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of ſtrength, and (which in the ſharp diſputation of Title to a Kingdom is moſt available) would have grown ſuperiour in reputation. By ſuch advice, the King reſolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be ſecure, being fully perſwaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having caſt up a Trench of almoſt forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing ſo ſafe, as to be far diſtant from his enemies.

§. IV.

The Battel between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THe Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficuties of evil waies, and

ſcarcity of victuals, was much incouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this Trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, having beſtowed their Arms in Carts; and upon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Van-currors, brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the ſide of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was after noon. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marſhalled, coming on very orderly in ſilence, whereas it had been expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamours, they ſhould have ſpent all their force upon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo unequal in diſtent, being all embattelled in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the midſt of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoſt point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to diſtruſt their own manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proof of it ſelf, upon ſuch exceſſive odds. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Army ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Nevertheleſs, it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, having learned (contrary to their cuſtom) to give charge upon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ſtrong charge with courage. Upon the very firſt offer of an on-ſet, made by the *Greeks*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled a-main, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gave ſo much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been aſſured unto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelf worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompaſs the *Greeks*, and to ſet upon them in the rear, he advanced with ſix hundred Horſe, and gave ſo valiant a charge upon a ſquadron of ſix thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captain thereof *Artagerſes*, with his own hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſix hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King ſtood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid, *I ſee the man:* and preſently, with a ſmall handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, and wounded in the breaſt. Having given this ſtroke, which was his laſt, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a baſe fellow, wherewith aſtonied, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was unpoſſible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlain. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly diſmayd ſuch *Perſian* Captains, as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all ſpeed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyn with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been ſufficient to countervail all diſaſters received, the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwiſe, when he came upon them, they opening their Battel, drave him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Maſters of the field, gave chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after theſe *Greeks*, intending to ſet upon them in the rear. But theſe good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head againſt him; who not intending to ſeek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purſued unto a certain Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof he made a ſtand, rather in a bravery, than with purpoſe to attempt upon theſe bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had ſecured his eſtate, whom he would ſeem to have ſlain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone ſufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preſerve well enough, ſhewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diſplaid on the top of a Spear. This enſign might have encouraged his people, had not ſome of the *Greeks* eſpied it, who not meaning that he ſhould abide ſo near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King diſcovering their approach, fled upon the ſpur: ſo that none remained in the place of batail, ſave only the *Greeks*, who had loſt that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was purſuing the Army, they thought it was fitteſt for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Suppet, to which they had good appetite, becauſe the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leiſure to dine.

§. V.

The hard eſtate of the Greeks *after the fight*; *and how* Artaxerxes *in vain ſought to have made them yield unto him.*

IT was now about the ſetting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp ſpoiled, little or nothing being left that might ſerve for food: ſo that wanting victuals to ſatisfie their hunger, they refreſhed their weary bodies with ſleep. In the mean ſeaſon *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleaſure of his good fortune entire, becauſe he perceived that the baſeneſs of his people, and weakneſs of his Empire, was now plainly diſcovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him aſſurance, that if any of theſe who had beheld the ſhameful demeanor of his Army, ſhould live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they diſputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he reſolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to deſtruction, and not let one eſcape to carry tidings of that which he had ſeen: to which purpoſe he ſent them a brave meſſage the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It ſeems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertiſed that morning from *Ariæus*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Maſter being ſlain, he had retired himſelf to the place of their laſt encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to diſlodge the next day, awaiting for them ſo long if they would joyn with him, but reſolving to ſtay no longer: they ſent anſwer back to *Ariæus*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durſt reſiſt them, they would place *Ariæus* himſelf in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and purſue the victory. Before they received any reply to this anſwer, the Meſſengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whoſe errand ſeemed to the Captains very inſolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquiſhers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yielded to ſuch a motion: a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if ſo, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he deſired them in a way of friendſhip; for then would they firſt know, with what curteſie he meant to requite their kindneſs. To this queſtion *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tiſſaphernes*, anſwered; That the King having ſlain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middeſt whereof he held them faſt encloſed with great Rivers, being able to bring againſt them ſuch numbers of men, as they wanted ſtrength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for vvhich cauſe he accounted them his priſoners. Theſe vvords, to them, vvho knevv themſelves to be free, vvere nothing pleaſant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, vvhil'ſt they kept their Arms, their Valour vvould be ſerviceable; but ſhould they yield them, it vvas to be doubted, that their bodies vvould not long remain their ovvn. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, ſaying;

This young man did ſeem a Philoſopher, and made a pretty ſpeech; but that his deep ſpeculation ſhewed his wits to be very ſhallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail againſt the great King. It ſeems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a buſineſs of importance, thought himſelf too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embaſſage by a bookiſh diſcourſer. But his wiſdom herein failed him. For whatſoever he himſelf was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unhoneſt meſſage to his own Conntry-men, perſwading them baſely to ſurrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercileſs *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him deſpiſed, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were ſurpriſed by treachery of the *Perſians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never ſeen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought ſafe into *Greece*, freeing it from all thoſe, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promiſed to be faithfull to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their ſervice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have uſe of them. But the final anſwer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themſelves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleaſure, which was to grant them Truce, whil'ſt they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they ſtirred thence; Whereunto he required their anſwer. *Clearchus* the General told him, They liked it. How (ſaith *Phalinus*) muſt I underſtand you? As chooſing peace if we ſtay, or otherwiſe war, ſaid *Clearchus*. But whether war or peace, quoth this politique Embaſſadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpoſe,) Let our doings tell you; and ſo diſmiſſed him, no wiſer than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horſes, Aſſes, and other Beaſts, which they roſted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return home-wards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at midnight; being forſaken by four hundred foot, and forty horſe, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King; by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they been kindly uſed, it may well be thought that ſome of them ſhould have accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſerved as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Ariæus* being of too baſe a temper, and birth, to think upon ſeeking the Kingdome for himſelf, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make covenant with them for mutual aſſiſtance unto the laſt: Whereunto both parts having ſworn, he adviſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould be ſomewhat longer, yet ſafer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a weariſome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coaſted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purpoſed themſelves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, becauſe he would not ſeem by declining them, to ſhew fear, or weakneſs. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former behaviour; Nor ſtrange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Countrey, ſhould be very fearful: but it is almoſt paſt belief, that the noiſe which was heard of theſe poor men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to do, ſhould make the *Perſians* flie out of their Camp, and ſo affright the great King, that in ſtead of demanding their Arms, he ſhould crave peace of them. The next day very early came meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſs for Embaſſadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars do beſt open the quality of the perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter, to run over the general paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwell among circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for battel, becauſe the *Greeks* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the indignity, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow down this pill, ſending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tiſſaphernes, *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the* Greeks.

Hitherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own vertue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themſelves into any ſtraights or terms of diſadvantage. But now came unto them the ſubtil Fox *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchievouſly entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be unthankful for ſuch a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſervice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that advertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battel ſhewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſute I have good hope to ſpeed, if you will ſend a mild anſwer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cauſe ye have born Arms againſt him. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſs freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no ſpoil: yet that it ſhould be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having ſworn, the League was concluded; and *Tiſſaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all buſineſs, came unto them again after twenty dayes, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Ariæus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them ſo with aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more ſtrange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This cauſed many to adviſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſs forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and ſit ſtill whilſt the King layed ſnares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perſwaded them, to reſt contented whilſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelves again into thoſe difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings means, but eſpecially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith he ſaw no reaſon why the enemy ſhould have clogged himſelf if he meant miſchief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tiſſaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatneſs and place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to be the more eſteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or baſe reſpect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſs, as may fitly expound that ſaying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lye may find excuſe when it grows out of fear: for that paſſion hath his original from weakneſs. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, ſhall be made the ſupporter of untruth, the falſhood is moſt abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own ſtrength againſt the Divine Juſtice, doth commit that ſin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found means to deſtroy all the Captains, whom he ſubtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himſelf the mean to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſs was contrived thus: Having travelled ſome dayes together in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tiſſaphernes* and *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tiſſaphernes* his brains all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had grown in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining private conference with him, he rehearſed the oath of Confederacy, which had paſt between them, ſhewing how religiouſly he would keep it; and, repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their love ſhould appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make uſe of their ſervice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Provinces; or againſt the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the Great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas all divine and humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not give place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpicion, whereby might grow ſudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no juſt ground. The faithleſs *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred fair occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to mind how many waies he could have uſed to bring them to confuſion, without peril to himſelf; eſpecially by burning the Country, through which they were to paſs, whereby they muſt needs have periſhed by meer famine. For which cauſe he ſaid, that it had been great folly, to ſeek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their ſafety, not only for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelf, and the King, by their aſſiſtance; but for that he might by their friendſhip, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captains with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſention between them. *Clearchus* himſelf being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to ſome common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus*, with other the five principal Collonels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlain: Forth-with certain bands of *Perſian* Horſe-men ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Græcians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forth-with have aſſailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embaſſadors of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, and *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principal men in the Army, ſaying, That they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Ariæus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Collonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his ſervant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed upon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadors, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be adviſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandment their heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſs to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perſidiouſneſs of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He ſaw his Province waſted by the *Greeks*, againſt whom receiving from his Maſter convenient aid of men and mony, he did ſo ill manage his affairs, that neither ſubtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourſe) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and ſent a new Lieutenant into thoſe parts, who took it from his ſhoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him ſo miſtruſted at home, that the ſervice which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the ſtroke, all the world being ſhut againſt him. But now let us return to the proſperity, wherein he triumphed without great cauſe, having betrayed braver men than himſelf, and intending to bring the like miſchief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartned the* Greeks, *and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

Great was the heavineſs of the ſouldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders and no leſs their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deep ſadneſs of the whole Army, to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whoſe familiar friend he had been, to bethink themſelves of ſome mean, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoever might ſerve for to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet down for disburdening the Army of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſs of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentiful Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſs them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide ſlings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding ſome Horſes fit for ſervice, that were employed among the carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſs, who had been accuſtomed to the point-blank. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians* who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fifty Horſe, whith being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and ſeconded with troops of the light-armed-ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the enemy to lye aloof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſs the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſs. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelf to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Country. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himſelf to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to do that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, that being neer unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Army found in paſſing thorow the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much uſe againſt theſe poor travellers, afflicting them in ſeven daies which they ſpent in that paſſage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certain troops of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite banks. To increaſe theſe dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountain, within leſs than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rear-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſleightly armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolemy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the ſeverity of a *Critick*. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add ſmall light to this Expedition: only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having paſſed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribazus *Governour of* Armenia, *ſeeking to entrap the* Greeks *with terms of feigned peace, was diſappointed, and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Army finding in *Armenia* good proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and paſſing over them, travelled as far further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus*, at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have been a School, where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſdom. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As ſoon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, and beſetting the Streights of certain Mountains which they were to paſs, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendation of being no leſs craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſs. For a great Snow fell, which cauſed the *Greeks* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking relief. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, ſought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Van-currors, chaſed him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (beſides many ſlaves, that were Artificers of voluptuouſneſs) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not far below the ſprings thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtragling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, thorow which they marched, had their wintering houſes under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, and taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaves, and taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattel) ſome Colts that were bred up for the Great King.

§. XI.

The paſſage of the Army to Trabyzond, *thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phaſis, *and other obſcure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phaſis*, neer whereunto the people called *Phaſiani*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to paſs, made countenance of war: but ſome Companies being ſent by night to ſeize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, ſecured the aſcent of the reſt; which cauſed theſe people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The firſt upon whoſe Country the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their proviſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themſelves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down firſt their own children, and then caſting themſelves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which ſerved to feed them, travelling through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but ſtrokes. The *Chalybes* were a very ſtout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took priſoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, ſinging and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after ſeven dayes journy they eſcaped from thoſe continual skirmiſhes, wherewith they had been vexed by theſe *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good corn-Country, inhabited by an obſcure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, uſed them friendly, and promiſed to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might diſcover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnius* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, deſiring them to waſte it with ſword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moſchici*, whence their guide ſhewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their courſe: and paſſing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themſelves, who born in that place had been ſold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Cholchos*, wherein ſtands the City of * *Trabiſond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hoſtility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leiſure to repoſe themſelves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did ſpoil the Country thirty dayes together, forbearing only the Borderers upon *Trabizond*, at the Citizens requeſt.

* *Trabiſond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, ſituate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond *to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of* Synope, *and there proſecuted the ſame purpoſe.*

HAving now found an Haven-Town, the Souldiers were deſirous to take ſhipping, and change their tedious Land-journies into an eaſie Navigation. To which purpoſe *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promiſed by means of *Anaxibus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Veſſels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewiſe took order for the ſtaying of ſuch ſhips as ſhould paſs that way, meaning to uſe them for their Navigation. Leſt all this proviſion ſhould be found inſufficient for the tranſportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perſwaded the Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and make an eaſie paſſage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being deſirous to return by Sea: but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long ſtay, did readily condeſcend to *Xenophons* requeſt. Two ſhips they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and ſent to Sea: the one of them ſailed directly into *Greece*, forſaking their Companions, who had put them in truſt to bring ſhips into the Port of *Trabizond*: the other took Merchants and paſſengers, whoſe goods were ſafely kept for the owners, but the Veſſels were ſtayed to increaſe the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reaſon that all the Land of the *Colchi*, near unto the Camp, was already quite waſted, they were fain to embark their ſick men, with the women, children, and ſuch of the baggage as might beſt be ſpared, in thoſe few ſhips which they had already provided. The reſt of the Army took their way by Land to *Ceraſus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewiſe arrived. Here the Army being muſtered, was found to conſiſt of eight thouſand and ſix hundred men. From hence they paſſed through the Country of the [a] *Moſynaci*, who were divided into factions. The ſtronger party deſpiſing their friendſhip, cauſed them to joyn them with the weaker whom they left Maſters of all.

[a] *Moſynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius.*

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewiſe, and a Colony of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Ceraſus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churliſh, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the ſick men that were among them admitted into any houſe. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) beſtowed thoſe which were ſick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the cuſtody of the Gates. Proviſion for the Army they made by ſtrong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. Theſe news were unwelcome to [c] *Synope*, whence Embaſſadours were ſent to the Camp, who complaining of theſe dealings, and threatning to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redreſs could not otherwiſe be had, were roundly anſwered by *Xenophon*, That meer neceſſity had enforced the Army to teach thoſe of *Cotyora* good manners in ſo bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it ſelf; to which, if cauſe were given, they would lend aſſiſtance. Upon this anſwer the Embaſſadours grew better adviſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with ſhipping, letting them underſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good counſel, and the fair promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would paſs the reſt of the way by Sea; provided, that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerve to imbark every one of them, then would they not put from the ſhore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the ſame Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Town in *Leucoſyria*, a Colony of the *Myleſians.*

§. XIII.

Of diſſention which aroſe in the Army; and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of enemies, and miſeries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to diſſolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private reſpects to their ſeveral ends and purpoſes. Whilſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puiſſance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made ſacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his time and Country, divining of his ſucceſs by the entrails of beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he imployed, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battel in ten dayes: he therefore, having preſerved his mony carefully, was deſirous to be ſoon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diverſity of mens opinions; ſome approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the poverty of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themſelves at home, ſhould give ſucceſs to the project. Which to prevent, they promiſed to ſupply the Army with a ſufficient Fleet, and likewiſe offered mony to ſome of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preſently ſet ſail for *Greece*. One of theſe Captains being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon*, who deſired only the common good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that he would have them to ſet forward, and hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a Traitor that ſhould forſake the Army, before ſuch time as they were arrived at their journies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was hereby ſtayed from out-running his fellows; and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captains were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the mony promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now reſolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navy, whilſt they were in good readineſs, to depart, but to keep the mony to themſelves. The Captains therefore, who being diſappointed by theſe Towns, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Army, of taking the ſhips, and ſayling to *Phaſis*; where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſs, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe news becoming publick, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captains to his purpoſe, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore aſſembling the Companies, he gave them ſatisfaction, and withal complained of ſome diſorders, which he cauſed them to redreſs. A general inquiſition was likewiſe made of offences committed ſince the death of *Cyrus*; which being puniſhed, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaſſadours from *Corylus*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who ſending preſents, deſired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embaſſadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been ſought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readineſs, did ſoon weigh Anchors, and ſet ſail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cheriſophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promiſed to give the Army pay as ſoon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great diſſenſion and diſtraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and reſcued by* Xenophon.

THe nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their deſire to make proviſion for themſelves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore truſting well that if the charge of the Army were abſolutely committed to one ſufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* ſole Commander of all; in whoſe favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earneſt and violent. But he, either fearing to diſpleaſe the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incenſed by that fugitive who forſook the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ſhips) or moved by ſome tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill ſucceſs to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It ſeems that *Xenophon*, conſidering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wiſely in yielding to ſuch tokens as forbad him to accept it: eſpecially, knowing ſo well their deſire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth whereſoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cheriſophus* had been General but ſix or ſeven dayes, when he was depoſed, for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had ſent preſents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ſhips for their tranſportation. Two daies they had ſailed by the coaſt of *Aſia*, when being paſt thoſe great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journy by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where conſulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one ſeditious man began to put them in mind of ſeeking to get ſomewhat for themſelves; telling them that all their proviſion would be ſpent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other neceſſaries could not be had without money; for which cauſe he gave advice to ſend meſſengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to underſtand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thouſand pieces of mony, called *Cyzicens*, which ſum amounteth to two thouſand and five hundred pound ſterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the ſum raiſed to ten thouſand *Cyzicens* at leaſt: which to require, they thought *Cheriſophus*, as being General, the fitteſt man; others had more deſire to ſend *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refuſed it, and renounced the action as diſhoneſt. Leſt therefore either of theſe ſhould fail in managing the buſineſs which agreed not with his diſpoſition, others of more impudency and leſs diſcretion were ſent; who in ſuch wiſe delivered their inſolent meſſage, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their requeſt, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and ſhutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themſelves to be diſappointed of their raveſnous purpoſe, they fell to mutiny, ſaying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forſook immediately *Cheriſophus* and *Xenophon*, chuſing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thouſand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, ſailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpoſe to aſſail the *Bythinians* on the ſudden. With *Cheriſophus* there abode two thouſand and one hundred, of whom one thouſand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thouſand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horſe; which ſmall band had done good ſervice already, and could not have been ſpared now. *Cheriſophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promiſed to bring ſome

Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for which cauſe he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had; who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thraſia Aſiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoils in *Bythinia*, divided themſelves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into ſome Village, five or ſix miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and ſo was that part of the Country ſurpriſed on the ſudden, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendevous was an high piece of Ground, where ſome of them arrived, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Country; and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to ſtand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. Whatſoever the Articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: and receiving by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly thrown themſelves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horſe-men he ſent before to diſcover, and to ſcour the wayes; the light armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoever they found combuſtible: whereby the whole Country ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battel, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by ſigns that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confeſſing that they themſelves had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that he ſhould have come by night; wherein finding themſelves deceived, they were affraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whoſoever from thenceforth made any motion to diſ-joyn the Army, ſhould ſuffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of ſervice done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occaſions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Perſians.

THe Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould find ſome device to have ſettled himſelf and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home; neither did they ſo much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to return. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay, which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſigns appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure; ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forrage the Country, until the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſs. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ſhips were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the reſt of the Army, which the greater it was, the more proviſion it needed, and the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Colonel into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoil of ſome Villages that ſtood near at hand; in which enterpriſe he found ill ſucceſs, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horſe being ſet by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the aſſiſtance of theſe *Bythinian Thracians*, which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were ſcattered abroad in ſeeking booty, ſlew five hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certain Mountain there by. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the reſcue of thoſe that ſurvived, and brought them ſafe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Army, ſo diſheartned and unfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more ſtrength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure travel, *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to bury thoſe which were lately ſlain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their aſſiſtants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was diſcovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the way was very rough & troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood ſcarce paſſable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom if they could ſafely retire to the camp, yet what ſhould they do there, wanting victuals to ſuſtain them in the place, and ſhips to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the uneaſie return, which might ſerve to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh unto the Enemy a fair and eaſie way, by which he might fly from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both *Perſians* and *Bythinians* being chaſed out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not ſuddenly be conveighed away, to the diſcretion of the *Greeks*, who at good leaſure gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the ſpoil of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadours were ſent from the Neighbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no mind to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Chryſopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, leſt their long ſtay in that Country might breed in them a deſire to viſite his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, intreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condeſcending, promiſed to give the Souldiers pay, as ſoon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreaty of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Arms into his hands, and ſo to yield their lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how, to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſack; I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the general courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterpriſes, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe

it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring-Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeeds of the War ſhortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſown, before theſe Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Aſia*. For the Towns of *Ionia*, which had ſided with young *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the Great King, prepared to rebel; which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their requeſt. For, a power was ſent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Towns as had already revolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, *whilſt they were managed by the* Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT ſeems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour ſhewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War againſt him, thinking it ſufficient to take all care that no advantage might ſlip, which could ſerve to ſtrengthen their Eſtate, by finding the *Perſian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baſeneſs of thoſe effeminate Aſiatiques, and rehearſed the many Victories which they themſelves had gotten, upon terms of extreme diſadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with deſire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Suſa*, whereof one handful had opened the paſſage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them reſiſtance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thouſand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, ſpent in going and returning, which make of Engliſh miles about four thouſand two hundred fourſcore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Neverthele ſs, the civil diſtraction, wherewith *Greece* was miſerably torn, and eſpecially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which, kindled with *Perſian* gold, brake forth ſuddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Aſia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Eſtate; leaving it queſtionable, whether *Ageſilaus* having both the ſame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole ſpace of two years, which he ſpent in *Aſia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of ſtout courage, and great or profitable atchievements. For, how highly ſoever it pleaſed *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incurſions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with ſix thouſand men from *Aquileia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in deſpite of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Ageſilaus* and his Wars in *Aſia* and *Greece*, we ſhall ſpeak more in due place.

§. II.

The proſperous beginnings of the War in Aſia.

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all ſuch as were willing to revolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch, as had been highly beholding to the

King; who ſeem to have had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Maſter did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppreſſions taken out of his hands; and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himſelf as a good man of War, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low-Countries of *Aſia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnarbazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in thoſe Wars againſt the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchievous nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſs) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the juriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few daies, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gave eaſie ſucceſs to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein ſhe behaved her ſelf ſo well, that ſhe not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the Conqueſt of certain Towns adjoyning; and ſundry times gave aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars againſt the *Myſians* and *Perſians*. For ſhe had in pay ſome Companies of *Greeks*, whoſe valour by her good uſage, did her great ſervice. But ſomewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Son-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom ſhe truſted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to ſtifle her, and kill her Son of ſeventeen years old; which done, he ſeized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her treaſure lay, hoping to have been admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole Eſtate. Being denyed entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garriſon, he ſent Meſſengers with Preſents to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His Preſents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treaſon threatned, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almoſt utter deſperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held againſt *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Town ſtood out four daies (againſt the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour ſtriving in vain to have kept it to the uſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepſis*, which the Traytor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, ſent Embaſſadours to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring leave to ſpeak with him, and pledges for his ſecurity: upon the delivery of which, he iſſued out of *Scepſis*, and comming in to the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon ſuch conditions as might ſeem reaſonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to ſet the Citizens freely at liberty. And preſently upon theſe words they marched toward *Scepſis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to ſtrive againſt the Army, and the Towns-men, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a ſacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garriſon of *Medias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forſake his Company, but followed him, earneſtly entreating that he might be ſuffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they ſhould be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I muſt here likewiſe do a ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make denial, cauſed his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking poſſeſſion of the place, tendred pay to the Garriſon, who did not refuſe to ſerve under his Enſigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were ſeized upon, as belonging to one that had been ſubject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and ſo the murdrous wretch was ſent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his deteſted head. *Derycllidas* having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purpoſed for the eaſe of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any deſire of War. That Winter, and the Summer enſuing, the Truce being continued, held; in which time, beſides the waſting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incurſions of the wilde *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewiſe the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great ſtrength, and very well ſtored with proviſion. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the ſeat of *Tiſſaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneaſie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*; *Pharax* the Admiral of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifeſt that *Tiſſaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of neceſſity; yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having reſpect to the Kings ſervice, came to aſſiſt his private enemy *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſo paſſing into *Caria*, they thruſt Garriſons into all places of ſtrength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for reſiſtance. As theſe *Perſians* were deſirous to keep the War from their own doors, ſo was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederats the *Ionians* from the ſpoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cauſe he paſſed the River of *Mæander*; and not looking to have been ſo ſoon encountred, marched careleſly through the Country: when on the very ſudden the whole Army of *Tiſſaphernes* & *Pharnabazus* was diſcovered, conſiſting of *Perſians*, *Carians*, & ſome Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marſhalled in very good order to preſent battail. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readineſs, as alſo in advantage of ground: for the *Perſian* had a great multitude of Horſe, the *Greek* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of ſuch places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themſelves to preſent flight; or abiding a while for ſhame, did plainly diſcover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wiſe. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peleponneſians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight, which muſt needs have brought them to deſtruction, if the counſel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of ſo great a victory, was not willing to let it ſlip. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, ſeeing that countenance of reſiſtance was made, began to conſider what ſtrange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had ſhewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like reſolution, held it the wiſeſt way to crave parley; the concluſion of which was, That a Truce ſhould be made, to laſt untill *Tiſſaphernes* might receive anſwer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were, on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Aſia* might enjoy their own liberty and laws; but contrariwiſe, on the other ſide, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould depart *Aſia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleaſure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it ſerved to free the *Greeks* from the preſent danger, and to gain time unto *Tiſſaphernes*, who deſired to avoid the War by procraſtination, which he durſt not adventure to finiſh by tryal of a battell.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old diſpleaſures. The diſcontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans, *conceived againſt the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean ſeaſon the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withſtand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to accompt for ſome diſgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leiſure was wanting to the requital of ſuch petty injuries. Theſe *Eleans* being Preſidents of the *Olympian* games, had ſet a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the ſolemnity; and publickly whipt one of them that was of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points uſed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no buſineſs that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore ſent a peremptory meſſage to the *Eleans*, commanding them to ſet at liberty the Cities which they held in ſubjection. This was the uſual pretence, which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of ſuch Towns, which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vaſſals of the *Lacedæmoaians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of liberty to work very ſlowly: but having now to do with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gave preſent ſucceſs to their deſires. Two years together they ſent an Army into the Countrey of the *Eleans*: the firſt year an Earth-quake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſign, and which did alwayes forbid the proſecution of any enterpriſe in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did haſtily revolt, and the City it ſelf was driven to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming uſe modeſtly, finding themſelves to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greeks* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whoſe aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelf, they could not ſmother their diſlike of their unequal diviſion following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, only ſecurity againſt *Athens*, but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equal greatneſs of two mighty Eſtates, did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutral Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred proſecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increaſed in both; it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſs which themſelves had made, yet) fooliſh and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheleſs, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans* to take occaſion of any quarrel, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victory or compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The paſſage of Ageſilaus *into* Aſia. *His War with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his ſucceſſour. How careleſs the* Perſian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

A*Geſilaus* newly made King of *Sparta*, was deſirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cauſe, he expected upon thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven lying oppoſite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War againſt *Troy* many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant alſo to do ſacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but ſaying, that the performance of ſuch Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were ſo unable to coneeal their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of horſe, they threw down his ſacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelf and his Countrey in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Epheſus*, he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Perſian* ſhould reſtore to liberty all the *Greek* Towns in *Aſia*, was promiſed that the King, being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſwer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought, only to win time of making proviſion for the War, and geting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilſt *Ageſiluus* was buſie in ſetling the eſtates of his confederate Cities oc that ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming down of theſe forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent: at what time *Ageſilaus* received a plain meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes*, that either he muſt forthwith depart out of *Aſia*, or make good his abode by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deſerved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and ſending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they ſhould provide victuals and other neceſſaries for his Army, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horſe, in which part of his forces the *Perſian* had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horſe into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heavy foot-army, not ſuffering them to paſs into that Countrey which was fitteſt for their ſervice. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great ſpoyl without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſe-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall skirmiſh having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to *Epheſus*. Although in this laſt fight only twelve men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiving by that tryal how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the maſtery of the field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, took all poſſible care to increaſe that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himſelf, whilſt Winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plain of *Mæander*, without aſſiſtance of their infantery, he gave them battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſs fell heavy upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon cowardiſe had abſented himſelf from the battel, or following ſome other buſineſs, was then at *Sardis*. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a *Perſian*, to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the Government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt, through too much over-weening of his own wiſedom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelf moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtile negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Aſia*; he did not ſeek to finiſh the War, and, according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find ſome opportunity of making ſuch end as beſt might ſtand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it ſeems that he much miſtook his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch means whereby the danger it ſelf might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilſt by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadours to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort, letting him know, that the man who had been Authour of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Army be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean ſeaſon he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of War, both on the offenſive, and on the defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeveral Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſs that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſame Crown of *Perſia*, ſo long as their own Government could be preſerved from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly, as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and miniſters of pleaſure, were able, by partial conſtruction, to countenance, or diſgrace, the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſual that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Provincial Governour, according to the benefit or loſs, which the Country, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſs, that as every one was deſirous to make his own territory yield a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure, ſo no man was careful to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſs or danger might thereby grow to himſelf and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been uneaſie to recompence the ſpoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miſeries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

A*Geſilaus* having thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. Theſe Actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loſt again as eaſily, by means of ſome ſleight injury done to them by his under-Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelf in any Town, for fear of being beſieged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could ſafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to do. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been ſuch, that beſides many other hazzards of his perſon, he had for the reſcue of their fleet, when it was driven to run a-ſhore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on horſe-back againſt the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuſe their ingratitude, otherwiſe than by telling him, That having War with his Maſter, they were inforced againſt their will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him againſt the *Perſian*, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Countrey wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make war againſt them, he would not fail to do the beſt that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelf to their alliance. The iſſue of this parley was, That the Army ſhould no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſs elſewhere; but becauſe his Countrey would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulneſs with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raiſed in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with gold from the* Perſian.

IN the mean while *Tithrauſtes*, perceiving that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſs than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in *Aſia*, took a wiſe courſe, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of ſubverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He ſent into *Greece* fifty talents of ſilver, to be imployed in raiſing war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which treaſure was by the ſubtle practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtats having formerly born ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much, as of open war. And leſt this great heat of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themſelves might ſeem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſs by ſtrong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invaſion made upon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrey in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtility between *Thebes* & *Sparta*; & the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, & requeſting ſuccour, they had very favourable audience, & ready conſent to their ſuite, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occaſion of revenge were offered, & then to diſcover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good oportunity to work

their own wils, having no other war to diſturb them in *Greece*; and hearing out of *Aſia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch forces as he could levie, to attend the coming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refuſed, to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to joyn with *Lyſander*, and make a ſpeedy end of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeek what help they could abroad, for as much as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart, than they durſt utter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little available, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was; that they ſhould do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelf on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their party ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhewn in their refuſal of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aid in the preſent war, offering to do the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former eſtate and dignity. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who, perſecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelf in their cauſe. Whilſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to do ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſs in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was ſlain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victorie did incourage the *Thebans*, ſo the coming of *Pauſanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battel, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, by compoſition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into *Tegea*, where he ended his dayes in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of* Aſia *to help his Countrey. A victory of the* Spartans. Conon *the* Athenian *aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet; recovers the maſtery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of* Athens.

THis good ſucceſs, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give battel to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelf was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the mean time, the Cities of the new league had given battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociats; but with ill ſucceſs. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians* and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him ſent over into *Aſia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admiral ſlain. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the City was diſpoyled of her old reputation,and ſcarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence.*Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to have the *Greeks* divided into ſuch factions as might utterly diſable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelf, during theſe broils, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more to ſeek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands,who unprovoked,had ſold his love for thirty Talents.To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*;giving him the command of a great *Navy*, wherewith he requited the loſs received at *Ægos-Potamos*,by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*,bringing with him,partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, ſo ſtrong a *Navy*, and ſo much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Wals, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *loſe all in* Aſia; *the* Athenians *recover ſome part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheleſs, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome years the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſs at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*.He waſted *Bœtia*,and fought a great battel at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans* and their Allies,whom he overthrew; and by his Marſhall *Gylis* forraged the Countrey of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of theſe victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battel of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the return from the purſute. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal dammage, received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eaſily taken,and as eaſily recovered.The variety of which enterfeats was ſuch, that the *Thebans* themſelves were drawn by the loſs of the haven of *Corinth*,to ſue for peace,but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the news came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadors being ſent for, and willed to do their meſſage, required only in ſcorn, to have a ſafe conduct given them,that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incurſions,wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt moſt loſs, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*; who held with the contrary ſide, until *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnans*, that they were driven to ſue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of moſt conſequence, upon which the ſucceſs of all depended. For when the Towns of *Aſia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſs the Seas, having loſt their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould uſe their own laws, if they would expell the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did ſtand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Towns about *Helleſpont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thraſybulus*, took in *Bizantium*, *Chalcedon*,and other places thereabout, reducing the Iſle of *Leſbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The baſe conditions offered unto the Perſian *by the* Lacedæmonian. *Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the War. The Peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneaſie a thing it would be,to maintain the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition; but withall, to ſet the Iſlanders,and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all the principal Eſtates of their Country would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the Great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the *Perſian*, by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another,till he had made himſelf Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others,and make all alike weak,than to permit that any of their own Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves,who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted;both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeveral Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelf to bring friends and foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his *Lieutenant* into the low-Countries, did ſeek to repay the harm done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off,*Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being ſcattered about, all the Iſles and Towns on the firm Land, grew almoſt to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery,affording many skirmiſhes,but few great actions worthy of remembrance.*Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*,and in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelf more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*,becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterprizes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurprized and ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlain by the way at *Aſpendus*.The City of *Rhodes* had long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocratie*,or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves,by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpecial cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*.The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coaſt of *Attica* which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Town: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet,the Iſlanders began a-new to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their ſhips again,that returned beaten, having loſt four of thirteen. The loſs of theſe ſhips was ſoon recompenced by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Iſlanders were fain to keep home,and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well ſeem ſtrange that the City of *Athens*,having but newly raiſed her walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battel ſecured her eſtate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates,as,carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe,would ſend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the Maſtery of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iſland in the eye of *Pyræeus*, had ability to vex the coaſt of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſs; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſs injuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a deſire to keep themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments,out of which few or none eſcaped.For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſs away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*;*Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his

Country could well have ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſs in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelf, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſs of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurprizing the Navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whoſe Mareners were aſleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboard to make reſiſtance: by which means he took many ſhips laden with merchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or four Gallies; having ſunk or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the peace, which they themſelves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the Great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many ſeveral States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own peace with mony, did likewiſe by his mony become Arbitrator and decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſs in ſuch wiſe, as ſtood beſt with his own good. The Tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his own; the Iſles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be ſet at liberty; and that whoſoever ſhould refuſe this peace, upon them the approvers of it ſhould make war, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the neceſſity of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted mony; and other States by the miſeries of the war, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent unto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themſelves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which, under pretence of defending, they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had alwaies held the Government, the *Thebans* themſelves being alſo comprehended under the name of the *Bœotians*; but cauſed the *Mantinæans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that they had formerly been accuſtomed ſo to do, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities having loſt all their dependants, would be unable to make oppoſition.

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§. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by treaſon*; *and* Olynthus *by famine.*

WHilſt theſe wars, which ended without either victory or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown ſo mighty, that ſhe did not only command her neighbour-Towns, but was alſo become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it ſelf. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the uſual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being neareſt unto the danger of thoſe incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians*, would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time ſhould give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch terms as did ſound of compulſion, proteſting that either they muſt war upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject unto her, and fight in her defence.

Hereupon was made a haſty levy of men, two thouſand being ſent preſently away, with promiſe to be ſeconded by a greater Army. Whilſt theſe two thouſand gave ſuch beginning to the war, as agreed with their ſmall number, the body of the Army following them, ſurprized the Cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their faction by the ſlavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill-affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of puniſhment. In concluſion, profit ſo far over-weighed honeſty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into baniſhment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whoſe authority, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſs of power having ſtrengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithſtanding the loſs of one great Battel, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by famine to render it ſelf unto their obedience.

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§. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their liberty, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garriſon.*

AFter this *Olynthian* War, which endured almoſt three years, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to ſhake off their yoak, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the baniſht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his Country was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better than it did thoſe, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between theſe two, that ſoon found very good ſucceſs, being managed thus. Seven of the baniſhed men forſook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from work, and ſo paſſed undiſcovered unto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the conſpiracy. The day following, a ſolemn feaſt being then held in the City, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Governours, who were inſolent and luſtful men, that he would convey unto them that night the moſt beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Having cheared them with ſuch hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promiſe, unleſs they would diſmiſs their followers, becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the ſervants ſhould ſee their faces. Upon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours looſe behaviour, ſlew them all upon the ſudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then preſently caſting off their diſguiſe, they went to other places, where feigning themſelves to come to the Governours upon buſineſs, they got admittance, and likewiſe ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacædemonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the priſon, ſlew the Gaoler, and ſet at liberty ſuch as they thought meet; and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Caſtle hearing the ſudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be ſtronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcover ſuch as would be forward upon occaſion of revolting. But as ſoon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took arms and beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troops coming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide, the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Country-men, but procured ſome *Athenians* to joyn with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the City, that the Caſtle was yielded, more through fear than any neceſſity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which compoſition, the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſs arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raiſed forthwith, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recovering of that City, as if ſome part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a

Town perfidiouſly uſurped by them, reſtored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was ſent on this Expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilſome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Theſpies*, to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*; which failing to take, he waſted the Country adjoyning, and drave away Cattel, cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how they might poſſibly withdraw themſelves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flouriſhing Eſtate of Thebes, *from the Battel of* Leuctra, *to the Battel of* Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joyned together againſt* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made peace for for themſelves, and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The Battel of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *greatneſs.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one diſhonourable Rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate: but when it was put in execution by inſufficient over-weening men, it ſeldome failed to bring upon them, inſtead of profit unjuſtly expected, both ſhame and loſs. And ſo it befel them in theſe enterprizes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For, howſoever *Ageſilaus* did ſpoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he ſpent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſs of ſome attempts, grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to look abroad, ſailing to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and having in ſome fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponneſian* War, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Navy; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that, had not the *Thebans* by their inſolency wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War, ſhould have ſoon come to a good end, which nevertheleſs, being proſecuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themſelves, whilſt engaged in ſuch a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, reſolved to ſettle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the War, to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to paſs, being ſo wrought by the couragious wiſdom of *Epaminondas*, who underſtood it far better than his Country-men, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſwear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Ageſilaus* required them to ſwear in their own name, and to leave the *Bœatians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwer, That the City of *Sparta* ſhould give example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signiory of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: for *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* War, did now paſſionately urge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at liberty; and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra*, being one of the moſt famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelf, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but eſpecially, for that after this Battel (between which and the concluſion of the general Peace there paſſed but twenty daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the ſtrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelf unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoon after they brought an Army of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxury, retchleſneſs, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the Peace of* Greece. *New troubles hence ariſing.* Epaminondas *invadeth and waſteth the Territory of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refuſing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did nevertheleſs finely give them to underſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themſelves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarrels that might ariſe) had left unperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of all the eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well ſmall as great, was ratified under the ſtile of the *Athenians*, and their aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboils. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themſelves with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not give impeachment to the *Mantinæans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each party called in forein help. Then was an Army ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantinæans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, abſtained from giving Battel to *Ageſilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and ſpoiled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almoſt 600 years were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, under the poſterity of *Hercules*, had ſeized upon *Laconia*; in all which time the ſound of an enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully paſt, ſince all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to ſet foot on, ſaving by ſtealth, was all on a light fire, the very ſmoak whereof the women of *Sparta* were aſhamed to behold. All which indignity notwithſtanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not iſſue out of *Sparta* to fight, but ſought how to preſerve the Town, ſetting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and ſomewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians*, to give them ſuccour. From *Corinth*, and ſome Towns of *Peloponneſus*, they received ſpeedy aſſiſtance; the

Athenians came forward more ſlowly, ſo that *Epaminondas* returned without battel, having re-builded the City of *Meſſene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chaſed away to other Countries, poſſeſſing their Territories themſelves.

§. III.

The Compoſition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War againſt the* Thebans; *who again invade and ſpoil* Peloponneſus. *The unfortunate preſumption of the* Arcadians.

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in ſuch wiſe, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raiſed, nor any manner of precedence: but ſending Embaſſadours from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requeſting that they themſelves might be Generals by Land. This had been a compoſition well agreeing with the ſituation and quality of thoſe two Cities; but it was rejected, becauſe the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or eſtimation, in regard of thoſe companies of horſe and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have ſerved under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority ſhould be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five dayes, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and ſo ſucceſſively that each of them ſhould have Command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifeſt, that in this concluſion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which muſt of neceſſity be very ſlowly advanced, where conſultation, reſolution, and performance are ſo often to change hands. This appeared by a ſecond invaſion of *Peloponneſus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies ſo unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done againſt *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their ſtrength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Country without reſiſtance. But as the Articles of this league between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in ſuch manner, diſable the Society, and make it inſufficient to thoſe ends for which it was concluded; ſo the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* conſidering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in ſtrength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierſhip, thought it good reaſon that they ſhould in like manner ſhare the Government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increaſing whoſe greatneſs they ſhould ſtrengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themſelves very inſolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and ſuſpected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, becauſe the City of *Meſſene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterpriſe of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon theſe *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleaſing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban *Eſtate. Embaſſages of the* Greeks *to the* Perſian; *with the reaſons why he moſt favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Perſian *Empire. The fruitleſs iſſue of the Embaſſages.*

THe *Thebans* eſpecially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, conſidering, that without their aid, the ſucceſs of all enterpriſes proved ſo ill; whereas they themſelves had by their own power accompliſhed very well whatſoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Theſſalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had riſen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleaſed them beſt, they carried *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hoſtage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained ſuch reputation, that little ſeemed wanting to make them abſolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they ſought means of alliance with the *Perſian* King, to whom they ſent Embaſſadour the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whoſe reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they deſired; whereof two eſpecial points were, That *Meſſene* ſhould remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* ſhould forbear to ſend their ſhips of War to Sea; only the latter of theſe two was ſomewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did alſo ſend their Embaſſadours at the ſame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a ſure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty conſiderations reſolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; juſtly expecting, that their greatneſs ſhould be on that ſide his own ſecurity. The *Athenians* had been ancient enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Perſians* to the purchaſe of a great Eſtate in *Greece*, maintained their Signory in ſuch puiſſant manner, that (ſundry grievous misfortunes notwithſtanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by moſt of the *Greeks*, and ſupplied with treaſure, and all ſorts of aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquiſh them till their own indiſcretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no ſooner eſtabliſhed their Dominion at home, then they undertook the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, from which though by the commotion raiſed in *Greece* with *Perſian* gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their power, and ſetled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they ſhould upon the next advantage have purſued the ſame enterpriſe, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwiſe had alwaies diſcovered a good affection to the Crown of *Perſia*. They had ſided with *Xerxes* in his invaſion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Ageſilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Beſides all theſe their good deſervings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they ſhould have any deſire, yet were they diſabled by the want of good Haven Towns; which they could not ſeize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condeſcend unto the requeſts of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the reſt of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchaſed his own quiet, being never afterward moleſted by that Nation in the lower *Aſia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to diſturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Eſtate of *Perſia* ſhortly after theſe times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been ſo compoſed, that any one City might without empeachment of the reſt have tranſported an Army to aſſiſt the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reaſon can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preſerved from that ruine, which the Divine Counſel had deferred unto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conſpiracy of ſo many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed, and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriving to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeem the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe withall his own promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I have rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorm, raſhly commenced, idlely followed, and fooliſhly laid down, having made a great noiſe without effect, and having ſmall reference to any other action agreeable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invaſion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſs journey againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much leſs of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſs in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could afford unto ſo abſolute a Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly, Domeſtical; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had been the greateſt enemies to her ſon *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyſon and miſchievous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applyed her ſelf to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes not endued with an eſpecial grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the ſupreme law of his ſubjects, and the rule by which all things were to be meaſured & adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happineſs *Pelopidas*, and the other Embaſſadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by ſo much more aſſured than they found him, by how much the concluſion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did ſeem to promiſe, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the ſame felicity to him and his, or (at the leaſt) a full ſecurity of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But ſuch foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this tranſitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either ſhaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raiſed to full height, by confuſion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece* that had ſent Embaſſadours to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby ſhould become the Judges of all Controverſies that might ariſe, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being ſolemnly publiſhed at *Thebes*, in the preſence of Embaſſadours drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obſervation of the form of peace therein ſet down, a dilatory anſwer was made by the Embaſſadours, who ſaid, that they were ſent to hear the articles, not to ſwear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to ſend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſs, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own ſwords.

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§. V.

How all Greece *was divided between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians *on the one ſide, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great tumults riſing in* Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatneſs drawn all their followers into a cruel inteſtine War, by which the whole Country, and eſpecially the Eſtates of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyn their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in diſlike of thoſe, who by ſtrong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom neceſſity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great ſpirits; and being ſo mighty independants, that ſhe had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide, excepted) under ſuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein already ſhe had ſet good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelves in ancient Nobility Superiours, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loſing all: which cauſed them to ſuſpect and envy nothing more than the greatneſs and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when ſhe was at reſt, and had leiſure to bend her whole force againſt them; but firmly joyning with her enemies whenſoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their own worthineſs, had formerly renounced and provoked againſt them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Army into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wavering friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very ſtrange, and ſeemed no leſs to the *Athenians* themſelves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheleſs accept this new Confederacy, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that howſoever theſe *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould

hereby be drawn ſomewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Army. But this did rather haſten, than by any means ſtay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more clear for him (becauſe the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Iſthmus*, and had been adverſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Army, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated mony, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uſes. In compounding the differences grown upon this occaſion, ſuch as had leaſt will to render account of the mony which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Country-men, as people deſirous of innovation. This was done: but the uproar thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the priſoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado ſcarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them, to judge of their fidelity, by the aſſiſtance which they ſhould give him, in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of ſo mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelves. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought means to ſettle the affairs of their Country, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help, and withall diſpatched ſome of the principal among them as Embaſſadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces, and beſt proviſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about prerogatives, they (who had been accuſtomed unto ſuch a ſupremacy, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their own eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, ſhould be given for the time, to that City in whoſe Territory it lay.

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§. VI.

A terrible Invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafety. For, beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lyen a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athens* would paſs by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpial upon his Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the City of *Sparta* had ſuddenly been taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the City, notwithſtanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas*, of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the War to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into the fields, whilſt no enemy was near, that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his horſe-men before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harveſt buſineſs, than upon the war, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſociety with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* coming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any courageous adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good horſemanſhip had alwaies been given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their City, which had entred into this War upon no neceſſity of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friend, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their horſes, with meat; and giving a luſty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Maſters of the field, giving by this Victory a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their aſſiſtants were not far behind.

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§. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoon vanquiſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leave ſome memorable character of his Expedition, reſolved to give them Battel, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtful affections of his own Aſſociats, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and ability, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himſelf in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that daies ſervice, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the War was in their Country) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſs account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their own Battel, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wing; the horſe-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the foot-men could joyn, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their infantery naked. But this retrait was the leſs diſgraceful, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their own footment; but finding the *Theban* horſe to have given them over, and withall diſcovering ſome Companies of foot, which had been ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed

them,

them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſe-men, in ſuch wiſe that it begun to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* ſquadron of Horſe came up to the relief of it, and reſtored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; ſo that equal courage, and equal loſs on both ſides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unleſs perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might ſeem the more likely to prevail, as having born the firſt brunt and fury of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit ſo ſure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffneſs of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſs of their own horſe, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Army, could abate ſo far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the Victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſook the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and prowеſs. This was the laſt work of the incomparable virtue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* ſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden, by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſs, with a ſingular courage, maintained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the Iron and a piece of the truncheon in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at his heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compel their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſs of this diſaſter, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonour: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is a fair time for me to dye; and withall ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophantes*, two principal men of War, that were both ſlain: which being told him, He adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whilſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the ſeveral virtues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither

ther was his private Converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publick buſineſs, but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſs: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence, Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſs of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

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§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece *after the Battel of* Mantinæa. *The Voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt. *His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis Battel of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever been fought in that Country between the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Maranthon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance, and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted, which were undertaken againſt forein enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able ſoldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the ſucceſs, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which, notwithſtanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath been related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name comprized in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelf in execution. This Peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeek after wealth by forein employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall forces to aſſiſt, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with ſuch forces as he could raiſe, by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and forein invaſions, during three Generations of their own race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (eaſily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſtical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion it ſelf had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traitor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it ſeem rather, that he grudged becauſe the King took upon himſelf the conduct of the Army, uſing his ſervice only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howſoever it came to paſs, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelf, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of ſilver, with which booty ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and

valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from covetouſneſs, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſs admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of theſe good qualities. He was nevertheleſs very arrogant, perverſe, unjuſt and vain-glorious, meaſuring all things by his own will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be overthrown; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear ſuch hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meer neceſſity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepairable loſs of all her former greatneſs. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the great; whoſe actions (the ſolemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truly ſay, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under ſundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other ſome quarrel with every Town in *Greece*, had made a War in *Aſia*, and medled in the buſineſs of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predeceſſors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein alſo they were very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulneſs. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quam paria; the reſemblance was nearer than the equality*. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had inforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the form of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it ſelf, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* War, and after much blood loſt, ill healed by the Peace enſuing, did very ſoon, upon the death of *Ageſilaus*, give up the ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Country was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii.
